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Lives of the queens of England, from the Norman conquest

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Jane Seymour

London, Henry Colburn, 1851.

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OF THE

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From the Norman Conquest.

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LIVES

OF

THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

JANE SEYMOUR,

THIRD QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

Conduct of Jane Seymour—Age—Descent—Early life—Maid of honour—Courted by Henry VIII.—Execution of Anne Boleyn—Arrival of Henry at Wolf-hall the same evening—Jane Seymour marries him next day—Reasons for haste—Wedding-dinner—Beauty of the bride—Royal wedding kept at Marwell—King and queen return to London—Crown settled on her offspring—Coverdale's Bible—She reconciles the king and the princess Mary—Crosses the frozen Thames—Her coronation discussed—Deferred—King's letter—Queen takes to her chamber at Hampton-Court—Her portraits—Extreme danger—King's conduct—Queen's self-devotion—Birth of Edward VI.—Baptism—Improper treatment of the queen—Her illness—Catholic rites—Queen's death—Her funeral—Epitaph—Mourning worn by king Henry—His grief—Description of the infant prince—Journal of Edward VI.—Court mournings—Project for the queen's tomb—Discovery of her coffin by George IV.

"JANE Seymour was the fairest, the discreetest, and the most meritorious of all Henry VIII.'s wives." This assertion has been generally repeated by all historians to the present hour, yet, doubtless, the question has frequently occurred to their readers, in what did her merit consist? Customs may vary at various eras, but the laws of moral justice are unalterable: difficult would it be to reconcile them with the first actions known of this discreet lady, for discretion is the attribute the biographer of Henry VIII., lord Herbert, peculiarly challenges as her own. It has been shown, in the preceding biography, that Jane Seymour's shameless conduct in receiv-

ing the courtship of Henry VIII. was the commencement of the severe calamities that befell her mistress, Anne Boleyn. Scripture points out as an especial odium the circumstance of a handmaid taking the place of her mistress. Odious enough was the case when Anne Boleyn supplanted the right royal Katharine of Arragon, but a sickening sensation of horror must pervade every right-feeling mind, when the proceedings of the discreet Jane Seymour are considered. She received the addresses of her mistress's husband, knowing him to be such; she passively beheld the mortal anguish of Anne Boleyn when that unhappy queen was in a state which peculiarly demanded feminine sympathy; she knew that the discovery of Henry's inconstancy had nearly destroyed her, whilst the shock actually destroyed her infant; she saw a series of murderous accusations got up against the queen, which finally brought her to the scaffold, yet she gave her hand to the regal ruffian before his wife's corpse was cold. Yes; four-and-twenty hours had not elapsed since the sword was reddened with the blood of her mistress, when Jane Seymour became the bride of Henry VIII. And let it be remembered that a royal marriage could not have been celebrated without previous preparation, which must have proceeded simultaneously with the heart-rending events of Anne Boleyn's last agonized hours. The wedding-cakes must have been baking, the wedding-dinner providing, the wedding-clothes preparing, while the life-blood was yet running warm in the veins of the victim, whose place was to be rendered vacant by a violent death. The picture is repulsive enough, but it becomes tenfold more abhorrent when the woman who caused the whole tragedy is loaded with panegyric.

Jane Seymour had arrived at an age when the timidity of girlhood could no longer be pleaded as excuse for passive acquiescence in such outrages on common decency. All genealogies[1] concur in naming her as the eldest of sir John Seymour's numerous family. As such, she could not have been younger than Anne Boleyn, who was much older than is generally asserted. Jane was the eldest of the eight children

[1] Collins' Peerage, vol. i. p. 167.

of sir John Seymour, of Wolf-hall, Wiltshire, and Margaret Wentworth, daughter of sir John Wentworth, of Nettlestead in Suffolk. The Seymours were a family of country gentry who, like most holders of manorial rights, traced their ancestry to a Norman origin. One or two had been knighted in the wars of France, but their names had never emerged from the herald's visitation-rolls into historical celebrity. They increased their boundaries by fortunate alliances with heiresses; but, till the head of the family married into a collateral branch of the lordly line of Beauchamp, they scarcely took rank as second-rate gentry. After that event, two instances are quoted of Seymours serving as high-sheriff for Wilts, but no instance can be found of one of the name being returned as knight of the shire. Through Margaret Wentworth, the mother of Jane Seymour, a descent from the blood-royal of England was claimed from an intermarriage with a Wentworth and a daughter of Hotspur and lady Elizabeth Mortimer, granddaughter to Lionel duke of Clarence. Some ancient heralds affirm that this daughter of the house of Percy died childless. Few persons, however, dared dispute a pedigree with Henry VIII.; and it appears that on this ground Cranmer granted a dispensation for nearness of kin between Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour,—rather a work of supererogation, since, even if the Wentworth genealogy held good, the parties could not be related within the forbidden degree; viz. as fourth cousins. Although the royal kindred appears somewhat doubtful, yet it is undeniable that the sovereign of England gained by this alliance one brother-in-law who bore the name of Smith, and another whose grandfather was a blacksmith at Putney,—for Jane Seymour's sister Elizabeth married Gregory the son of Cromwell, and her sister Dorothy became the wife of sir Clement Smith, of Little Baddow, in Essex.[1]

Jane's childhood and early youth are involved in great obscurity, but there is reason to suppose that, like Anne Boleyn, her education was finished and her manners formed at the

[1] Collins' Peerage. Elizabeth Seymour was the widow of sir Gregory Oughtred when she married the younger Cromwell. Jane Seymour, like Anne Boleyn, was old enough for her younger sister to have been married before she herself became queen.

court of France. Her portrait in the Louvre as a French maid of honour has given rise to this idea. It is probable that she entered the service of Mary Tudor, which her brother certainly did; for in a list of the persons forming the bridal retinue of that queen, signed by the hand of Louis XII.,[1] may be observed, among the children or pages of honour, the son of M. Seymour. This must have been Jane's brother Edward, afterwards so celebrated as the Protector Somerset. He was younger, however, than Jane, and it is very possible that she had an appointment also, though not of such importance as Anne Boleyn, who was grand-daughter to the duke of Norfolk, and was associated with two of the sovereign's kinswomen, the ladies Gray, as maids of honour to Mary queen of France. Jane could boast of no such high connexions as these, and, perhaps from her comparatively inferior birth, did not excite the jealousy of the French monarch like the ladies of maturer years. It is possible that Jane Seymour was promoted to the post of maid of honour in France after the dismissal of the other ladies. Her portrait in the Louvre[2] represents her as a beautifully full-formed woman, of nineteen or twenty, and seems an evidence that, like Anne, she had obtained a place subsequently in the household of queen Claude, where she perfected herself in the art of coquetry, though in a more demure way than her unfortunate compeer, Anne Boleyn. It was sir John Seymour[3] who first made interest for his daughter to be placed as a maid of honour to Anne Boleyn. Anne Stanhope, afterwards the wife of his eldest son, Edward Seymour, was Jane's associate.

Henry's growing passion for Jane soon awakened suspicion in the mind of queen Anne; it is said that her attention was

[1] This document is preserved among the Cotton. MSS.

[2] It is a whole-length, and one of Holbein's master-pieces. The face and dress resemble minutely the younger portraits of Jane Seymour in England. It is merely entitled "Maid of honour to Marie d'Angleterre, queen of Louis XII.," and is placed as companion to another, a magnificent whole-length of Anne Boleyn, likewise entitled "Maid of honour to the queen of Louis XII." These two well-known portraits are clad in the same costume, though varied in ornaments and colour; they are not recognised in France as pictures of *English queens*, but as *compagnons suivantes* of an English princess, queen of France.

[3] Helyin. Fuller's English Worthies, 848.

one day attracted by a jewel which Jane Seymour wore about her neck, and she expressed a wish to look at it. Jane faltered and drew back, and the queen, noticing her hesitation, snatched it violently from her, so violently that she hurt her own hand,[1] and found that it contained the portrait of the king, which, as she most truly guessed, had been presented by himself to her fair rival. Jane Seymour had far advanced in the same serpentine path which conducted Anne herself to a throne, ere she ventured to accept the picture of her enamoured sovereign, and well assured must she have been of success in her ambitious views before she presumed to wear such a love-token in the presence of the queen. Anne Boleyn was not of a temper to bear her wrongs patiently, but Jane Seymour's star was in the ascendant, hers in the decline: her anger was unavailing. Jane maintained her ground triumphantly, even after the disgraceful *dénouement* which has been related in the biography of Anne Boleyn. One of the king's love-letters to his new favourite seems to have been written while the fallen queen was waiting her doom in prison.

"HENRY VIII. TO JANE SEYMOUR.[2]

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND MISTRESS,

"The bearer of these few lines from thy entirely devoted servant will deliver into thy fair hands a token of my true affection for thee, hoping you will keep it for ever in your sincere love for me. Advertising you that there is a ballad made lately of great derision against us, which if it go abroad and is seen by you, I pray you to pay no manner of regard to it. I am not at present informed who is the setter forth of this malignant writing; but if he is found out, he shall be straitly punished for it.

"For the things ye lacked, I have minded my lord to supply them to you as soon as he could buy them. Thus hoping shortly to receive you in these arms, I end for the present,

"Your own loving servant and sovereign,

"H. R."

While the last act of that diabolical drama was played out which consummated the destruction of poor Anne, it appears that her rival had the discretion to retreat to her paternal mansion, Wolf-hall, in Wiltshire. There the preparations for

[1] Heylin. Fuller's English Worthies, 848

[2] Published by Halliwell, in Letters of the Kings of England, vol. i. p. 353, being his modernised transcript from the Gough MSS. There is no authority as to the depository of the original, but it is in Henry VIII.'s style.—See his letters to Anne Boleyn.

her marriage with Henry VIII. were proceeding with sufficient activity to allow her royal wedlock to take place the day after the executioner had rendered the king a widower. Henry himself remained in the vicinity of the metropolis, awaiting the accomplishment of that event. The traditions of Richmond-park and Epping-forest quote each place as the *locale* where he waited for the announcement of his wife's death. Richmond-park has decidedly the best claim, for the spot pointed out is a promontory of the highest portion of the cliff or ridge commanding the valley of the Thames, called Richmond-hill. About a quarter of a mile to the left of the town an extensive view to the west reposes under the eye. The remains of the oak beneath which Henry VIII. stood are now enclosed in the grounds at present occupied by lord John Russell, therefore we were prevented from personally examining this historical spot. Yet its geographical features could be ascertained, and they prove that Henry was a full hour nearer Wiltshire than if he had started from the hunting-tower at Pleshet, near East Ham.[1] On the morning of the 19th of May, Henry VIII., attired for the chase, with his huntsmen and hounds around him, was standing under the spreading oak, breathlessly awaiting the signal-gun from the Tower which was to announce that the sword had fallen on the neck of his once "entirely beloved Anne Boleyn." At last, when the bright summer sun rode high towards its meridian, the sullen sound of the death-gun boomed along the windings of the Thames. Henry started with ferocious joy. "Ha, ha!" he cried with satisfaction, "the deed is done. Uncouple the hounds and away!" The chase that day bent towards the west, whether the stag led it in that direction or not. The tradition of Richmond adds, that the king was likewise advised of the execution by a signal from a flag hoisted on the spire of old St. Paul's, which was seen through a glade of the park to the east.[2]

[1] The chief objection to this story is, that, robust as Henry then was, it would have been scarcely possible for him to have reached Wiltshire on the 19th of May, if he commenced his journey in the afternoon from Epping-forest.

[2] The dome of St. Paul's may be seen from the same spot.

At nightfall the king was at Wolf-hall, in Wilts, telling the news to his elected bride; the next morning he married her. It is commonly asserted that the king wore white for mourning the day after Anne Boleyn's execution; he certainly wore white, not as mourning, but because he on that day wedded her rival. Wolf-hall,[1] the scene of these royal nuptials, was a short distance from Tottenham-park, in Wiltshire. Of the ancient residence some remains now exist, among which is the kitchen, where tradition declares a notable royal wedding-dinner was cooked: a detached building is likewise still entire, in which the said dinner was served up, the room being hung, on this occasion, with tapestry.[2] As late as the time of Defoe the same building, which he calls "the large barn at Wolf-hall," in which the nuptial-feast of Henry VIII. and queen Jane Seymour was served, had tenter-hooks, on which small bits of tapestry were hanging. "The people of the neighbourhood showed these tatters as proof of the honourable use to which the barn had been put. Between Wolf-hall and Tottenham was a noble avenue bordered with lofty trees, in which the royal bride and bridegroom walked; it was in the seventeenth century known by the name of 'king Harry's walk.'[3]

Several favourite members of the king's obsequious privy council were present at the marriage, therefore the authenticity of its date is beyond all dispute. Among others, was sir John Russell, (afterwards earl of Bedford,) who, "having been at church[4] with the royal pair," gave as his opinion, "That the king was the goodliest person there, and that the richer queen Jane was dressed the fairer she appeared; on the contrary, the better Anne Boleyn was apparelled the worse she looked; but that queen Jane was the fairest of all Henry's wives, though both Anne Boleyn, and queen Katharine in her younger days, were women not easily paralleled."[5] The bridal

[1] It was the inheritance of sir John Seymour from his grandmother, the heiress of Esturmy. Previous to this lucky marriage, the family of St. Maur (Seymour) were settled in Monmouthshire, at Woundy: they were some of the marchmen who kept the Welsh in bounds.

[2] Britton's Wiltshire, p. 685.

[3] Defoe's Tour through Great Britain, vol. ii. p. 43.

[4] Probably Tottenham church.

[5] Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

party proceeded after dinner to Marwell, near Winchester, a country-seat belonging to the bishops of that see, which Henry had already wrested from the church and bestowed on the Seymours. The queen's chamber is still shown there.[1] From Marwell the king and his bride went to Winchester, where they sojourned a few days, and from thence returned to London, in time to hold a great court on the 29th of May. Here the bride was publicly introduced as queen, and her marriage festivities were blended with the celebration of Whitsuntide. The king paid the citizens the compliment of bringing his fair queen to Mercer's-hall, and she stood in one of the windows to view the annual ceremony of setting the city watch on St. Peter's-eve, June 29th.

The lord chancellor Audley, when parliament met a few days after, introduced the subject of the king's new marriage in a speech so tedious in length, that the clerks who wrote the parliamentary journals gave up its transcription in despair. Yet they fortunately left extant an abstract, containing a curious condolence on the exquisite sufferings the monarch had endured in matrimony. "Ye well remember," pathetically declaimed chancellor Audley, "the great anxieties and perturbations this invincible sovereign suffered on account of his first unlawful marriage; so all ought to bear in mind the perils and dangers he was under when he contracted his second marriage, and that the lady Anne and her complices have since been justly found guilty of high treason, and had met their due reward for it. What man of middle life would not this deter from marrying a third time? Yet this our most excellent prince again condescendeth to contract matrimony, and hath, on the humble petition of the nobility, taken to himself a wife this time, whose age and fine form give promise of issue." He said, "that the king had two objects in view in summoning a parliament; to declare the heir-apparent, and to repeal the act in favour of the succession of Anne Boleyn's issue." The crown was afterwards entailed on the children of queen Jane, whether male or female. After expatiating on all the self-sacrifices Henry had endured for the

[1] Milner's Winchester.

good of his people, he concluded by proposing "that the lords should pray for heirs to the crown by this marriage," and sent the commons to choose a speaker. The speaker they chose was the notorious Richard Rich, who had sworn away the life of sir Thomas More; he outdid the chancellor Audley in his fulsome praises of the king, thinking proper to load his speech with personal flattery, "comparing him, for strength and fortitude to Samson, for justice and prudence to Solomon, and for beauty and comeliness to Absalom." Thus did the English senate condescend to encourage Henry in his vices, calling his self-indulgence self-denial, and all his evil good; inflating his wicked wilfulness with eulogy, till he actually forgot, according to Wolsey's solemn warning, "that there was both heaven and hell." While the biographer is appalled as the domestic features of this moral monster are unveiled, surely some abhorrence is due to the unison of atrocity that met in the hearts and heads of his advisers and flatterers.

As the parliamentary journals have been destroyed which include the attainder of Anne Boleyn, it is impossible to trace when the petition for the king to marry again was presented which the chancellor alludes to; if before his marriage to Jane, it must have been during the life of Anne Boleyn, and then must have infused another drop of inexpressible bitterness in the cup of misery at the lips of the living victim. It is worthy of notice, that the dispensation by Cranmer of kindred and all other impediments in the marriage of the king and Jane Seymour, is dated on the very day of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn's death, being May 19th, 1536. The abhorrent conduct of Henry in wedding Jane so soon after the sacrifice of her hapless predecessor, has left its foul traces on a page where truly Christian reformers must have viewed it with grief and disgust. In the dedication of Coverdale's Bible, printed at Zurich 1535, the names of Henry and his queen are introduced; but as Anne Boleyn was destroyed between the printing and publication, an attempt was made to accommodate the dedication to the caprice of Henry's passions, by printing J, for Jane, over the letters which composed the name of the unfortunate Anne.[1]

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 531.

Bitter complaints were made that the new queen, in all possible ways, strove to depress the connexions of her fallen mistress and to exalt her own.[1] Of course the power of so doing was the chief inducement for her marriage, with all its abhorrent circumstances. Her brothers, uncles, sisters, and cousins promptly filled every great and lucrative office at court, imitating closely the unpopular precedent of the kin of Elizabeth Woodville.

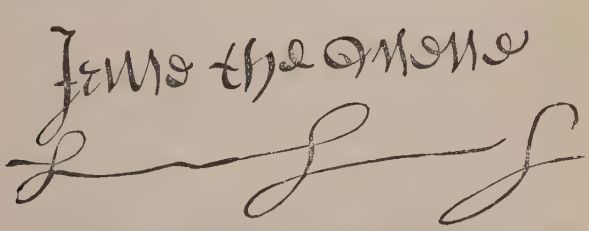
Queen Jane ostensibly mediated the reconciliation between the princess Mary and the king. In the correspondence which ensued between the father and daughter, about twenty days after the marriage of Jane Seymour, she is frequently mentioned by the princess as "her most natural mother the queen:" she congratulates her on her marriage with the king, praying God to send them a prince. These letters were chiefly dictated by Thomas Cromwell, whose son afterwards married a sister of the new queen, yet Mary certainly regarded Jane Seymour as her friend. Nevertheless, the terms were so cruel on which Mary was restored to her father's presence, that her majesty had not ventured very far in her intercession between them. From one of Mary's earlier letters, it is evident that the princess had known Jane Seymour previously to her marriage, and had been treated kindly by her.[2] The Catholic historians have mentioned queen Jane with complacency, on account of her friendliness to Henry's ill-treated daughter; the Protestants regard her with veneration as the mother of Edward VI. and the sister of Somerset; and thus, with little personal merit, accident has made her the subject of unlimited party praise. Her kindness to Mary bears an appearance of moral worth, if the suspicion did not occur that it arose entirely from opposition to Anne Boleyn; for, if based on the pure foundation of benevolence, it is strange that no other fruit of a virtuous character was exemplified in the life of Jane Seymour. The princess Mary was permitted to visit her step-mother at the palaces of Richmond and Greenwich, Christmas 1537. That season was saddened to queen Jane by the loss of her father, sir John Seymour. He died in his sixtieth year, De-

[1] Heylin.

[2] See Hearne's Sylloge, where this fact is distinctly stated.

cember 21, 1536,[1] leaving his family at the very pinnacle of exaltation,—his eldest daughter the triumphant queen of England; his eldest son created lord Beauchamp, and lord chamberlain for life. The queen's aunt, Joanna Seymour,[2] was the wife of Andrew Huddleston; their son Andrew obtained a command in Henry VIII.'s guards, called gentlemen-at-arms, and riches, favour, and honour were showered profusely on every member of the house of Seymour.

Jane Seymour supported her unwonted burden of dignity as queen with silent placidity. Whether from instinctive prudence or natural taciturnity, she certainly exemplified the wise proverb, "that the least said is the soonest mended;" for she passed eighteen months of regal life without uttering a sentence significant enough to bear preservation. Thus she avoided making enemies by sallies of wit and repartee, in which her incautious predecessor so often indulged: indeed, it was generally considered that queen Jane purposely steered her course of royalty so that her manners appeared diametrically opposite to those of queen Anne. As for her actions, they were utterly passive, and dependent on the will of the king. The only act of Jane Seymour's queenly life of which a documentary record has been preserved, is an order to the park-keeper at Havering-atte-Bower "to deliver to her well-beloved the gentlemen of her sovereign lord the king's chapel-royal, two bucks of high season." For this very trifling exercise of the power and privileges of a queen of England she names the king's warrant and seal as her authority, as if her own were insufficient. The order is headed by her signature, and is supposed to be the only genuine autograph of Jane Seymour in existence. We give the fac-simile.[3]



[1] Collins' Peerage. [2] Burns' Cumberland. [3] MS. Cottonian, Vespasian, f. iii.

The terror of the axe seems to have kept even this favoured queen in the most humiliating state of submission during the brief term of her sceptred slavery. In consonance with this assumption of submission, which was in all things to prove a contrast to her predecessor, Jane Seymour took for her motto BOUND TO OBEY AND SERVE. One of her gold standing-cups, set with diamonds and pearls, remained among the plate of Charles I.: it is described as ornamented with an H and I knit together, and Jane Seymour's arms supported by two boys.[1]

Some traces of her sojourn in the Tower are to be found in a list of Henry VIII.'s furniture, for among the appurtenances of a room called the 'lower study,' is enumerated "a box containing a writing touching the jointure of queen Jane;" likewise "a pair of little screens made of silk, to hold against the fire" Who could have supposed that the grim fortress ever contained any thing so consonant to modern taste as a pair of hand-screens? But many of the luxuries and elegancies presumed to pertain solely to the modern era are indicated in the wardrobe-lists, inventories, and privy-purse expenses of royal personages who belonged to an earlier period than Jane Seymour and Henry VIII. The most remarkable of this queen's proceedings was, that she crossed the frozen Thames to Greenwich-palace in the severe January of 1536-7, on horseback, with the king, attended by their whole court. In the summer she went with him on a progress to Canterbury, and in the monastery of St. Augustine was very honourably received, the reverend father Thomas Goldwell, prior of Christchurch, being present.[2] From thence he (the king and queen) went to Dover to see the pier, "to his great cost and charge then begun."

Jane Seymour, like many other persons suddenly raised in the world, laid down very rigorous rules regarding the etiquette of dress at her court. The maids of honour were expected to wear very costly girdles of pearls, and if not very fully set, they were not to appear in her royal presence. The number of

[1] Lord Orford's works; list of royal plate, (185). This curious relic was sold by Charles in his distress.

[2] Monk's Journal, quoted by Strype, 1537.

pearls required was more than one hundred and twenty, since lady Lisle sent that number to Anne Basset, one of her daughters, who was maid of honour to the new queen.[1] But the girdle was not sufficiently rich; the pearls were too few, therefore the young lady could not exhibit it before the queen. As the king's two former wives (though afterwards repudiated and discrowned) had received the honours of splendid coronations, he was of course desirous of thus distinguishing the beloved Jane Seymour. Of this there is full evidence in the despatches of Rich and Paget[2] to the rest of the privy council remaining at Westminster. "We found the king," says the latter, "one evening in the queen's chamber, ready to wash and sit down to supper with her; and after supper his grace returned into his chamber, and immediately called me to him, saying that he had digested and resolved in his breast the contents of your last, and perceiving how the plague had reigned in Westminster, and in the abbey itself, he stood in a suspense whether it were best to put off the time of the queen's coronation. 'Wherefore,' quoth he, 'it were good that all my council be assembled here to determine upon every thing touching the same coronation; and so,' quoth he, 'write to my lord privy-seal, and send him word.'"

Jane's coronation, after being thus delayed by the pestilence, was still further procrastinated by her hopeful condition, which promised the long-desired heir to the throne. Henry VIII. announced this expectation to the duke of Norfolk by an autograph letter, in which may be perceived some allusion to the loss of Anne Boleyn's son, owing to the grief of heart the mother's jealousy occasioned. To obviate the chance of his present consort taking any fancies in her head, "considering she was *but* a woman," he graciously announces his intention of remaining near her in these very original words:[3] "Albeit she is in every condition of that loving inclination and reverend

[1] Lisle Papers, edited by M. A. Wood, vol. iii. p. 21. Letters of Royal Ladies, March 15, 1556-7.

[2] State-Paper office. It is uncertain whether the king was then at Greenwich-palace or Hampton-Court. Paget's style is distinguished by frequent "quod he's, and quod I's:" his father had been but a mace-bearer to the lord mayor.

[3] Chapter-house, Bundle $\frac{A\,6}{1}$, dated June 12, 1537.

conformity that she can in all things well content, rest, and satisfy herself with any thing which WE shall think expedient and determine, yet, considering that, being *but a woman,* upon some sudden and displeasant rumours and bruits that might by foolish or light persons be blown abroad in our absence, being specially so far from her she might take to her stomach such impressions as might engender no little danger or displeasure to the infant with which she is now pregnant, (which God forbid!) it hath been thought by our council very necessary that, for avoiding such perils, we should not extend our progress farther from her than sixty miles." The place chosen for queen Jane's lying-in was Hampton-Court, where it appears, from a letter to Cromwell from the earl of Southampton, that she took to her chamber September 16, 1537, with all the ceremonies appertaining to the retirement of an English queen in her situation.[1]

The splendid gothic banqueting-hall at Hampton-Court was finished at this juncture, for queen Jane's initials are entwined with those of her husband among the decorations. It was an inconvenient whim of Henry VIII., whose love was so evanescent, to knit the initials of whomsoever happened to be the object of his temporary passion in enduring stone-work. The Italian fashion of inlaying popular names on festal days in mosaics of flowers, called *infiorata,* had been the more convenient compliment, since fading flowers would have been better memorials of his passion for Anne Boleyn than the love-knots of stone at King's college and at Hampton-Court. The commemoration of his love for her rival, in the architectural ornaments of the latter, likewise remains a signal monument of the transitory nature of human felicity. At the entrance of the chapel, on each side of the doorway, is a species of coloured stone picture, containing Henry's arms and initials on the right, and queen Jane's arms with the interchanged initials I H, and H I, with love-knots intertwined. The motto, arms, and supporters of Jane Seymour as queen are among the archives of Herald's college. Over the shields is inscribed BOWND TO OBEY AND SERVE, in English. Her supporters

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 565.

The King's Librar

were, on the right side, a unicorn, with a collar of roses round his neck, alternately a red and a white one. It seems the unicorn was adopted for her as the emblem of chastity. On the left side was a horse ducally collared. Her family shield of the Seymour arms entire, not impaled with the royal arms, emblazoned in a scutcheon of the usual broad form; the crown of England is over the shield, and beneath it written

REGINA JANE.

The original outline sketch of queen Jane by Holbein, preserved in her majesty's collection at Windsor, was probably taken at this time,—a time most unpropitious to the beauty of the sitter: indeed, it is difficult to trace any beauty in the portrait, which represents her as a coarse, apathetic-looking woman, with a large face and small features. Her eyes are blue, with a sinister expression; the mouth very small, also the lips thin, and closely compressed; the eyebrows very faintly marked; high cheek-bones, and a thickness at the point of the nose quite opposed to an artist's idea of beauty. Hans Holbein, however, generally gave a faithful representation of his subjects: in one instance only has he been accused of flattery. Queen Jane wears the same five-cornered hood and plaited cap beneath, familiar to us in the portraits of Henry's three first queens. Her hair appears plainly folded in cross bands. Her dress is unfinished; a square corsage is faintly defined. The sketch is evidently the same from which the whole-length portrait was painted by Holbein, which represents her as queen, standing with Henry VIII., Henry VII., and Elizabeth of York at the four corners of an altar or tomb. Queen Jane is not quite so plain in this picture, but makes a complete contrast to the serene face of Elizabeth; her complexion is fine, and her features regular, but their expression cold and hard, her figure stiff, and her elbows very square. She wears a flowing scarlet robe, on the train of which is curled up a queer little white poodle; and which looks the sourest, the mistress or dog, it would be difficult to decide. She appears a middle-aged woman: it would be a compliment to her to guess her at thirty-three, her probable age. These pictures were her queenly portraits when she was faded by her

peculiar state, which led ultimately to her premature death. Her earlier pictures were most likely painted at the time of her marriage: they are much handsomer. The portrait from which our engraving is taken belongs to the duke of Bedford. Jane is here a regal-looking woman, not very youthful in appearance, but her eyes are fine, and her features strongly resemble those of her son, Edward VI. The costume is nearly similar to the one at Hampton-Court, excepting the sleeves, which are enormously large, and made of gold tissue instead of fur.

An insalubrious state etiquette after Jane had taken to her chamber, (according to the queenly custom,) obliged her to confine herself therein a whole month preceding her accouchement, and during this long space of time the royal patient was deprived of the needful benefits of air and exercise. When the hour came in which the heir of England was expected to see the light, it was by no means "the good hour" so emphatically prayed for in the ceremonial of her retirement.[1] After a martyrdom of suffering, the queen's attendants put to Henry the really cruel question, of "whether he would wish his wife or infant to be saved?" It is affirmed, and it must be owned the speech is too characteristic of Henry to be doubted, that he replied, "The child by all means, for other wives could be easily found."[2] The following historical ballad tells, in its homely strains, the same tale in a version meant to be complimentary to the king, long before Sanders had embodied it in his prejudiced history, which, in sonorous Latin, has preserved so many scandals of Henry and his favourites. The ballad alludes to the loss of Henry VIII.'s large ship, the Mary Rose, and several minutiæ which would have been forgotten if it had not been nearly contemporary. We think the style of Thomas Churchyard may be recognised in it,—the poet who succeeded Skelton as a popular versifier in the times of Henry VIII. and queen Mary:—

"Whenas king Henry ruled this land
He had a queen, I understand,
Lord Seymour's daughter, fair and bright;
Yet death, by his remorseless power,

[1] See biography of Elizabeth of York, vol. ii.

[2] Sanders, p. 89.

Did blast the bloom of this fair flower.
O mourn, mourn, mourn, fair ladies,
Your queen the flower of England's dead!

The queen in travail pained sore
Full thirty woful hours and more,
And no ways could relieved be,
As all her ladies wished to see;
Wherefore the king made greater moan
Than ever yet his grace had done.

Then, being something eased in mind,
His eyes a troubled sleep did find;
Where, dreaming he had lost a rose,
But which he could not well suppose
A ship he had, a Rose[1] by name,—
Oh, no; it was his royal Jane!

Being thus perplexed with grief and care,
A lady to him did repair,
And said, 'O king, show us thy will,
The queen's sweet life to save or spill?'
'Then, as she cannot saved be,
Oh, save the flower though not the tree.'
O mourn, mourn, mourn, fair ladies,
Your queen the flower of England's dead!"

Another authority affirms, that the queen entreated her assistants to take care of her infant in preference to herself. After all, it is expressly declared, by a circular notification, "that the queen was happily delivered of a prince on Friday, October 12th, being the vigil of St. Edward's-day;" and had she been kept in a state of rational quiet, it is probable she might have recovered. But the intoxication of joy[2] into which

[1] The loss of this ship, the Mary Rose, was certainly fresh in the public memory when this rhyme was compounded. It was lost in 1540, at Spithead, through the perverse disobedience of the mariners; it heeled, and foundered with 700 men, who were drowned in the king's sight. The loss of this, his finest war-ship, greatly afflicted Henry.–See Narrative of sir Peter Carew, brother to the commander of the Mary Rose, a MS. in possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, bart. Many portions of the Mary Rose have lately been recovered, as well as those of the Royal George, which underwent a similar fate. The sea in both cases seems to keep antiquities well.

[2] Even the clear head of bishop Latimer seems to have been affected by the general delirium on this occasion, for his letter of congratulation to Cromwell and the privy council is worded in an extraordinary style: "Right Honourable,—We salute in Christ Jesu. And, sir, here is no less joying and rejoicing in these parts for the birth of our prince, whom we hungered for so long, than there was, I trow, by the neighbours at the birth of John the Baptist, as this bearer, master Evance, can tell you. God give us grace to yield due thanks to our Lord God, the God of England, or rather an English God, if we consider and ponder well all his proceedings with us from time to time. He hath overcome all our illness with his exceeding goodness, so that we are now more compelled to serve him, seek

the king and the court were plunged at the appearance of the long-desired heir of England, seemed to deprive them of all consideration of consequences, or they would have kept the bustle attendant on the ceremonial of his christening far enough from her. When all the circumstances of this elaborate ceremony are reviewed, no doubt can exist that it was the ultimate cause of queen Jane's death: it took place on the Monday night after the birth of the prince. The arrangement of the procession, which commenced in her very chamber, was not injurious enough for the sick queen, but regal etiquette imperiously demanded that she should play her part in the scene; nor was it likely that a private gentlewoman raised to the queenly state would seek to excuse herself from any thing pertaining to her dignity, however inconvenient. It was the rule for a queen of England,[1] when her infant was christened, to be removed from her bed to a state pallet, which seems anciently to have fulfilled the uses of a sofa. This was decorated at the back with the crown and arms of England, wrought in gold thread; it was furnished with two long pillows, and two square ones, a coverture of white lawn five yards square, a counterpane of scarlet cloth lined with ermine. The queen reclined, propped with four cushions of crimson damask with gold; she was wrapped about with a round mantle of crimson velvet, furred with ermine.

The baptism of the prince took place by torchlight, in the chapel of Hampton-Court, where the future defender of the reformed religion was presented at the font by his sister and Catholic successor, the princess Mary. There, too, unconscious of the awful event that had changed her fortunes in the

his glory, and promote his word, if the devil of all devils be not in us. We have now the stop of vain trusts, the stay of vain expectations; let us all pray for his preservation. And I, for my part, well wish that his grace always have, and even now from the beginning, governors, instructors, and officers of right judgment. But what a great *fowll* am I! So that devotion showeth, at times, but little discretion. And thus the God of England be ever with you in all your proceedings.

"P.S.—If you would excite the bearer of this to be more hearty against the abuse of imagery, and more forward to promote the verity, it might do good, not that it came of me, but of yourself. Hartlebury, Worcester."—State-Papers.

[1] See Ordinances for all Ceremonial, by Margaret Beaufort, the countess of Richmond, grandmother to Henry VIII.; MSS. Harleian.

dawn of her existence, after she had been proclaimed heiress of the realm, came the young motherless Elizabeth, who had been roused from her sweet slumbers of infant innocence, and arrayed in robes of state, to perform the part assigned to her in the ceremony. In this procession Elizabeth, borne in the arms of the aspiring Seymour, (brother to the queen,) with playful smiles carried the chrysom for the son of her, for whose sake her mother's blood had been shed on the scaffold, and herself branded with the reproach of illegitimacy. And there the earl of Wiltshire, the father of the murdered Anne Boleyn, and grandfather of the disinherited Elizabeth, made himself an object of contemptuous pity to every eye by assisting at this rite, bearing a taper of virgin wax, with a towel about his neck. How strangely associated seem the other personages who met in this historical scene! how passing strange, in the eyes of those before whom the scroll of their after life has been unrolled, it is to contemplate the princess Mary joining Cranmer, (afterwards sent to the stake in her reign,) who was associated with his enemy the duke of Norfolk, all as sponsors in this baptismal rite!

The font of solid silver was guarded by sir John Russell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Francis Bryan, and sir Anthony Browne in aprons, and with towels about their necks. The marchioness of Exeter[1] carried the child under a canopy, which was borne by the duke of Suffolk, the marquess of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and lord William Howard. The prince's wet-nurse (whom he afterwards called 'mother Jack,'[2] from her name

[1] This unfortunate lady, the wife of the king's cousin-german, was condemned afterwards to death for no crime, and (after the execution of her husband) suffered an imprisonment in the Tower till the accession of Mary. The dowager-marchioness of Dorset was at first appointed, in the names of king Henry and queen Jane, to carry the prince at his baptism. It is probable she had no mind to give any more gold basins to royal godchildren, for she had already made that costly present to the princess Elizabeth. Therefore she excused herself on account of the plague having broke out at Croydon, returning "as many thanks as her poor heart can think, that it hath pleased his grace to appoint me, so poor a woman, to so high a place as to have borne my lord prince to his christening, which I should have been as glad to have done as any poor woman living: and much it grieveth me that my fortune is so evil, by reason of the sickness here, in Croydon, to be banished your grace's presence. Written at Croydon, the 14th day of October."—State-Papers.

[2] Her portrait by this name is extant among Holbein's original drawings.

of Jackson,) walked near to her charge, and after her came the queen's domestics, among whom was the midwife. While his attendants were making the royal infant ready in the traverse, (which was a small space screened off from the rest of the chapel,) *Te Deum* was sung. The ceremonial was arranged for the lord William Howard to give the towel, first to the lady Mary, lord Fitzwalter to bear the covered basins, lord Delawar to uncover them, and lord Stourton to give the towels to Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk. After the prince was baptized, his style was thus proclaimed by Garter: "God, in his Almighty and infinite grace, grant good life and long to the right high, right excellent, and noble prince Edward, duke of Cornwall and earl of Chester, most dear and entirely-beloved son of our most dread and gracious lord Henry VIII." The lady Mary gave her godson a cup of gold, by lord Essex; Cranmer gave him three great bowls and two great pots, which were borne by the father of Anne Boleyn. The duke of Norfolk presented a similar offering. In the returning procession, the princess Elizabeth was led away by the princess Mary, her sister. The train of the infant princess,—for, though but four years old, she had a train,—was carried by the lady Herbert, sister of a future queen, Katharine Parr. The heir of England was borne back in solemn state, with trumpets sounding before him, to his mother's chamber, there to receive her blessing. There is a grand staircase at Hampton-Court leading direct from the chapel-royal to a fine archway, forming an entrance from the third landing to the queen's private suite of lodging-rooms. The archway has been recently restored, after being long defaced and walled up: it coincides in every point of architecture with the chapel and the entrances to Wolsey's hall. It communicates with a corridor, called in the tradition of the palace the 'silver-stick gallery,' where chamberlains and other court officers used to wait. At this entrance the trumpet-flourishes announced the return of the infant prince from his baptism in the neighbouring chapel.

King Henry had remained seated by the queen's pallet during the whole of the baptismal rite, which, with all its tedious parade, took up two or three hours, not being over till

midnight. What with the presence of king Henry,—rather a boisterous inmate for a sick chamber; what with the procession setting out from the chamber, and the braying of the trumpets at its entrance when it returned, (the herald especially notes the goodly noise they made there); and, in conclusion, the exciting ceremonial of bestowing her maternal benediction on her newly baptized babe, the poor queen had been kept in a complete hurry of spirits for many hours. The natural consequence of such imprudence was, that on the day after she was indisposed, and on the Wednesday so desperately ill, that all the rites of the Roman-catholic church were administered to her: the official statements are still extant, and prove how completely mistaken those writers are who consider Jane Seymour as a Protestant. Equally mistaken are those who affirm that she died, either directly after the birth of Edward VI., or even two days afterwards: the fact is, she lived nearly a fortnight.

In a circular, which is the first instance of a royal bulletin, minute accounts are given of the queen's health; to which is added, "Her confessor hath been with her grace this morning, and hath done that which to his office appertaineth, and even now is about to administer to her grace the sacrament of unction. At Hampton-Court this Wednesday morning,[1] eight o'clock." Nevertheless, the queen amended, and was certainly alive on the 24th of October, as this letter, from sir John Russell to Cromwell, indubitably proves:—

"Sir,

"The king was determined, as this day, to have removed to Esher; and because the queen was very sick this night, and this day, he tarried; but to-morrow, God willing, he intendeth to be there. If she amend, he will go; but if she amend not, he told me, this day, 'he could not find it in his heart;' for, I assure you, she hath been in great danger yesternight and this day. Thanked be God, she is somewhat amended; and if she 'scape this night, the *fyshisiouns* be in good hope that she be past all danger.

"Hampton-Court, the 24th of October."

She did not live over the night; for the amendment mentioned was but the rally often occurring before death. "The departure of queen Jane was as heavy to the king as ever was heard tell of. Directly she expired, the king withdrew himself, as not to

[1] Supposed to be Oct. 17.—State-Papers, vol i. p. 572.

be spoken to by any one. He left Hampton-Court for Windsor, part of his council remaining to order her funeral."[1] In a despatch from the council to the ambassador of France, the death of the queen is clearly attributed to having been suffered to take cold and eat improper food.[2] This agrees perfectly with a statement in Leland's genealogy of prince Edward, published in 1543, and written nearly at the time of her death.

"On Thursday, October 25, she was embalmed; and wax-chandlers did their work about her. The next day, Friday 26th, was provided, in the chamber of presence, a hearse with twenty-four tapers, garnished with pensils and *other decencies*. Also, in the same chamber, was provided an altar for mass to be said, richly apparelled with black, garnished with the cross, images, censers, and other ornaments; and daily masses were said by her chaplains and others. This done, the corpse was reverently conveyed from the place where she died, under a hearse covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold, and a cross set thereupon; lights were burning night and day, with six torches and lights upon the altar all divine service time. All ladies were in mourning habits, with white kerchiefs over their heads and shoulders, kneeling about the hearse all service time in lamentable wise, at mass forenoon and at dirige after."[3] An English ballad is extant, which, dwelling on the elaborate mourning of queen Jane's ladies, informs the world, in a line of pure bathos,—

"In black were her ladies, and black were their fans."

A watch of these ladies, with the princess Mary at their head as chief mourner, was kept nightly in the queen's chamber round the royal corpse till the last day of October, when the bishop of Carlisle, her almoner, entering *in pontificalibus*, assisted by the sub-dean and the bishop of Chichester, performed all ceremonies, as censing with holy water, and attended the removal of the coffin, with great state and solemnity, to Hampton-Court chapel. Here the ceremonies were renewed, day by day, till November 12th, when the queen's funeral procession set out from Hampton to Windsor for interment in St. George's chapel, which was done with all the pomp and

[1] Herald's Journal, Cottonian MSS. [2] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 573.
[3] Herald's Journal, MSS. Cottonian, Nero, c. x.

majesty possible. The corpse of Jane Seymour was put on a car of state, covered with a rich pall, and over it was placed her wax statue, exactly representing her in her robes of state, the hair flowing on the shoulders; a crown of state on the head, a sceptre of gold in the right hand, the fingers covered with rings of precious stones, and the neck with ornaments with jewels; the shoes and hose of gold cloth. The head rested on a pillow of gold cloth and gems, and the car was drawn by six horses. The princess Mary paid all the duty of a daughter to her friendly step-mother, by attending as chief mourner.[1] In every instance the rites of the ancient church were performed. "I have caused," writes sir Richard Gresham, from the city, to Cromwell,[2] "1200 masses to be said for the soul of our most gracious queen. And whereas the lord mayor and aldermen were lately at Paul's, and there gave thanks unto God for the birth of our prince my lord, I do think it convenient that there should also be at Paul's a solemn dirge and mass, and that the mayor and aldermen should pray and offer for her grace's soul."

Jane was interred in the midst of the choir at St. George's chapel: an epitaph was composed for her, comparing her, in death, to the phœnix, from whose death another phœnix, Edward VI., took existence. Bishop Godwin affirms that these lines were engraved on the stone which covered the place of interment:—

"Phœnix Jana jacet nato phœnice; dolendum,
Sæcula phœnices nulla tulisse duos."

'Here a phœnix lieth, whose death
To another phœnix gave breath:
It is to be lamented much,
The world at once ne'er knew two such.'

Two queens of Henry had been previously consigned to their last repose. Katharine of Arragon was buried as his brother's widow, and not as his wife. As to Anne Boleyn, her poor mangled corpse was not vouchsafed, as far as her unloving spouse was aware, the religious rites bestowed on the remains of the most wretched mendicant who expires on the highway

[1] Lodge's biographies. It is likewise evident from her privy-purse expenses.
[2] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 574.

of our Christian land. Jane Seymour was the first spouse, out of three, whom he owned at her death as his wedded wife.

Henry VIII. wrote an exulting letter to Francis I. on the birth of his heir, at the end of which he acknowledges that the death of the mother had cost him some pain, yet his joy far exceeded his grief. His respect for the memory of his lost queen can be best appreciated by the circumstance of his wearing black for her loss, even at the Christmas festival, when the whole court likewise appeared in deep mourning.[1] As this worldly-minded king detested the sight of black, or any thing that reminded him of death, so entirely that he was ready to assault violently persons who came to court in mourning for their friends, the extent of his self-sacrifice may be imagined, for he did not change his widower's habiliments till Candlemas, (February 2). He had already been thrice married, yet it was the first time he had comported himself like a dutiful widower; and though he married thrice afterwards, he never wore mourning for a wife. The letters of condolence he received from his prelates and nobles, on the death of Jane, were numerous. An abstract from one shall serve as a specimen; it was addressed to him by Tunstall, bishop of Durham:—

"Please your highness to understand, that whereas of late it hath pleased God to take unto his mercy, out of this present life, the most blessed and virtuous lady, your grace's most dearest wife, the queen's grace, (whose soul God pardon,) news thereof, sorrowful to all men, came into these parts. Surely it cannot well be expressed how all men, of all degrees, did greatly lament and mourn the death of that noble lady and princess, taken out of this world by bringing forth of that noble fruit sprung of your majesty and her, to the great joy and inestimable comfort of all your subjects. Considering, withal, that this noble fruit, my lord prince, in his tender age entering in this world is, by her death, left a dear orphan, commencing thereby this miserable and mortal life not only by weeping and wailing, as the misery of mankind requireth, but also reft in the beginning of his life of his most dear mother, albeit to him, by tenderness of his age, it is not known what he hath lost, we have much more cause to mourn, seeing such a virtuous princess is so suddenly taken from us. And when Almighty God hath taken from your grace, to your great discomfort, a most blessed and virtuous lady, consider what he hath given to your highness, and to the *rejoice* of all us your subjects,—our most noble prince, to whom God hath ordained your majesty to be mother as well as father. God gave to your grace that noble lady, and God hath taken her away as pleased him."

The infant prince, whose birth cost Jane her life, was nursed at Havering-Bower. He inherited his mother's beauty, her

[1] Speed.

starry eyes and regular features. Margaret lady Bryan, who had faithfully superintended the childhood of Henry's two daughters, had now the care of their brother, Jane Seymour's motherless babe. Her descriptions of his infancy at Havering are pretty. In one she says[1] "that my lord prince's grace is in good health and merry; and his grace hath three teeth out, and the fourth appearing." She complains, however, "that the princely baby's best coat was only tinsel, and that he hath never a good jewel to set on his cap; howbeit, she would order all things for his honour as well as she could, so that the king (Henry VIII.) should be contented withal." The lord chancellor Audley visited him at Havering, in the summer of 1537, and has left another description of the royal nursling. Audley assures Cromwell that he never saw so goodly a child of his age, "so merry, so pleasant, so good and loving of countenance, and so earnest an eye, which, as it were, makes sage judgment of every one that approacheth his grace. And, as it seemeth to me, his grace well increaseth in the air that he is in. And albeit, as his grace decreaseth in flesh, yet he shooteth out in length, and waxeth firm and stiff, and can steadfastly stand, and would advance himself to move and go if they would suffer him; but, as me-seemeth, they yet do best, considering his grace is yet but tender, that he should not strain himself as his own courage would serve him, till he come to be above a year of age. I was right glad to understand there, that the king's majesty will have his grace removed from Havering now, against winter time; for surely it seemeth to me that the house be a cold house for winter, but for summer it is a good, and goodly air. I cannot comprehend nor describe the goodly, towardly qualities that are in my lord prince's grace."[2] Again, at Hunsdon, lady Bryan wishes Henry VIII. had seen "my lord prince's grace, for his grace was marvellous pleasantly disposed; the minstrels played, and his grace danced and played so wantonly, that he could not stand still, and was as full of pretty *toys* [sportiveness] as I ever saw child in my life."[3]

[1] State-Paper office; letter dated Havering-Bower.

[2] State-Papers, pp. 586, 587. [3] State-Paper, letter 1539.

It was but a few years afterwards that the little son of Jane Seymour took pen in hand, and wrote his own biography. It was very *naïve* and childlike; at the same time, he briefly mentions various matters of importance on which history is silent. "The year of our Lord 1537," commences the young literary king, "a prince was born to king Henry VIII. by Jane Seymour, then queen, who within a *few days*[1] of the birth of her son died, and was buried at Windsor. This child was christened by the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, and the archbishop of Canterbury.[2] Afterwards he was brought up, till he came to six years old, among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by master Dr. Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheke, master of arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of Scripture, philosophy, and all liberal sciences: also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language. The tenth year, not yet ended, it was appointed he should be created prince of Wales, &c.; at which time, being the year of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsy, as it was thought. After whose death incontinent came Edward earl of Hertford (queen Jane's brother) and sir Anthony Browne to convoy this prince to Enfield, where the earl of Hertford declared to him, and to his younger sister Elizabeth, the death of their father."

This pretty journal deteriorated as the years of the royal child advanced. Interested politicians bred mortal strife between his two maternal uncles, and in the year 1549 his journal records, in terms strangely devoid of human sympathy, the execution of his mother's younger brother, lord Thomas Seymour. The young king certainly loved lord Thomas; the question therefore naturally presents itself, whether the royal journal was not written under surveillance. The dreadful fact has lately been unveiled, that the childish testimony of Edward VI., wrung from him by the question-

[1] This journal of Edward VI. ought to have entirely dispelled the error that queen Jane died at his birth, or a few hours after. The original journal is among Cottonian MSS., Nero, c. x.

[2] By this it should seem Edward renounced his sister Mary as his godmother. Not only the Herald's Journal of the day mentions her as such, but the Venetian historian Baoardo, edited by Luca Cortile, 1558.

ing of the enemies of his mother's family, was used to facilitate the condemnation of his younger uncle, prosecuted by the elder.[1] Lady Seymour, the mother of queen Jane, died in 1550, a few months after the execution of her youngest son, with whom she had resided since the death of his wife, queen Katharine Parr. Whether the death of lady Seymour had been hastened by the splendid miseries in which the royal marriage of her daughter Jane had involved her family, can only be guessed. The journal of the king, her grandson, contains no memorial of her demise, although it notes the death of her relative lord Wentworth, and the circumstance of his leaving sixteen children.

At the time of these occurrences the duke of Somerset had been deprived of the protectorate, and was tottering to his fall; nevertheless, he proposed in the privy council that a public mourning should be ordered for his mother, as being the king's grandmother, requiring his majesty to wear his *doole* in order to testify his respect for the memory of queen Jane, "and the duty of love the child oweth to the parent." A curious discussion on court mournings followed in the council. The Dudley faction opposed Somerset's proposal by three objections,[2] strangely inconsistent in principle. The first was one of ultra-godliness, "because mourning, worn at all, serveth to induce a diffidence of a better life won to the departed, yea, was cause and scruple of faith unto the weak." The second pleaded, on the score of avarice, "against the impertinent charges bestowed upon black cloth, and other instruments of funeral pomp and *doole*," meaning by this expressive old English word, the whole appurtenances of "inky cloaks and solemn black." The third argument was in the spirit of utter worldliness, and was probably sincere enough, urging the downright dislike "that kings and courtiers have

[1] From the State-Paper office, by the researches of Mr. Tytler; also Haynes's State-Papers.

[2] From a MS. journal of the privy council of Edward VI., Harbin's Collection, now in the MS. library of sir T. Phillipps, bart., of Middle Hill, through whose favour the extract has been made. The three clauses of objection, though oddly blended in one dissertation, were, no doubt, the sentiments of three different privy councillors.

to look on any thing reminding them of death; for the late king Henry, our sovereign lord, ofttimes would not only dispense with all *doole*, but would be ready to pluck the black apparel from such men's backs as presumed to wear it in his presence, for a king being the life and heart of a commonwealth, such doleful tokens ought not to be seen in his presence. Nevertheless, his majesty king Edward should be consulted thereon." Young Edward, of course, returned an answer consistent with the views of those who had him in their custody, and forthwith dispensed, not only with his own mourning for his grandmother, but strictly forbade his uncle Somerset or his train to come to court in any such *doole*."

In a little more than a year after, Somerset perished on the scaffold, by a warrant signed by the hand of his royal nephew. All Protestants deeply lamented his death, as the real founder of their church of England. A heartless entry occurs in the young king's journal recording the execution of this uncle; yet it would be wrong to attribute blame to the royal boy, whose mind was, according to a contemporary,[1] torn with anguish at the ruin, thus completed, of his mother's family. Sir John Hayward declares, that the young king would often sigh and let fall tears when his uncles were mentioned. "Ah!" said he, "how unfortunate have I been to those of my blood! My mother I slew at my birth, and since have been the death of two of her brothers, haply to make way for the purposes of others against myself." Notwithstanding the severe penalty queen Jane and her two hapless brothers had paid for their connexion with the English throne, the ambition of the house of Seymour was untameable. Her nephew, the earl of Hertford, and his grandson, underwent great trouble because they would match with no mates but ladies of the blood-royal: they successively suffered long captivity in the Tower, when the one married lady Katharine Gray, the other lady Arabella Stuart.

[1] Sir John Hayward, in his contemporary History of Edward VI. Likewise the traditions of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, in a MS. of the late sir Charles Throckmorton, to which we shall have occasion to refer subsequently: sir Nicholas Throckmorton was in the household of Edward VI. Strype strives to invalidate the testimony of Hayward, but adduces no evidence against it.

Jane Seymour was undeniably the first woman espoused by Henry VIII. whose title, both as wife and queen, was neither disputed by himself nor his subjects. Whilst Katharine of Arragon lived, a great part of the people considered Anne Boleyn but as the shadow of a queen. Both Katharine and Anne were removed by death from rivalry. No doubts were ever raised to the legal rights of Jane as queen of England. It was owing to this circumstance, as well as the dignity she derived from being the sultana-mother of his heir, that Henry, in his last will, commanded that the bones of his "loving queen Jane" were to be placed in his tomb. He likewise left directions for a magnificent monument to their mutual memories, which he intended should be erected in the Windsor chapel. Both their statues were to be placed on the tomb: the effigy of Jane was to recline, not as in death, but as one sweetly sleeping; children were to sit at the corners of the tomb, having baskets of roses, white and red, made of fine oriental stones,—jasper, cornelian, and agate, "which they shall *show* to take in their hands, and cast them down on and over the tomb, and down on the pavement; and the roses they cast over the tomb shall be enamelled and gilt, and the roses they cast on the steps and pavement shall be formed of the said fine oriental stones, and some shall be inlaid on the pavement."[1] This beautiful idea was not realized; the monument was, indeed, commenced, but never finished, and the materials were either stolen or sold in the civil wars of the seventeenth century. The commands of the king were, however, obeyed regarding his interment, and his coffin was laid by Jane Seymour's side in the vaults of St. George's chapel. When George IV. searched the vaults for the body of Charles I. in 1813, queen Jane's coffin was discovered close to the gigantic skeleton of Henry VIII., which some previous accident had exposed to view.[2] As no historical fact could be

[1] Speed, from a curious MS. of the device of the tomb, lent him by the Lancaster herald.

[2] Evelyn says, that a parliamentary soldier had concealed himself for plunder in St. George's chapel, Windsor, during the burial of Charles I.; and, in an incredibly short time, stole a piece of Henry VIII.'s rich velvet pall, and was supposed to have done some further mischief.

ascertained by the disturbance of the queen's remains, George IV. would not suffer her coffin to be opened, and the vault where she lies, near the sovereign's side of the stalls of the Garter, was finally closed up.[1]

The bed in which Edward VI. was born and his mother died, was long shown to the public. Hentzner mentions seeing it in the latter end of queen Elizabeth's reign; but in recent years every fragment of the furniture of the ancient queenly apartments at Hampton-Court has disappeared, and what became of the bed it would be difficult to discover. The rooms seem to have been altered when the arch of the beautiful state-entrance from the great staircase was defaced and walled up,[2] a proceeding wholly unaccountable, without it was connected with an absurd story, still traditional as Hampton-Court gossip, concerning that mysterious angle of the palace. It is told, with suitable awe, "that ever as the anniversary of Edward VI.'s birth-night returns, the spectre of Jane Seymour is seen to ascend those stairs, clad in flowing white garments, with a lighted lamp in her hand." Is it possible that the archway leading to the 'silver-stick gallery' and queenly sleeping-rooms was filled up to impede the entrance of the shade of the queen?

[1] Sir Henry Halford, who examined the remains of Henry VIII. in his coffin, was astonished at the extraordinary size and power of his frame, which was well suited to his enormous arm-chair, said to be at Windsor. He resembled the colossal figure of his grandfather, Edward IV., who was six feet two inches in height, and possessed of tremendous strength.

[2] It has been lately discovered by Mr. Wilson of Hampton-Court, and beautifully restored under his care.

Anne of Cleves

ANNE OF CLEVES,

FOURTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

Henry the Eighth's difficulties in finding a fourth wife—Motives for choosing Anne of Cleves—Her birth and family—Want of accomplishments—Beauty exaggerated—Her virtues—Portrait by Hans Holbein—Marriage-treaty concluded—Anne called queen of England—Progress thither—Detained at Calais—Sails for England—King's incognito visit at Rochester—His disappointment—His New-year's gift—Reluctance to the marriage—Anne's public meeting with him—Her dress and person—Discontent of the king—Nuptials of Henry VIII. and Anne—Her costly dresses—Bridal pageants—Injurious conduct of the king—Agitates a divorce—Queen Anne sent to Richmond—Cranmer dissolves her marriage—Interview with privy council—She consents to divorce—King Henry visits her—Reports of Anne's restoration as queen—Scandals investigated by council—Life of retirement—Informed of the king's death—Friendship with his children—Death of her brother—Her letter to queen Mary—Her housekeeping—Death—Will—Funeral—Her tomb in Westminster-abbey—An impostor assumes her name.

If the name of this ill-treated princess has not always excited the sympathy to which her gentle virtues ought to have entitled her, it can only be attributed to the contempt which her coarse-minded consort expressed for her person. Henry VIII. had, as we have seen, disposed of three queens before he sought the hand of Anne of Cleves, and, though historians have said much of his devotion to the memory of Jane Seymour, she had not been dead a month ere he made a bold attempt to provide himself with another wife. Francis I., when Henry requested to be permitted to choose a lady of the royal blood of France for his queen, replied, "that there was not a damsel of any degree in his dominions who should not be at his disposal." Henry took this compliment so literally, that he required the French monarch to bring the fairest ladies of his court to Calais, for him to take his choice. The gallantry of Francis was shocked at such an idea, and he replied, "that it was impossible to bring ladies of noble blood to market, as horses were trotted out at a fair."

Chatillon, the French ambassador, gives Francis a lively account of the pertinacious manner in which Henry insisted on marrying the beautiful Marie of Lorraine, duchess-dowager of Longueville, who was the betrothed of his nephew, James V. of Scotland. "February 11, 1537. He is," says his excellency, "so in love with madame de Longueville, that he is always recurring to it. I have told him she is engaged to the king of Scotland, but he does not give credit to it. I asked him if he would marry the wife of another? and he said, 'He knew that she had not passed her word yet, and that he will do twice as much for you as the king of Scots can.' He says, 'Your daughter is too young; and as to mademoiselle Vendome, he will not take the refusings of that king.'"[1] Chatillon describes Henry as still harping on the fair Longueville some days after, but, at the same time, talking of four other marriages, in which he projected disposing of himself and his three children as follows: "himself to a daughter of Portugal, or the duchess of Milan; his son, then four months old, to the daughter of the emperor; the lady Mary to the infant of Portugal; and his youngest girl to the king of Hungary. In the succeeding month he again importuned for madame Longueville." The ambassador proposed her handsome sister, or mademoiselle Vendome: Henry demanded that "they should be brought to Calais for his inspection." Chatillon said "that would not be possible, but his majesty could send some one to look at them."—"Pardie!" replied Henry, "how can I depend upon any one but myself?"[2] He was also very desirous of hearing the ladies sing, and seeing how they looked while singing. "I must see them myself, and *see* them sing," he said. After alternately wheedling and bullying Chatillon for nearly a year on this subject,[3] Henry reluctantly resigned his sultan-like idea of choosing a bride from the beauties of the French court, and turned his attention elsewhere. But as it was universally reported that his three queens had all come by their deaths unfairly,—Katharine of Arragon by poison, Anne Boleyn by the axe, and Jane Seymour for want of proper care in childbed, he found himself so greatly at

[1] Dépêches de Chatillon; Bibliothèque du Roi. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

discount among such princesses as he deemed worthy of the honour of his hand, that, despairing of entering a fourth time into the wedded state, he concealed his mortification by assuming the airs of a disconsolate widower, and remained queenless and forlorn for upwards of two years.

Reasons of a political nature, combined with his earnest wish of obtaining a fair and gentle helpmate for his old age, induced him to lend an ear to Cromwell's flattering commendation of the princesses of the house of Cleves. The father of these ladies, John III., surnamed 'the Pacificator,' was duke of Cleves, count of Mark, and lord of Ravenstein. By his marriage with Marie, the heiress of William duke of Juliers, Berg, and Ravensburgh, he added those possessions to his patrimony when he succeeded to the dominions of his father, John the Clement, in 1521. Anne was the second daughter of this noble pair. She was born the 22nd of September, 1516, and was brought up a Lutheran, her father having established those doctrines in his dominions.[1] The device of Anne, as princess of Cleves, was two white swans, emblems of candour and innocence. They were derived from the fairy legend celebrated in the lays of the Rhine, her native river, of 'the knight of the swan,' her immediate ancestor, who came and departed so mysteriously to the heiress of Cleves in a boat, guided down the noble river by two white swans. From this legend the princely house of Cleves took the swans as supporters. Their family motto was CANDIDA NOSTRA FIDES,—'our faith is spotless.'

Anne's elder sister, Sybilla, was married in 1527 to John Frederick duke of Saxony, who became the head of the Protestant confederation in Germany, known in history by the term of 'the Smalcaldic league.' He was the champion of the Reformation, and for his invincible adherence to his principles, and his courage in adversity, was surnamed 'the lion-hearted Elector.' Sybilla was in every respect worthy of her illustrious consort; she was famed for her talents, virtues, and conjugal tenderness, as well as for her winning manners and great beauty, and was generally esteemed as one of the most

[1] Anderson's Genealogies; table cccxlvii. p. 586. L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, tom. iii. p. 165.

distinguished ladies of the era in which she lived. Cromwell must have calculated on the probability of the younger sisters of Sybilla resembling her in their general characteristics, when he recommended those ladies to the attention of his fastidious sovereign. Much, indeed, might the influence of a queen like Sybilla have done for the infant Reformation in England; but never were two ladies of the same parentage so dissimilar, as the beautiful and energetic electress of Saxony and her passive sister, Anne of Cleves. It was, however, mentioned as a peculiar recommendation for Anne and her younger sister, the lady Amelie, that they had both been educated by the same prudent and sensible mother who had formed the mind of Sybilla, and it was supposed their acquirements were of a solid kind, since accomplishments they had none, with the exception of needlework.[1]

Henry commissioned Hans Holbein to paint the portraits of both Anne and Amelie for his consideration; but though he determined to take his choice, Cromwell's agents at the courts of Cleves and Saxony had predisposed him in favour of Anne, by the reports they had written of her charms and amiable qualities. Christopher Mount, who was employed to negotiate the treaty of alliance with the duke of Cleves, must have thought highly of Anne's personal attractions, since he was urgent with the duke to employ his own painter to execute her portrait for Henry's inspection. The duke, it seems, knew better; but here is what Cromwell states, in his letter to the king, to be Christopher Mount's report on the subject:—"The said Christopher instantly sueth every day that the picture may be sent. Whereunto the duke answered, that he should find some occasion to send it, but that his painter, Lucas, was left sick behind him at home.' Every man praiseth the beauty of the said lady, as well for her face as for her person, above all other ladies excellent. One among others said to them of late, that she as far excelleth the duchess of Saxony, as the golden sun excelleth the silver moon. Every man praiseth the good virtues, and honesty with shamefacedness, which plainly appeareth in the gravity

[1] Ellis, Royal Letters.

[serenity] of her countenance."[1] The noble mind of John Frederick of Saxony revolted at the proposal of linking his amiable sister-in-law to a prince so notoriously deficient in conjugal virtue as Henry VIII.; Christopher Mount, however, assured him "that the cause of Protestantism in Europe would be greatly advanced by the influence of a Lutheran queen of England, for Henry was so uxorious, that the best way of managing him was through his wives." The other princes of the Smalcaldic league looked only to political expediency, and the conscientious scruples of the heroic Saxon were disregarded.

The death of the duke of Cleves, Anne's father, which occurred February 6th, 1539,[2] occasioned a temporary delay in an early stage of the proceedings; but her mother, as well as her brother duke William, (who succeeded to the duchy,) were eager to secure so powerful an ally to the Protestant cause as the king of England, and to see Anne elevated to the rank of a queen. According to Burnet, Dr. Barnes was the most active agent employed by Cromwell in the negotiations for the matrimonial treaty, and was never forgiven by Henry for the pains he took in concluding the alliance. Henry's commissioner for the marriage, Nicholas Wotton, gives his sovereign the following particulars of Anne of Cleves. After stating the assurance of the council of the duke her brother, that she is not bounden by any contract made by her father to the duke of Lorraine, but perfectly free to marry where she will, he says,—

"As for the education of my said ladye, she hath from her childhood been like as the ladye Sybille was till she married, and the ladye Amelye hath been and now is, brought up with the lady duchess her mother, and in manner never from her elbow,—the lady duchess being a very wise lady, and one that very straitly looketh to her children. All the gentlemen of the court, and other that I have asked, report her to be of very lowly and gentle conditions, by which she hath so much won her mother's favour, that she is very loath to suffer her to depart from her. She occupieth her time much with the needle. She can read and write her own [language], but French and Latin, or other language she knoweth not, nor yet can sing or play on any instrument; for they take it here in Germany for a rebuke and an occasion of lightness, that great ladies should be learned, or have any knowledge of musick. Her wit is so good, that no doubt she will in a short space learn the English tongue, whenever she putteth her mind to it. I could never hear that she is inclined to the good cheer of this country; and marvel it were if she should, seeing that her brother, in whom it were somewhat more tolerable, doth so well abstain from it. Your grace's servant, Hans Holbein, hath

[1] State-Papers, 606. [2] L'Art de Vérifier les Dates.

taken the effigies of my ladye Anne and the ladye Amelye, and hath expressed their images very lively."

(This letter is dated at Duren, the 11th of August, 1539.)[1]

The grave manner in which the matrimonial commissioner reports the favourable replies to his secret inquiries as to the gentle and amiable temper of the princess, and above all her sobriety, is sufficiently amusing.

The choice of a queen for Henry had been the grand desideratum for which Catholics and Protestants had contended ever since the death of Jane Seymour. Cromwell, in matching his sovereign with the sister-in-law of Frederick of Saxony, appeared to have gained a mighty victory over Gardiner, Norfolk, and his other rivals in Henry's privy council. The magic pencil of Hans Holbein was the instrument by which Cromwell, for his own confusion, achieved this great political triumph. Marillac, the French ambassador, in his despatches to the king his master, notices the receipt of this portrait on the 1st of September. He says, "King Henry had sent a painter, who is very excellent in his art, to Germany, to take a portrait to the life of the sister of the duke of Cleves; to-day it arrived, and shortly after a courier with tidings to the said king, which are as yet secret, but the ambassadors on the part of the duke are come to treat with the king about this lady."[2] The miniature executed by Holbein was exquisite as a work of art, and the box in which it came over "worthy the jewel it contained:" it was in the form of a white rose, delicately carved in ivory, which unscrewed, and showed the miniature at the bottom. This miniature with the box itself was, when Horace Walpole wrote,[3] still to be seen in perfect preservation in the cabinet of Mr. Barrett of Lee. The engraving which illustrates this biography is from a drawing made by Mr. Harding from this curious original. The colours are faded by the operation of time, but the features are regular, although the costume, a stiff German imitation of the prevalent mode, is unbecoming. The five-cornered hood of Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour has been modified into a heavy coif of white lawn or lace. The shoulders are deformed by hard triangular epaulettes, the waist is short, and the elbows loaded by drapery without

[1] MS. Cotton., Vitel., B xxi. fol. 186.

[2] Despatches of Marillac, in the Royal Library at Paris. [3] Anecdotes of Painters.

form or taste. The face of the young lady, however, appeared sufficiently lovely to decide Henry on accepting her, and the negotiation was completed at Windsor early in the same month in which arrived Holbein's flattering portrait. The contract of marriage was signed at Dusseldorf, September the 4th, 1539.[1] The chancellor of the duke of Cleves was the plenipotentiary on the part of the lady's brother, and as soon as the preliminaries were arranged, great preparations were made in anticipation of her coming.[2] Though the leaders of the Catholic party were greatly averse to Henry's marriage with a Lutheran princess, the idea of a Flemish queen was agreeable to the people in general, for the illustrious Philippa of Hainault, the best and greatest of all the queens-consort of England, was still remembered. Marillac[3] gave his sovereign the following little sketch of what was going on in England at this crisis: "On the 5th of November, the king told his lords 'that he expected the arrival of his spouse in about twenty days, and that he proposed to go to Canterbury to receive her.' His admiral, with a great company of lords, departed on the first of the month for Calais, whither she ought to be conducted by those of the household of her brother, the duke of Cleves, to the number of 400 horsemen, who have had the safe-conduct of the emperor for this purpose for some days. From Calais she will cross to Dover, where she will land in this realm, and several of the lords of the king's council will be there to receive her and to conduct her to Canterbury, where the king will meet her, and the marriage will be completed there. Then she will be carried to London, where she will be crowned in the month of February. November 14th.—The king has left this city for Hampton-Court, where he will remain till certain news arrive of the arrival of the lady. Last day of November.—The courier, who had been sent to Cleves to learn the time of the new queen's departure, has arrived two days ago, and brings letters stating that on

[1] MSS. Cotton., Vespasian, F 5104. [2] Excerpta Historica.

[3] Marillac was ambassador from France to England in the years 1539 and 1540; and the letters from whence these extracts are selected were written to Francis I., and to the constable *Anne* de Montmorenci, preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, No. 8481. Marillac was afterwards bishop of Vienne, and minister of state in his own country, under both Francis I. and Henry II.

the eighth of next month the said lady will be at Calais, where the duke of Suffolk, the admiral, and many other lords of this court, will go to receive her. The duke of Norfolk and the lord Cromwell will follow in a little time, to attend her at Canterbury." Our diplomatic gossip then informs his court that all Henry's ministers will receive the royal bride, and conduct her to their lord at a place about two miles from '*Greenwigs*,'[1] (Marillac's way of spelling Greenwich), "and in this palace of Greenwigs," pursues he, "they will complete the marriage, and keep the Christmas festivals. On the first day of the year they will make their entrance into the city of London, and thence conduct her to the king's royal house at *Valse-maistre*, [Westminster,] where (on the day of Our Lady of Candlemas) she will be crowned." At length all matters of state policy and royal ceremonials were arranged, and the bride-elect bade a long, and, as it proved, a last farewell to her mother, her brother and sisters, by all of whom she was tenderly beloved. She quitted her native city of Dusseldorf the first week in October 1539, and, attended by a splendid train and escort, left the pleasant banks of the Rhine for the stranger-land of which she was now styled the queen.

Among the unpublished records in the State-Paper office, there is a curious programme of the journey of the lady Anne of Cleves from Dusseldorf to Calais, by which we learn that her first day's journey was from Dusseldorf to Berg, about twenty English miles; the next from Berg to Cleve, the same distance; from Cleve to Ravenstein; from thence to Bertingburg, and so through Tilburgh and Hoggenstrete to Antwerp. At Antwerp "many English merchants met her grace four miles without the town," says our MS., "in fifty velvet coats and chains of gold; and at her entering into Antwerp she was received with twice fourscore torches, beginning in the daylight, and so brought her to her English lodging, where she was honourably received, and they kept open household one day for her and her train." The next day the English merchants brought her on her way to Stetkyn, and gave her a gift, and so departed. She then proceeded, at the same rate of twenty miles a-day, through Tokyn, Bruges, Oldenburgh, Nieu-

[1] This place, two miles from Greenwich, was probably Eltham-palace.

port, and Dunkirk, to Gravelines, where the captain received her honourably, and gave her 'a shot of guns.' The next day, being the 11th of December, she arrived in the English pale at Calais between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, so that she and her ladies must have quitted their pillows and commenced their journey long before it was light.

She was received on the frontier by the lord Lisle, deputy of Calais, the lieutenant of the castle the knight porter, and the marshal of Calais; sir George Carew, captain of Rosbank, with the captain of the spears and the cavalry belonging to the garrison, all freshly and gallantly appointed for the occasion, and the men-at-arms with them in velvet coats and chains of gold, with all the king's archers; and so was she brought towards Calais, one of the king's gentlemen-at-arms riding with one of those belonging to the queen. About a mile from the town she was met by the earl of Southampton, lord admiral of England, the lord William Howard, and many other lords and gentlemen. Gregory Cromwell (the brother-in-law of the late queen Jane Seymour) headed twenty-four gentlemen in coats of satin-damask and velvet, besides the aforesaid lords, who wore four colours of cloth of gold and purple velvet, with chains of gold of great value, and two hundred yeomen in the king's colours, red and blue cloth.[1] Among the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber, Thomas Culpepper, who was afterwards beheaded for a suspected intrigue with Henry's fifth queen, Katharine Howard, is named in this contemporary document. It is curious that in the train by whom Anne of Cleves was received at Calais, there were kinsmen of five out of the six queens of Henry VIII.

"The earl of Southampton, as the lord admiral of England, was dressed in a coat of purple velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and tied with great aiglettes and trefoils of gold to the number of four hundred; and *baldrick-wise* he wore a chain, at which hung a whistle of gold, set with rich stones of great value.[2] In this company were thirty gentlemen of the king's

[1] State-Paper MS., 31st Henry VIII.

[2] This was was the insignia of his office. It will be remembered, that the valiant sir Edward Howard, when lord admiral of England, in his last engagement threw his whistle into the sea.

household, very richly apparelled, with great and massy chains; sir Francis Bryan and sir Thomas Seymour's chains were of especial value and *straunge* fashion. The lord admiral had also a number of gentlemen in blue velvet and crimson satin, and his yeomen in damask of the same colours. The mariners of his ship wore satin of Bruges. The lord admiral with a low obeisance welcomed the royal bride, and brought her into Calais by the lantern-gate, where the ships lay in the haven garnished with their banners, pensils, and flags, pleasant to behold; and at her entry was shot such a peal of guns, that all her retinue were astonished." The town of Calais echoed the royal salute with a peal of ordnance along the coast. "When she entered the lantern-gate, she staid to view the king's ships called the Lyon and the Sweepstakes, which were decked with one hundred banners of silk and gold, wherein were two master-gunners, mariners, and thirty-one trumpets, and a double drum, that was never seen in England before; and so her grace entered into Calais, at whose entering there was 150 rounds of ordnance let out of the said ships, which made such a smoke, that not one of her train could see the other. The soldiers in the king's livery of the retinue of Calais, the mayor of Calais with his brethren, with the commons of Calais, the merchants of the king's staple, stood in order, forming a line through which she passed to her lodgings; and so the mayor and his brethren came to her lodging, and gave her fifty sovereigns of gold, and the mayor of the staple gave her sixty sovereigns of gold;[1] and on the morrow after, she had a cannon shot, jousting, and all other royalty that could be devised in the king's garrison-royal, and kept open household there during the time that she did there remain, which was twenty days, and had daily the best pastimes that could be devised."

As the king had been a widower nearly three years, the anticipation of a new queen excited a great sensation in the court, and all the place-hunters were on the alert to obtain preferment, either for themselves or their relations, in the household

[1] MS. Journey of the lady Anne of Cleves, in State-Paper office. Hall says that the merchants of the staple presented her with one hundred marks of gold, in a rich purse, which she gratefully accepted.

of the royal bride. Anne Basset, daughter of the viscountess Lisle, having been maid of honour to queen Jane Seymour, writes to her mother in high spirits, being certain of retaining her post when the new queen should arrive. "Howbeit," she says, "I trust to God that we shall have a mistress shortly; and then I trust I shall see you here when she comes over, which I hope to God will not be long." Lady Lisle was very desirous to obtain a similar appointment for her daughter Katharine, and not content with moving her influential friends at court with letters and presents to further her suit, she endeavoured to propitiate bluff king Hal himself by an offering of sweetmeats. This gift consisted of quince-marmalade and damson-cheese, (better suited, one would think, to the tastes of his baby boy of three years old,) was presented by the fair hand of the graceful maid of honour Anne Basset, and proved so acceptable to the royal epicure, that he craved for more,—ay, and that soon. The young lady says,—

"MADAM,

"The king doth so well like the conserves you sent him last, that his grace commanded me to write unto you for more of the codiniac [quince-marmalade] of the clearest making, and of the conserve of damascenes; and this as soon as may be."[1]

This letter is dated from York-place, (afterwards Whitehall,) where the court was then sojourning, the Monday before Christmas-day, the very time when lady Lisle, as the wife of the constable of Calais,[2] was doing the honours of the government house to the royal bride elect, and therefore enjoyed an excellent opportunity of recommending her daughters personally to their future queen. Anne, having rashly filled every appointment in her household, save those offices which the king had imperatively reserved for the great ladies of the court, his nieces and near relations, with her own countrywomen, of whom she was bringing a numerous and unwelcome importation, could not appoint any new English maids of honour at that juncture. Notwithstanding this unpopular arrangement, her deportment

[1] Wood's Letters, from the Lisle Papers in the State-Paper office.

[2] Arthur Plantagenet, viscount Lisle, was an illegitimate brother of king Henry's grandmother, Elizabeth of York, being the natural son of Edward IV. by lady Elizabeth Lucy. The Bassets were his lady's numerous and needy family by her first husband.

was such as to give general satisfaction to the English who waited upon her during her protracted stay at Calais. That lady Lisle herself had made a very pleasant report of Anne's manners and disposition to her daughter Anne Basset, is apparent from the following comment in the young lady's reply:

"I humbly thank your ladyship of the news you write me of her grace, that she is so good and gentle to serve and please. It shall be no little rejoicement to us her grace's servants here that shall attend daily upon her, and most comfort to the king's majesty, whose highness is not a little desirous to have her grace here."[1]

Henry beguiled the days of suspense while impatiently awaiting the advent of his long-expected bride, by the executions of the venerable abbot of Glastonbury, the abbot of Tendring, and two others,[2]—an ominous preparation for the reception of a consort, whose religious opinions differed so materially from his own. Anne was detained by the perversity of winds and waves so long, that she kept her Christmas festival perforce at Calais. On the 27th, being St. John's-day, the weather changed: about noon she embarked with her train, and, attended by a royal convoy of fifty ships, sailed with a prosperous wind, and had so quick a passage, that she landed at Deal the same day at five o'clock. She was honourably received by sir Thomas Cheyney, lord warden of the port, and proceeded immediately to a castle newly built, supposed to be Walmer-castle, where she changed her dress, and remained till the duke and duchess of Suffolk and the bishop of Chichester, with a great company of knights, esquires, and the flower of the ladies of Kent, came to welcome her to England; by them she was conducted to Dover-castle, and there she rested till the Monday,[3] which was a wintry and inclement day. But notwithstanding the storm that raged abroad, she obeyed the instructions that had been issued for the manner and order of her journey, and commenced her progress to Canterbury. On Barham-downs she was met by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, St. David's, and Dover, and a great company of gentlemen, who attended her to St. Augustine's without Canterbury, where she lodged that night, and on the 30th she came to Sitting-

[1] Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies.

[2] Marillac's Despatches. Lingard. [3] Hall, p. 833.

bourne, where she slept. The next day, which was New-year's even, the duke of Norfolk, the lord Dacre of the south, the lord Mountjoy, and a great company of knights and esquires of Norfolk and Suffolk, with the barons of the Exchequer, all clad in coats of velvet, with chains of gold, met her at Reynham, and having made their *devoir*, conducted her to Rochester, where she remained in the bishop's palace all New-year's day.[1]

Henry, who "sore desired to see her grace," told Cromwell "that he intended to visit her privily on the morrow, to nourish love."[2] Accordingly, he, with eight gentlemen of his privy-chamber, all dressed alike in coats of marble-colour, (some sort of grey,) rode to Rochester *incognito*, expecting, no doubt, that his highly praised German bride would rival both the bright-eyed Boleyn and the fair Seymour, and fondly thought to commence a year of love and joy by stealing a look at her beauty. On his arrival, he despatched sir Anthony Browne, his master of the horse, to inform Anne that "he had brought her a New-year's gift, if she would please to receive it." The knight afterwards declared, "that he was struck with consternation when he was shown the queen, and was never so much dismayed in his life as to see a lady so far unlike what had been represented."[3] He had, however, the discretion to conceal his impression, well knowing how greatly opinions vary as to beauty, and left the king to judge for himself. When Henry, whose impatience could no longer be restrained, entered the presence of his betrothed, a glance sufficed to destroy the enchantment which Holbein's pencil had created: the goods were not equal to pattern, and he considered himself an injured man. He recoiled in bitter disappointment, and lord Russell, who was present, testified "that he never saw his highness so marvellously astonished and abashed as on that occasion."[4]

It is possible, that Anne was not a whit more charmed with Henry's appearance and deportment than he was with hers, especially as the burly tyrant was not in the most gracious of moods. But, although somewhat taken by surprise at the

[1] Hall, p. 833. [2] Cromwell's letter.—See Burnet, vol. i. p. 182.
[3] Strype. Tytler. Losely MS. [4] Tytler. Lingard. Losely MS.

abrupt entrance of the formidable spouse to whom she had been consigned by the will of her country, she sank upon her knees at his approach, and did her best to offer him a loving greeting.[1] Evilly as Henry was disposed towards the luckless princess, he was touched with the meekness and deep humility of her behaviour. He did violence to his feelings so far as to raise her up with some show of civility. Hall says, "He welcomed her with gracious words, and gently took her up, and kissed her." The same chronicler adds, "that the king remained with her all the afternoon, communing and devising with her, and supped with her in the evening." From the evidences in Strype's Memorials, we learn that the interview only lasted a few minutes, and that scarcely twenty words were exchanged. Anne's mother-tongue, the German of the Rhine, familiarly called "high Dutch," was so displeasing to Henry's musical ears, that he would not make any attempts to converse with her by means of an interpreter; yet he was previously aware that "his wife could speak no English, he no Dutch." The moment he quitted her presence, he sent for the lords who had brought her over, and indignantly addressed the following queries to the lord admiral: "How like you this woman? Do you think her so personable, fair, and beautiful as report hath been made unto me? I pray you tell me true." The admiral evasively rejoined, "I take her not for *fair*, but to be of a *brown* complexion."—"Alas!" said the king, "whom shall men trust? I promise you I see no such thing as hath been shown me of her by pictures or report. I am ashamed that men have praised her as they have done, and I love her not."[2]

The New-year's gift which he had provided for Anne, was a partlet of sable skins to wear about her neck, and a *muffly* furred; that is to say, a muff and tippet of rich sables.[3] This he had intended to present with his own hand to her, but not considering her handsome enough to be entitled to such an

[1] This memorable interview is thus noticed in the contemporary record of queen Anne's journey: "On the New-year's day her grace tarried at Rochester, on which day the king's highness, only with certain of his privy-chamber, came to her and banqueted with her, and after departed to Greenwich again."—Unpublished MSS. in State-Paper office.

[2] Stowe's Annals, by Howes, p. 834. [3] Strype. Lingard. Losely MS.

honour, he sent it to her the following morning by sir Anthony Browne, with as cold a message as might be.[1] He made bitter complaints of his hard fate to lord Russell, sir Anthony Browne, and sir Anthony Denny.[2] The latter gentleman told his sovereign, "that persons of humble station had this great advantage over princes; that they might go and choose their own wives, while great princes must take such as were brought them." This observation afforded no consolation to the dainty monarch, who had been so pertinaciously desirous of seeing with his own eyes the beauties of France who were proposed to his consideration. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy, and when he saw Cromwell, gave vent to a torrent of vituperation against those who had provided him with so unsuitable a consort, whom, with his characteristic brutality, he likened to a "great Flanders mare." Cromwell endeavoured to shift the blame from himself to the admiral, Fitzwilliam earl of Southampton, for whom he had no great kindness, by saying, "that when that nobleman found the princess so different from the pictures and reports which had been made of her, he ought to have detained her at Calais till he had given the king notice that she was not so handsome as had been represented." The admiral replied bluntly, "that he was not invested with any such authority: his commission was to bring her to England, and he had obeyed his orders." Cromwell retorted upon him, "that he had spoken in his letters of the lady's beauty in terms of commendation, which had misled his highness and his council." The admiral, however, represented, "that as the princess was generally reported for a beauty, he had only repeated the opinions of others; for which no one ought reasonably to blame him, especially as he supposed she would be his queen."[3]

This very original altercation was interrupted by the peremptory demand of the king, "that some means should be found for preventing the necessity of his completing his engagement." A council was summoned in all haste, at which the precontract of the lady with Francis of Lorraine was objected

[1] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 307.
[2] Herbert. Burnet. Rapin. Guthrie.
[3] Burnet's Hist. Reformation, vol. i. p. 260. Guthrie.

by Henry's ministers as a legal impediment to her union with the king.[1] Anne, who had advanced as far as Dartford, (with a heavy heart no doubt,) was delayed in her progress, while Osliger and Hostoden, her brother's ambassadors, by whom she had been attended to England, were summoned to produce documentary evidence that the contract was dissolved. They had no legal proofs to show, but declared that the engagement between the lady Anne of Cleves and the marquess of Lorraine had been merely a conditional agreement between the parents of the parties when both in their minority; and that in the year 1535 it had been formally annulled. This they said was registered in the chancery of Cleves, from which they promised to produce an authentic extract within three months.[2] Such of the council as were willing to humour the king in his wish of being released from his engagement to Anne, replied, "that this was not enough, as an illegal marriage might endanger the succession:" but Cranmer and the bishop of Durham were of opinion that no just impediment to the marriage existed.[3] Cromwell also represented to the king the impolicy of embroiling himself with the princes of the Smalcaldic league in such forcible terms, that Henry at length passionately exclaimed, "Is there, then, no remedy, but that I must needs put my neck into the yoke?"[4] Having, in these gracious words, signified his intention of proceeding to the solemnization of his nuptials with the insulted lady, who awaited the notification of his pleasure at Dartford, he ordered the most splendid preparations to be made for his marriage.

"Wednesday last," says Marillac,[5] "it was notified by a horseman, who made a public outcry in London, that all who loved their lord the king should proceed to *Greenwigs* on the morrow, to meet and make their *devoir* to my lady Anne of Cleves, who would shortly be their queen." If the sight-loving mania of the good people of London in the days of that king of pageants and processions, Henry VIII., any way resembled what it is now, we may imagine the alacrity with which the royal requisition was obeyed by the thousands

[1] Burnet. Rapin. Strype. Guthrie. Lingard. [2] Ibid.
[3] Burnet. [4] Lingard. Herbert. Losely MSS.
[5] Dépêches de Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.

and tens of thousands who poured in an eager animated stream towards the courtly bowers of Greenwich, which had been prepared for the reception of Henry's fourth bride. Marillac records, that "He and the ambassador of the emperor were both invited to attend, in order to render the ceremonial the more honourable; and when they arrived at Greenwich, they found five or six thousand horsemen assembled to form the procession, among whom, for so the king had directed, there was a marvellous silence, without either noise or confusion."

Hall gives the following gorgeous details of the first public state-interview between Henry and his Flemish bride. "On the 3rd day of January, being Saturday, on the fair plain of Blackheath, at the foot of Shooter's-Hill, was pitched a rich tent of cloth of gold, and divers other tents and pavilions, in which were made fires, with perfumes, for her grace and her ladies," an arrangement which the coldness of the season and the bleak situation of the station rendered necessary. "From the tents to the park gate at Greenwich all the furze and bushes were cut down, and an ample space cleared for the view of all spectators. Next the park pales, on the east side stood the merchants of the Steel-yard, and on the west side stood the merchants of Genoa, Florence, Venice, and Spain, in coats of velvet. On both sides the way stood the merchants of the city of London, and the aldermen and council of the said city, to the number of one hundred and sixty, which were mixed with the esquires. Next the tents were knights, and fifty gentlemen pensioners in velvet, with chains of gold; behind the gentlemen stood the serving men, well horsed and apparelled, that whosoever viewed them well might say that they, for tall and comely personages, and clean of limb and body, were able to give the greatest prince in Christendom a mortal breakfast, if he were the king's enemy. The gentlemen pertaining to the lord chancellor, lord privy-seal, lord admiral, and other nobles, beside their costly liveries, wore chains of gold. These, to the number of upwards of twelve hundred, were ranged in a double file from the park gates to the cross upon the heath, and there awaited

the return of the king with her grace. About twelve o'clock her grace, with all the company that were of her own nation, to the number of one hundred horse, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the archbishop of Canterbury, with the other bishops, lords, and knights who had conducted her from France, came down from Shooter's-Hill towards the tents, and a good space from the tents she was met by the earl of Rutland, her lord chamberlain, sir Thomas Denny, her chancellor, with all her other officers of state and councillors." Then Dr. Kaye, her almoner, presented to her, on the king's behalf, all the officers and servants of her household, and addressed her in an eloquent Latin oration, of which the unlearned princess understood not a word; but it was answered with all due solemnity in her name by her brother's secretary, who acted as her interpreter. "Then the king's nieces, the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the queen of Scots, and the marchioness of Dorset,[1] daughter to the queen of France, with the duchess of Richmond,[2] and the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other ladies, to the number of sixty-five, saluted and welcomed her grace." Anne alighted from the chariot in which she had performed her long journey, and with most goodly manner and loving countenance returned thanks, and kissed them all; her officers and councillors kissed her hand, after which she, with all the ladies, entered the tents and warmed themselves.[3]

Marillac, who made one of the royal cavalcade, says, "The king met them all at the foot of the mountain, [meaning Shooter's-Hill,] attended by five or six thousand horsemen, partly of his household, and partly of the gentlemen of the country, besides those summoned from the city of London, who always assist at these English triumphs, wearing massy chains of gold." The ambassador does not give a flattering description of Anne, who, probably from the coldness of the day, and the painful frame of mind in which she must have been thrown by Henry's demurs, did not appear to advantage. "From what one may judge," he says, "she is about thirty

[1] Frances Brandon, mother of lady Jane Gray.

[2] Widow of Henry's illegitimate son. [3] Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 834.

years old, [she was but twenty-four]. She is tall of stature, pitted with the small-pox, and has little beauty. Her countenance is firm and determined."[1] The circumstance of her being marked with the small-pox explains the mystery of why Holbein's portrait pleased the king so much better than the original. No artist copies the cruel traces of that malady in a lady's face; therefore the picture was flattered, even if the features were faithfully delineated. "The said lady," proceeds Marillac, "has brought with her from her brother's country, for her companions, twelve or fifteen damsels,[2] who are even inferior in beauty to their mistress, and are, moreover, dressed after a fashion so heavy and tasteless, that it would make them appear frightful, even if they were *belles*." Anne being also dressed after the mode of her own country, which, from the evidence of her portrait, was tasteless as the costume of her maids of honour, the whole party must have appeared somewhat outlandish. A Frenchman, however, is always hypercritical on such points. How much opinions differ on matters of the kind our readers will presently see from the glowing details which Anne's staunch admirer, Hall, has given of her dress and appearance on this occasion. "When the king knew that she was arrived in her tent, he with all diligence set out through the park. First came the king's trumpeter, then the king's officers of his council; after them the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber, some apparelled in coats of velvet embroidered, others had their coats guarded with chains of gold, very rich to behold; these were well mounted and trapped. After them came the barons, the youngest first; and so sir William Hollys, the lord mayor, rode with the lord Parr,[3] being youngest baron. Then followed the bishops, apparelled in black satin; after them the earls; then duke Philip of Bavaria, count palatine of the Rhine, (who was the suitor of

[1] Marillac's Despatches.

[2] The names of the principal persons of distinction by whom Anne of Cleves was attended from her own country to England, together with a few other particulars of ceremonial preparatory to her arrival, may be seen in a curious document in the Harleian and Cottonian MSS., entitled "Reception of the Lady Anna of Cleves at Calais," edited by John Gough Nichols, esq., F.S.A. Printed with the Chronicle of Calais by the Camden Society.

[3] Katharine Parr's uncle.

the princess Mary,) richly apparelled, with the livery of the Toison or Golden Fleece about his neck; then the ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France, the lord chancellor, with the other great state-officers, and Garter king-at-arms. These lords, were, for the most part, arrayed in purple velvet, and the marquess of Dorset, in the same livery, bore the king's sword of state. After him, but at a good distance, came the king, mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in rich cloth of gold, traversed all over, lattice-wise, with gold embroidery, pearled on every side of the embroidery: the buckles and pendants were all of fine gold.[1] The king was apparelled in a coat of purple velvet, made somewhat like a frock, all over embroidered with flat gold of damask, with small lace mixed between, traverse-wise, so that little of the ground appeared: about which garment was a rich guard, very curiously embroidered. The sleeves and breast were cut and lined with cloth of gold, and clasped with great buttons of diamonds, rubies, and orient pearls; his sword and girdle adorned with stones and *special* emeralds, his cap garnished with stones, but his bonnet was so rich of jewels, that few men could value them." The royal bridegroom must certainly have intended to rival the king of diamonds in this gorgeous display. "Beside all this," continues Hall, whose loyal raptures increase with every additional jewel which he records as decorating bluff king Hal,—"beside all this, he wore a collar of such balas-rubies, and pearl, that few men ever saw the like; and about his person ran ten footmen, richly apparelled in goldsmiths' work. And notwithstanding that this rich apparel and precious jewels were pleasant to the nobles and all present to behold, yet his princely countenance, his goodly personage and royal gesture, so far exceeded all other creatures present, that, in comparison of his person, all his rich apparel was little esteemed. After him followed his lord chamberlain; then came sir Anthony Browne, master of his horse, a goodly gentleman of comely personage, well mounted and richly apparelled, leading the king's horse of estate by a long rein of gold, which horse was trapped in manner like a barb, with

[1] Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 834.

crimson velvet and satin, all over embroidered with gold after an antique fashion, very curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honour, in coats of rich tinsel and crimson velvet paled, riding on great coursers, all trapped in crimson velvet embroidered with new devices and knots of gold, which were both pleasant and comely to behold. Then followed sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard; then the guard, well mounted and in rich coats. In this order the king rode to the last end of the rank, where the spears and pensioners stood, and there every person that came with the king placed himself on one side or the other, the king standing in the midst.

"When her grace was advertised of the king's coming, she issued out of her tent, being apparelled in a rich gown of cloth of gold raised, made round, without any train, after the Dutch fashion; and on her head a caul, and over that a round bonnet or cap, set full of orient pearl, of very proper fashion; and before that, she had a cornet of black velvet, and about her neck she had a partlet set full of rich stone, which glistened all the field. At the door of the tent she mounted on a fair horse, richly trapped with goldsmiths' work; and so were her footmen, who surrounded her, with the 'black lion'[1] embroidered, and on the shoulder a carbuncle set in gold; and so she marched towards the king, who, perceiving her approach, came forward somewhat beyond the cross on the heath,[2] and there paused a little in a fair place till she came nearer. Then he put off his bonnet, and came forward to her, and with most loving countenance and princely behaviour saluted, welcomed, and embraced her, to the great rejoicing of the beholders; and she likewise, not forgetting her duty, with most amiable aspect and womanly behaviour, received his grace with many sweet words, thanks, and great praises given him. While they were thus communing, the pensioners and guards departed to furnish the court and hall at Greenwich," that is, to commence forming the state pageant there against the arrival of the king and his betrothed.

[1] The armorial bearing of Hainault.

[2] This was the antique mound on Blackheath, once a Saxon tumulus, now crowned with a few stunted firs. The cross was there in the time of Charles II.

When the king had conversed a little with the lady Anne, which must have been by means of an interpreter, "he put her on his right hand, and so with their footmen they rode as though they had been coupled together. Oh!" continues the enraptured chronicler, "what a sight was this, to see so goodly a prince and so noble a king to ride with so fair a lady, of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and, in especial, of so good qualities! I think no creature could see them but his heart rejoiced."[1] Few, perhaps, of the spectators of this brave show imagined how deceptive a farce it was; nor does Hall, who was an eye-witness of all he describes, appear to have been in the slightest degree aware how false a part his sovereign was acting, or how hard a trial it must have been to that gaily decorated victim, the bride, to smother all the struggling feelings of female pride and delicacy, to assume a sweet and loving demeanour towards the bloated tyrant by whom she had been so rudely scorned and depreciated. Certainly, Anne had the most reasonable cause for dissatisfaction of the two, when we consider that, if she were not quite so handsome as Holbein had represented her, she was a fine young woman of only four-and-twenty, who had been much admired in her own country. Henry was more than double her age, unwieldy and diseased in person, with a countenance stamped with all the traces of the sensual and cruel passions which deformed his mind. Thoughts of the broken heart of his first queen, the bloody scaffold of his second, and the early grave of his third consort, could scarcely fail to occur appallingly to his luckless bride, when she perceived that she was already despised by her formidable spouse. What woman but would have shuddered at finding herself in Anne of Cleves' predicament?

Hall thus resumes his rich narrative: "When the king and the lady Anne had met, and both their companies joined, they returned through the ranks of knights and squires which had remained stationary. First came her trumpets, twelve in number beside two kettle-drums, on horseback; next followed the king's trumpets, then the king's councillors, the gentle-

[1] Hall's Chronicle, reprint, p. 835.

men of the privy-chamber; then the gentlemen of her grace's country, in coats of velvet, riding on great horses; after them the mayor of London, in crimson velvet with a rich collar, coupled with the youngest baron; then all the barons, followed by the bishops; then the earls, with whom rode the earls of Waldeck and Overstein, Anne's countrymen. Then came the dukes, the archbishop of Canterbury, and duke Philip of Bavaria, followed by the ambassadors, the lord privy-seal, and the lord chancellor; then the lord marquess, with the king's sword. Next followed the king himself, riding with his fair lady; behind him rode sir Anthony Browne, with the king's horse of estate; behind her rode sir John Dudley, master of her horse, leading her spare palfrey, trapped in rich tissue down to the ground. After them followed the lady Margaret Douglas, the lady marquess Dorset, the duchesses of Richmond and Suffolk, the countesses of Rutland and Hertford, and other countesses; next followed her grace's chariot."[1] This circumstance and the description of the equipage are worthy of attention with regard to the costume of the era. "The chariot was well carved and gilt, with the arms of her country curiously wrought and covered with cloth of gold: all the horses were trapped with black velvet, and on them rode pages of honour in coats of velvet; in the chariot rode two ancient ladies of her country. After the chariot followed six ladies and gentlewomen of her country, all richly apparelled with caps set with pearls and great chains of divers fashions, after the custom of their country, and with them rode six ladies of England, well 'beseen.' Then followed another chariot, gilt and furnished as the other was. Then came ten English ladies well apparelled. Next them another chariot, covered with black cloth; in that were four gentlewomen, her grace's chamberers: then followed all the remnant of the ladies, gentlewomen, and maidens, in great number, which did wear that day French hoods. After them came Anne's three washerwomen, launderers as they are called, [we should never have thought of their having a place in the procession,] in a chariot all covered with black; then a horse-litter, of cloth of gold of

[1] Hall's Chronicle.

crimson velvet paled, [striped,] with horses trapped accordingly, which was a present from the king. Last of all came the serving-men of her train, all clothed in black, mounted on great Flemish horses.[1]

"In this order they rode through the ranks into the park, and at the late Friars'-wall[2] all men alighted, save the king, the two masters of the horse, and the henchmen, which rode to the hall-door, and the ladies rode to the court-gate. As they passed, they beheld from the wharf how the citizens of London were rowing up and down on the Thames, every craft in his barge garnished with banners, flags, streamers, pensils, and targets, some painted and blazoned with the king's arms, some with those of her grace, and some with the arms of their craft or mystery. Beside the barges of every craft or city company, there was a barge made like a ship, called the bachelors' bark, decked with pensils, and pennons of cloth of gold, and targets in great number, on which waited a foyst, that shot great pieces of artillery. In every barge were divers sorts of instruments, with men and children singing and playing in chorus as the king and the lady passed on the wharf, which sight and noises they much praised."

A splendid scene it must have been, that gorgeous cavalcade, extending from Blackheath, through the park, to the water's edge, and the broad-bosomed Thames so gaily dight with the flags and gilded barges of the queen of merchant-cities, and all the aquatic pageantry which wealth and loyalty could devise to do honour to the sovereign's bride. But to return to her whose advent had given the citizens of London so proud a holiday, and filled the leafless bowers of Greenwich with unwonted animation at that wintry season of the year. "As soon as she and the king had alighted from their horses in the inner court, the king lovingly embraced her, and bade her 'welcome to her own;' then led her by the left arm through the hall, which was *furnished* below the hearth with the king's guard, and above the hearth with the fifty pensioners with

[1] Hall's Chronicle, 836.

[2] Supposed to be that of the convent of the Observant-friars at Greenwich, which was situated close to the palace.

their battle-axes, and so brought her up to her privy-chamber,[1] which was richly prepared for her reception." There Henry, eager to be released from the irksome part of playing the loving bridegroom and gracious sovereign, left her, and retired to give vent to his discontent in his own. He was attended by his anxious premier Cromwell, to whom he exclaimed, "How say you, my lord; is it not as I told you? Say what they will, she is nothing fair. Her person is well and seemly, but nothing else." The obsequious minister assented to the royal opinion,—nay, sware "by his faith, that his sovereign said right;" yet ventured to observe, by way of commendation, "that he thought she had a queenly manner withal." This Henry frankly allowed.[2] Cromwell lamented "that his grace was no better content," as well indeed he might, since his own ruin was decreed from that hour.

Though Henry had committed himself by his public reception of the lady, he commanded Cromwell to summon the council, and devise with them some pretext whereby he might excuse himself from fulfilling his engagement with Anne. The council met, and Osliger and Hostoden, the envoys of the duke of Cleves, just after assisting at the pompous ceremonial of the king of England's public welcome of their princess as his bride elect, found themselves called upon a second time to answer to a formal inquiry, in the name of that prince, if the said lady were not already the affianced wife of another? They appeared like men perplexed, and deferred their replies till the next day.[3]

Meantime the crowd of spectators and the inferior actors in the state pageant dispersed, for which Hall tells us the signal was given by the mighty peal of guns that was shot from Greenwich tower when the king and queen entered the court together. Then all the horsemen broke their ranks, and had leave to depart to London, or to their lodgings. "To see how

[1] Hall's Chronicle, 836. This etiquette of the stations of the royal guard is curious. The hearth was evidently in the middle of the hall at Greenwich-palace.

[2] King Henry's deposition of what passed between himself and Cromwell on the subject of the lady Anne of Cleves.—Haynes' State-Papers.

[3] Cromwell's deposition, in Burnet's Hist. of Reformation.

long it was or ever the horsemen could pass, and how late it was ere the footmen could get over London-bridge," pursues he, "I assure you it was wondrous to behold."

When the lord chamberlain inquired of the king, "What day his majesty would be pleased to name for the coronation of the queen?"—"We will talk of that when I have made her my queen," was the ominous reply of the moody monarch.[1] The next morning, Sunday, Cromwell came by the private way to Henry's private chamber, and informed him that the ambassadors of Cleves treated the idea of the pre-contract with contempt, and had offered to remain in prison as pledges for the arrival of the revocation of the spousalia. Henry was much annoyed at this intelligence, and exclaimed, "I am not well handled;"[2] adding, "if it were not that she is come so far into my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world, and of driving her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king, who are now together, I would not now marry her." After dinner, on the same Sunday, Henry sent for all his council, and repeated his favourite expression, "that he was not well handled about the contract with the prince of Lorraine," and required that Anne should make a solemn protestation that she was free from all pre-contracts. This she did in the presence of all his council and notaries. When Henry was informed by Cromwell that the lady had made the above protest in the most clear and positive terms, he repeated his first ungracious exclamation, "Is there, then, none other remedy, but I must needs against my will put my neck into the yoke." Cromwell escaped from the royal presence as quickly as he could, leaving his master in what he politely terms "a study or pensiveness;"[3] in other words, an access of sullen ill-humour, in which Henry remained till the Monday morning, when he declared "that it was his intention to go through with it," and directed that the nuptials should be solemnized on the following day, January 6th, being the Epiphany or feast of kings, commonly called Twelfth-day, and set about preparing himself for the ceremonial. Short

[1] Leti. [2] Cromwell's letter: Burnet, vol. i. p. 183. [3] Ibid.

notice this for the bride, but her feelings had been outraged in every possible way.

Next came the question, Who should lead her to the altar? Two noblemen of her own court, the earl of Overstein and the grand-master Hostoden, had come to England with her expressly for that purpose, and to superintend all the arrangements for her marriage. Henry chose to associate the earl of Essex with the earl of Overstein in the honour of leading her. Then, as if to render every thing as inconvenient as possible to the princess, he fixed the early hour of eight in the morning for the solemnity. The earl of Essex was not punctual to the time, on which Henry deputed Cromwell to take the office of conducting the bride, and sent him to her chamber for that purpose; but before Anne was ready, Essex arrived. However reluctant the royal bridegroom was to fulfil his distasteful matrimonial engagement, he made his personal arrangements that morning with much greater speed than the bride, and had donned his wedding garments so long before she was ready, that he thought proper to exercise his conjugal privilege beforehand by grumbling at having to wait. His bridal costume is thus described by Hall: "His grace was apparelled in a gown of cloth of gold, raised with great flowers of silver, and furred with black jennettes. His coat, crimson satin, slashed and embroidered, and clasped with great diamonds, and a rich collar about his neck." In this array he entered his presence-chamber, and calling Cromwell to him, said, "My lord, if it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do what I must do this day for any earthly thing."[1] Then one of the officers of the household informed him the queen was ready. On which he, with his lords and officers of state, advanced into the gallery next the closets and there paused, and, with some expressions of displeasure that she was so long in coming, sent the lords to fetch the queen.

The tardy bride had endeavoured, it should seem, to console herself for Henry's insulting demurs and discourtesies by taking her own time, and making a very elaborate and splendid toilette. She was dressed in a gown of rich cloth of gold, em-

[1] Cromwell's letter, Burnet.

broidered very thickly with great flowers of large oriental pearls. It was made round and without a train, after the Dutch fashion, which, it appears, was not admired in England. She wore her long luxuriant *yellow* hair flowing down her shoulders, and on her head a coronal of gold full of costly gems and set about with sprigs of rosemary, a herb of grace which was used by maidens both at weddings and funerals.[1] About her neck and waist she wore jewels of great price.[2] Thus arrayed, Anne of Cleves came forth from her closet between the earl of Overstein and the earl of Essex, and, according to Hall, "with most demure countenance and sad [composed] behaviour passed through the king's chamber." The lords went before her in procession, and when they reached the gallery where the king was, she greeted him with three low obeisances and curtsies. Then the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, received them, and married them together. The earl of Overstein gave Anne away: round her wedding-ring was inscribed,

God Send Me Weel to keepe.[3]

A more appropriate motto could scarcely have been chosen for a wife of Henry VIII. No doubt the poor queen had that prayer very often on her lips. When the nuptial rites were ended, the royal pair walked hand in hand into the king's closet, and there heard mass, and offered their tapers. After mass was over, they took wine and spices;[4] then the king departed to his chamber, and all the ladies attended the queen to her chamber, the duke of Norfolk walking on her right hand, the duke of Suffolk on her left.

Brief was the repose that was allowed her there, ere she was summoned to attend another mass; for we find that "the king, in a gown of rich tissue, lined with crimson velvet, embroidered, came to his closet, and she, in the same dress in which she was married, came to her closet, with her sergeant-of-arms and all her officers before her, like a queen. And the king and she went openly in procession, and offered and dined together. After dinner," continues our authority, "the queen changed into a dress made like a man's gown, of tissue, with long sleeves, girt to her, and furred with rich sables. Her

[1] For *souvenance;* Kempe's Losely MSS. [2] Hall. [3] Ibid. p. 836. [4] Ibid.

under sleeves were very costly. On her head she wore such a cap as on the preceding Saturday, with a cornet of lawn, which cap was so rich of pearls and gems, that it was judged to be of great value.[1] Her ladies and gentlemen were apparelled very richly, after her fashion," which, from Marillac's report, we have seen was not the most becoming in the world. They were all decorated with rich chains. In the dress just described, our Lutheran queen Anne accompanied her lord to even-song, as she had in the morning to mass, and afterwards supped with him. "After supper were banquets, masques, and divers disports, till the time came that it pleased the king and her to take their rest."

Henry's countenance bore a more portentous aspect on the morrow, and when his trembling premier, Cromwell, entered his presence to pay his duty, he received him with a frown, and angrily reproached him for having persuaded him to a marriage so repugnant to his taste. Solemn jousts were, nevertheless, kept in honour of the royal nuptials on the Sunday, which much pleased the foreigners. "On that day," continues Hall, "the queen was apparelled, after the English fashion, with a French hood, which so set forth her beauty and good visage, that every creature rejoiced to behold her." Not a word does the courtier-like chronicler relate of the king's ill-humour, or of his contempt for his new queen. Another contemporary historian, who is evidently an admirer of Anne, quaintly observes, "Well; it pleased his highness to mislike her grace, but to me she always appeared a brave lady." The only allusion Henry was ever known to make to his beautiful and once-idolized queen Anne Boleyn after her murder, was in one of his bursts of contempt for her more homely namesake. The little princess Elizabeth having made suit by her governess to be allowed to come and pay the duty of a daughter to the new queen, whom she had the most ardent desire to see, "Tell her," was the reply, "that she had a mother so different from this woman, that she ought not to wish to see her."[2] Elizabeth addressed a very pretty letter to her royal stepmother to excuse her absence.

[1] Hall, p. 837. [2] Ibid.

The reports of her contemporaries vary so greatly as to the personal characteristics of this queen, that an exact description of her appearance, from the original pencil-sketch among the Holbein heads in her majesty's collection at Windsor, may not be uninteresting to the reader. The sketch was probably taken after her arrival in England, and, though unfinished, it is a very fine specimen of art. There is a moral and intellectual beauty in the expression of the face, though the nose and mouth are large and somewhat coarse in their formation. Her forehead is lofty, expansive, and serene, indicative of candour and talent. The eyes large, dark, and reflective. They are thickly fringed, both on the upper and lower lids, with long black lashes. Her eyebrows are black, and finely marked. Her hair, which is also black,[1] is parted, and plainly folded on either side the face in bands, extending, as in the present fashion, below the ears,—a style that seems peculiarly suitable to the calm and dignified composure of her countenance. Nothing, however, can be more unbecoming than her dress, which is a close-fitting gown, with a stiff high collar like a man's coat, and tight sleeves. The boddice opens a little in front, and displays a chemisette, drawn up to the throat with a narrow riband, and ornamented on one side with a brooch in the form of a Katherine-wheel, placed very high. She wears a large Amazonian-looking hat, turned boldly up in front, not in the Spanish but the Dutch fashion, decorated with *quatre-feuilles* of gems. Such a head-dress would have been trying even to a soft and feminine style of beauty, but the effect on the large, decided features of this queen is very unfortunate. Anne of Cleves appears to have had the most splendid wardrobe of all Henry's queens, but the worst taste in dress.

Anne was conducted, on the 4th of February, by the king and his ministers by water to the palace of Westminster, which had been magnificently prepared for her reception. They were attended on their voyage up the Thames by many peers

[1] Hall, we have seen, describes her with yellow tresses, which were certainly false hair, and must have been singularly unbecoming to a brunette. All her portraits represent her, not only with black hair, but with very black eyes.

and prelates in state barges, gaily emblazoned and adorned. The mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet robes, gave attendance;[1] also with twelve of the principal city companies, in barges, garnished with pennons, banners, and targets, with rich awnings and bands of music within, which, according to the chronicler, "was being replenished with minstrelsy." All the way up the river the ships saluted the royal barge as it passed, and a mighty peal was fired from the great Tower guns in goodly order, to greet and welcome the sovereign and his bride.[2]

Henry VIII.'s whim of entwining his initials with those of a new wife is apparent even during the ephemeral queenship of Anne of Cleves. Several medallions are still remaining in the ceiling of the chapel-royal in St. James's-palace with the letters H A, garnished with the true-love knots which Anne Boleyn had found so false and evanescent when he invented that device to testify his devotion to her. The date, 1540, within these medallions, identifies them as having been enamelled during the brief reign of Anne of Cleves. Similar medallions, with the same initials, appear in the tapestried chamber at St. James's, in the carving over the chimney-piece.

When the earl of Overstein, and other nobles and ladies who had attended Anne to England, had been honourably feasted and entertained by Henry and his magnates, they received handsome presents, both in money and plate, and returned to their own country. The earl of Waldeck, and some other gentlemen and ladies, with the Dutch maids of honour, remained with her till she became better acquainted with the English people and language. It is evident that mistress Lowe, the sage gouvernante of the *Dutch maids*, (as Anne's Flemish maids were styled,) was regarded by the English courtiers as the channel through which all places and preferments in the household of the new queen were to flow. The countess of Rutland, to whom that pains-taking matron, lady Lisle, sent the noble present of a pipe of Gascon wine and two barrels of herrings, to purchase her good offices in obtain-

[1] Hall, p. 837. [2] Ibid.

ing her daughter Katharine Basset's appointment as a maid of honour to the queen, gives her the following hints:—

"And whereas you be very desirous to have your daughter, mistress Basset, to be one of the queen's grace's maids, and that you would that I should move her grace in that behalf; these shall be to let your ladyship know, that I perceive right well the king's pleasure to be such, that no more maids shall be taken in until such time as some of them that be now with the queen's grace be preferred, [meaning, till they were married]. Albeit, if you will make some means unto mother Lowe, who can do as much good in this matter as any one woman here, that she may make some means to get your said daughter with the queen's said grace; and in so doing, I think you shall obtain your purpose in every behalf."[1]

The same day the young candidate for this much-desired appointment, who was residing in lady Rutland's family, wrote herself to her mother a confidential letter on this subject, which we insert as affording a curious illustration of the manners, customs, and narrow means of some of the young ladies of the court of Henry VIII.

"MADAME,

"In my humble wise, my duty done to your ladyship, certifying your ladyship that my lord of Rutland and my lady be in good health, and hath them heartily commended to your ladyship, thanking you for your wine and your herring that you sent them. Madame, my lady hath given me a gown of Kaffa damask, of her own old wearing, and that she would in no wise that I should refuse it; and I have spoken to Mr. Husse for a roll of buckram to new line it, and velvet to edge it withal. Madame, I humbly beseech your ladyship to be good lady and mother to me, for my lady of Rutland said that mother Lowe, *the mother of the Dutch maids*, may do much for my preferment with the queen's highness, so that your ladyship would send her my good token[2] that she may the better remember me, trusting that your ladyship would be good lady to me in this behalf. Madame, I have received of Ravenforde two crowns, for which I humbly thank your ladyship. I do lack a ketyll [suppose kirtle] for every day; I beseech your ladyship that I may have it: and I desire your ladyship that I may be humbly recommended to my lord and to my sisters. Madame, my brother George is in good health, and in the court with sir Francis Bryan. And thus the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping, who send your ladyship good life and length to his pleasure. Written at York-place, the 17th day of February, by your humble daughter,

"KATHARINE BASSET.

"To the right honourable and my very good Lady and Mother,
my Lady Lisle, be this delivered at Calais."

Anne Basset, the established maid of honour, who was a very fair, well-made, and graceful young gentlewoman, was certainly placed in a perilous position by the very inconsiderate manner in which her worldly-minded mother con-

[1] Wood's Letters, from the Lisle Papers; State-Paper MSS.

[2] In the shape of a present to mother Lowe, as the price of her good offices in obtaining the place of maid of honour. Katharine Basset was in the service of the countess of Rutland, a lady of the blood-royal.

trived pretexts for throwing her in the king's way, by deputing her, when she presented her confections to him, to solicit gifts and preferments for her family. Perhaps lady Lisle flattered herself that fair mistress Anne Basset was as likely to win Henry's fatal love as either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour, her predecessors in the dangerous office of maid of honour to an unbeloved queen-consort. That the young lady possessed infinitely more prudence and delicacy than her coarse, manœuvring mother, the following passages in one of her letters affords interesting evidence:—

"MADAM,

"I have presented your codiniac [quince-marmalade] to the king's highness, and his grace does like it wondrous well, and gave your ladyship hearty thanks for it. And whereas I perceived by your ladyship's letter, 'that when the king's highness had tasted of your codiniac, you would have me to move his grace for to send you some token of remembrance, that you might know the better that his grace doth like your codiniac,' by my troth, madam, I told his grace 'that your ladyship was glad that you could make any thing that his grace did like;' and his grace made me answer, 'that he did thank you with all his heart;' and his grace commanded me 'that Nicholas Eyre should speak with my father Heneage afore he went.' Whether he will send your ladyship any token by him or no, I cannot tell; for, madam, I durst not be so bold to move his grace for it no other wise, for fear lest how his grace would have taken it: therefore I beseech your ladyship be not discontented with me. And whereas you do write to me that I should remember my sister, I have spoken to the king's highness for her; and his grace made me answer, 'that master Bryan and divers other hath spoken to his grace for their friends.' But he said, 'he would not grant me nor them yet;' for his grace said 'that he would have them that should be fair, and as he thought meet for the room.'"

What other qualifications, in addition to personal beauty, the Tudor sultan deemed indispensable for his queen's future maids of honour to possess, are not explained in this epistle. Perhaps Anne Basset feared her sister Katharine might not pass muster, or there was something in the royal manner that deterred her from pressing her suit, for she says,—

"Therefore, madam, I think if you did send to some of your friends that are about his grace to speak for her, or else I cannot tell what you *is* best to do in it, for I have done as much as I can."

Two other favours which my lady Lisle expected her daughter to ask and the king to grant, in return for her pots of marmalade, the poor girl humbly but positively declines naming to their royal master. She says to her mother, in reply to her requisition to that effect,—

"And whereas you do write to me that I should speak for my lord's matter and for Bery's son, I beseech your ladyship to hold me excused in that, for I dare not be so bold to move the king's grace in no such matters, for fear how his grace would take it."[1]

Our young maid of honour concludes with this *naïve* confession of her lack of penmanship,—

"And whereas you do write to me that I do not write with mine own hand, the truth is that I cannot write nothing but mine own name; and as for that, when I had haste to go up to the queen's chamber, my man did write it which doth write my [this] letter."[2]

The fact that a letter full of family affairs, and relating to a matter of such extreme delicacy as a private conference between the fair inditer and her sovereign—that sovereign the ferocious tyrant Henry VIII.—was written by an amanuensis of servile degree, affords a curious illustration of the manners of the times, as well as a proof of the defective system on which the education of young ladies of rank was conducted in the middle of the sixteenth century. Yet the same age and country could boast of those illustrious female scholars, the daughters of sir Thomas More, queen Katharine Parr, lady Jane Gray, and the royal Tudor sisters Mary and Elizabeth. The scholastic attainments of the above accomplished ladies have frequently been cited as evidence of the superior degree of cultivation bestowed upon the gentlewomen of England at that period, but their names should rather be mentioned as forming very remarkable exceptions to the general ignorance in which their fair contemporaries were brought up. We shall have occasion, in the succeeding biography, to prove that Anne of Cleves was compelled to resign her nuptial ring and queenly dignity, to enable Henry VIII. to bestow those fatal distinctions on a young lady of noble birth,[3] who possessed not a whit more clerkly skill than the unlearned maid of honour who could write nothing more than her own name.

During the first few weeks after Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, he treated her with an outward show of civility on all public occasions; and as long as they kept the same chamber, he was accustomed to say "Good night, sweetheart!" and in the morning, when he left her apartment,

[1] Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii. p. 153. [2] Ibid.
[3] Queen Katharine Howard.

"Farewell, darling!" These honied words, however, only covered increasing dislike, which, when he found there was no prospect of her bringing him a family, he openly expressed in the rudest terms. Even if Anne of Cleves had been gifted with those external charms requisite to please Henry's fastidious eye, her ignorance of the English language and of music, and, above all, her deficiency in that delicate tact which constitutes the real art of pleasing, would have prevented her from gaining on his affections. Henry had been used to the society of women of superior intellect and polished manners. Such had been Katharine of Arragon, such Anne Boleyn; and Jane Seymour, if she lacked the mental dignity of the first, or the genius and wit of the second, made up for both in the insinuating softness which was, no doubt, the true secret of her influence over Henry's mind. Anne of Cleves was no adept in the art of flattery, and, though really "of meek and gentle conditions," she did not humiliate herself meanly to the man from whom she had received so many unprovoked marks of contempt, and she ceased to behave with submissive complaisance. Henry then complained to Cromwell "that she waxed wilful and stubborn with him."[1]

Anne required advice, and sent often to Cromwell, requesting a conference with him, but in vain. Cromwell knew he was in a perilous predicament, surrounded by spies and enemies, and, like the trembling vizier of some Eastern tyrant, who sees the fatal bowstring ready to be fitted to his neck, deemed that one false step would be his ruin: he positively refused to see the queen.[2] While Anne was tormented and perplexed by the persecutions of her unreasonable husband, terror was stricken into every heart by the execution of two of his nearest kinsmen, whom he relentlessly sent to the block on the 3rd of March. One was the favourite companion of his youth, Courtenay marquess of Exeter, the son of his aunt Katherine Plantagenet; the other was Henry Pole, lord Montague, the son of Margaret Plantagenet, countess of Salisbury.[3] The offence for which they suffered was correspondence with Reginald Pole (afterwards the celebrated cardinal), whom Henry

[1] Cromwell's letter; Burnet. [2] Ibid. [3] Hall. Burnet.

called his enemy. Anne's dower was settled according to the usual forms when parliament met, April 12.[1] It seems remarkable that Henry, who from the first had declared "that he could not overcome his aversion to her sufficiently to consider her as his wife," should have permitted this legislative recognition of her rights as queen-consort of England.

On the 1st of May, and three succeeding days, a company of the knightly gallants of the court, among whom sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, sir John Dudley, and sir George Carew, were the most distinguished, held jousts, tourney, and barrier at Durham-house, all dressed in white velvet, in honour of the king's recent marriage with Anne of Cleves. Their majesties honoured the pageant with their presence, and were honourably feasted and entertained by their bachelor hosts. This was the last time the king and queen appeared in public together. Wriothesley, the most unprincipled of the low-born parasites who rose to greatness by truckling to the lawless passions of the sovereign, prepared the way for the divorce by lamenting to the gentlemen of the privy-chamber and the council "the hard case in which the king's highness stood, in being bound to a wife whom he could not love,"[2] and went on to suggest the expediency of emancipating the king from a wedlock that was so little to his taste. A gentleman of honour and feeling would rather have regarded the case of the injured queen with compassion, but Wriothesley was devoid of every generous sympathy; his conduct towards females in distress was always peculiarly cruel, as we shall have occasion to show in the memoirs of Katharine Howard and Katharine Parr. With ready instruments of wickedness like Wriothesley ever at hand, we almost cease to wonder at the atrocities that were perpetrated by Henry VIII. When the idea of a divorce had been once suggested to that lawless prince, the situation of his luckless queen was rendered insupportable to her. In addition to all his other causes of dissatisfaction, Henry now began to express scruples of conscience on the score of keeping a Lutheran for his wife.[3] Anne, who had been unremitting in her endea-

[1] Tytler. Journals of Parl., 32nd Henry VIII. [2] Strype. [3] Moreri. De Thou.

vours to conform herself to his wishes, by studying the English language and all things that were likely to please him, became weary of the attempt, and was at length piqued into telling him, that "If she had not been compelled to marry him, she might have fulfilled her engagement with another, to whom she had promised her hand."[1] It is just possible, that, under the provocations she had endured, she might add, 'a younger and more amiable prince, whom she would have preferred had she been left to her own choice.' Henry only waited for this; for though he had lived with Anne between four and five months, he had never, as he shamelessly acknowledged, intended to retain her permanently as his wife, especially as there was no prospect of her bringing him a family. It was the peculiar wickedness of Henry, that he always added calumny to faithlessness when he designed to rid himself of a lawful wife. In the present instance, not contented with disparaging the person and manners of the ill-treated princess of Cleves, he basely impugned her honour, as if she had not been a virtuous woman when he received her hand.[2] Every one about him was aware of his motives in uttering these slanders, which were designed to terrify the queen into consenting to a dissolution of her marriage. Her situation was rendered more wretched by the dismissal of her foreign attendants, whose places were supplied by English ladies appointed by the king.

When the *straunge* maidens, as the Flemish maids of honour were called, were about to depart, and the queen's chamberlain applied to Cromwell for their safe-conduct, the cautious minister, who had carefully kept aloof from the slightest communication with Anne or her household, availed himself of this opportunity of sending a secret warning to his royal mistress "of the expediency of doing her utmost to render herself more agreeable to the king."[3] Anne acted upon the hint, but without any sort of judgment, for she altered her cold and reserved deportment into an appearance of fondness which, being altogether inconsistent with her feelings, was

[1] Moreri. Du Chesne. De Thou. [2] Burnet. Herbert. State-Papers.
[3] Cromwell's letters; Burnet. Rapin.

any thing but attractive. Henry, knowing that it was impossible she could entertain affection for him, attributed the change in her manner to the representations of Cromwell, to whom he had confided his intentions of obtaining a divorce; and this suspicion aggravated the hatred he had conceived against him, for having been the means of drawing him into the marriage. Henry had recently become deeply enamoured of the young and beautiful Katharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and passionately desired to make her his wife. The leaders of the Roman-catholic party were eager to secure the two-fold triumphs of obtaining a queen of their own way of thinking, and effecting the downfall of their great enemy, Cromwell. There is every reason to believe that the death of his unpopular favourite was decreed by Henry himself at the very time when, to mask his deadly purpose, he bestowed upon him the honours and estates of his deceased kinsman, Bourchier earl of Essex. The fact was, he had a business to accomplish, for which he required a tool who would not be deterred by the nice feelings of a gentleman of honour from working his will. This was the attainder of two ladies allied, one by blood, the other by marriage, to the royal line of Plantagenet,—Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, the widow of one of his kindred victims, and Margaret countess of Salisbury, the mother of the other.

Cromwell produced in the house of lords, May 10, by way of evidence against the aged countess of Salisbury, a vestment of white silk that had been found in her wardrobe, embroidered in front with the arms of England, surrounded with a wreath of pansies and marigolds, and on the back the representation of the Host, with the five wounds of our Lord, and the name of Jesus written in the midst. The peers permitted the unprincipled minister to persuade them that this was a treasonable ensign; and as the countess had corresponded with her absent son, she was, for no other crime, attainted of high treason and condemned to death, without the privilege of being heard in her own defence.[1] The marchioness of Exeter was also attainted and condemned to death by the same viola-

[1] Lingard. Tytler. Herbert. Burnet. Journals of Parliament.

tion of the laws of England. Both ladies were, meantime confined in the Tower. The lords, indeed, hesitated, for the case was without precedent; but Cromwell sent for the judges to his own house, and asked them "whether the parliament had a power to condemn persons accused without a hearing?" The judges replied,[1] "That it was a nice and dangerous question, for law and equity required that no one should be condemned unheard; but the parliament being the highest court of the realm, its decisions could not be disputed." When Cromwell, by reporting this answer in the house, satisfied the peers that they had the power of committing a great iniquity if they chose to do so, they obliged the king by passing the bill, which established a precedent for all the other murders that were perpetrated in this reign of terror. As an awful instance of retributive justice be it recorded, that Cromwell was himself the first person who was slain by the tremendous weapon of despotism with which, like a traitor to his country, he had furnished the most merciless tyrant that ever wore the English crown.

Exactly one month after this villany, Cromwell was arrested by the duke of Norfolk at the council-board, and sent to the Tower by the command of the king, who, like a master-fiend, had waited till his slave had filled up the full measure of his guilt before he executed his vengeance upon him. Another victim, but a blameless one, was also selected by Henry to pay the penalty of his life for having been instrumental in his marriage with Anne of Cleves; this was the pious and learned Dr. Barnes, whom the queen had greatly patronised, but was unable to preserve from the stake.[2] Her own reign was drawing to a close. A few days after Cromwell's arrest she was sent to Richmond, under pretence that her health required change of air. Marillac, in a letter to Francis I., dated June 23, thus alludes to the reports to which this circumstance had given rise:—"There is a talk of some diminution of love, and a new affection for another lady. The queen has been sent to Richmond. This I know, that the king, who promised in two days to follow her, has not done so, and

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144. Rapin. Lingard. Herbert.
[2] Rapin. Burnet. Lingard.

does not seem likely to do so, for the road of his progress does not lead that way. Now it is said in the court, that the said lady has left on account of the plague, which is in this city, which is not true; for if there had been any suspicion of the kind, the king would not have remained on any business, however important, for he is the most timid person in the world in such cases."[1] The removal of Anne was the preliminary step to the divorce, for which Henry was now impatient. The particulars of this transaction, as they appear on the journals of the house of lords, afford revolting proofs of the slavish and degrading manner in which Henry's privy council and prelates rendered themselves accomplices in his injustice and breach of faith to his wedded wife and their queen. The ignoble submission of the peers to the caprices of the lawless tyrant kept pace with the disgusting proceedings of his personal abettors in his iniquities. The commons only acted as the echo of the lords. As for that right-feeling and uncorrupted body of his subjects, —the people, they had no means of information, and it pertained not to them to redress the injustice of their sovereign to his wives or daughters. The lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham, stated to the house, July 6, "that they having doubts of the validity of the marriage between the king and queen, to which they had been instrumental, and as the succession to the crown was, or might be, affected, it was highly necessary that its legality should be investigated by a convocation of the clergy." A petition that the king would permit this to be done was instantly got up, and presented to the sovereign by both houses of parliament. Henry was graciously pleased to reply, "that he could refuse nothing to the estates of the realm, and was ready to answer any questions that might be put to him; for he had no other object in view but the glory of God, the welfare of the realm, and the triumph of the truth."[2]

The matter was brought before the convocation on the following day, and the clergy referred it to a committee,

[1] Dépêches de Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.
[2] Journals of Parliament, 32nd Henry VIII.

consisting of the two archbishops, of four bishops, and eight divines. The reasons alleged for releasing the sovereign from his matrimonial bonds with his queen were as follow: "1st, That she was pre-contracted to the prince of Lorraine. 2ndly, That the king, having espoused her against his will, had not given an inward consent to his marriage, which he had never completed; and that the whole nation had a great interest in the king's having more issue, which they saw he could never have by this queen."[1] Many witnesses were examined, as the lords in waiting, gentlemen of the king's chamber, and the queen's ladies. The countess of Rutland, lady Edgecomb, and the infamous lady Rochford, bent on pleasing the king, deposed many things very unbecoming of ladies of their rank to say, which they affirmed the queen had told them, as evidence of the nullity of the contract. They had presumed, it seems, to ask many impertinent questions of their royal mistress, and among others, "If she had acquainted mother Lowe, her confidential attendant and countrywoman, of the king's neglect?" Anne replied in the negative, and said that "she received quite as much of his majesty's attention as she wished."[2]

Henry encouraged the ladies of the bedchamber to mimic and ridicule their royal mistress for his amusement, although it was impossible for any one to conduct herself with greater dignity and forbearance under the trying circumstances than she did, while his unprincely follies were rendering him the laughing-stock of Europe. His greatest enemy would have found it difficult to place his conduct towards his fourth queen in a more unmanly and dishonourable light than the account he gives of it in his deposition, which he styles his "brief, true, and perfect declaration:"—"I had heard," says he, "much, both of her excellent beauty and virtuous conditions. But when I saw her at Rochester, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any pact or bond with her till I saw her myself; for then, I *adsure* you, I liked her so ill, and so far contrary to that she was praised, that I was woe that ever she came to England, and deliberated with myself, that if it were possible to find means to break off, I would never enter yoke with her. Of which misliking, the Flemish

[1] Burnet. Collier. Strype. [2] Strype's Memorials.

great-master, [Hostoden], the admiral that now is, [Southampton,] and the master of the horse, can and will here record. Then, after my repair to Greenwich the next day after, I think, and doubt not, but that lord Essex, [Cromwell,] well examined, can and will, and hath declared, what I then said to him in that case; for, as he is a person which knoweth himself condemned by act of parliament, he will not damn his soul, but truly declare the truth, not only at the time spoken by me, but also continually till the day of marriage, and also many times after, whereby my lack of consent, I doubt not, doth or shall well appear."[1] The document[2] from which this abstract is taken, is certainly in coarseness of expression without parallel, and affords a characteristic specimen of the brutality of Henry's manners and language.

The convocation of the clergy, without one dissentient voice, pronounced the marriage to be null and void, June 9, and that both parties were free to marry again. The next day, archbishop Cranmer reported to the house of lords this sentence, in Latin and English, and delivered the documents attesting it, which were sent to the commons. A bill to invalidate the marriage was twice read, and passed unanimously, July 13th, being only the eighth day from the commencement of the whole business.[3] Cranmer, who had pronounced the nuptial benediction, had the mortifying office of dissolving the marriage,—Anne of Cleves being the third queen from whom it had been his hard lot to divorce the king in less than seven years. Well might one of the French ambassadors say of Henry, "He is a marvellous man, and has marvellous people about him."[4] The queen, being a stranger to the English laws and customs, was spared the trouble of appearing before the convocation, either personally or by her advocates.

When all things had been definitely arranged according to the king's pleasure, Suffolk, Southampton, and Wriothesley were appointed by him to proceed to Richmond, for the pur-

[1] The fallen favourite, to whom Henry appeals as a witness of the truth of his asseverations, gave a written confirmation of the sovereign's statement in a letter, in which he, with great truth, subscribes himself his "poor slave."

[2] Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. i. Records, 185.

[3] Journals of Parliament. Burnet. Rapin. Herbert.

[4] In a letter to Francis I., in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

pose of signifying his determination to the queen, and obtaining her assent. Scarcely had the commissioners commenced their explanation, when the terrified queen, fancying, no doubt, that their errand was to conduct her to the Tower, gave instant acquiescence. So powerfully were the feminine terrors of the poor queen excited on this occasion, that she fainted and fell to the ground before the commissioners could explain the true purport of their errand.[1] When she was sufficiently recovered to attend to them, they soothed her with flattering professions of the king's gracious intention of adopting her for a sister, if she would resign the title of queen; promising the queen that she should have precedence before every lady in the court, except his daughters and his future consort, and that she should be endowed with estates to the value of 3000*l.* a-year.[2] Anne was greatly relieved when she understood the real nature of the king's intention, and she expressed her willingness to resign her joyless honours with an alacrity for which he was not prepared.

The enduring constancy of the injured Katharine of Arragon, the only woman who ever loved him, had taught Henry to regard himself as a person so supremely precious, that he certainly did not expect his present queen to give him up without a struggle. Even when she, in compliance with the advice of the commissioners, wrote, or rather we should say, subscribed a most obliging letter to him,[3] expressing her full acquiescence in his pleasure, he could not believe she really meant thus lightly to part from him. He next wrote to the members of his privy council, whose president was his brother-in-law, the duke of Suffolk, desiring them to consider "whether they should further press the lady Anne to write to her brother or no." However, before he concludes the letter, he determines that point himself: "We have resolved, that it is

[1] Herbert. Lingard. State-Papers. [2] Ibid. Burnet. Rapin.

[3] The letter, which may be seen at full length in the collection of State-Papers printed by authority of government, concludes in these words: "Thus, most gracious prince, I beseech our Lord God to send your majesty long life and good health, to God's glory, your own honour, and the wealth of this noble realm. From Richmond, the 11th day of July, the 32nd year of your majesty's most noble reign. "Your majesty's most humble sister and servant,

"ANNA, of CLEVES."

requisite ye should now, before your departure, procure both the writing of such a letter to her brother, and also the letter before written to us in English, subscribed with her hand, to be by her written in Dutch, to the intent that all things might more clearly appear to him. And," continues this gracious specimen of a royal husband, "concerning these letters to her brother, how well soever she speaketh now, with promises to abandon the *condition* [caprices] of a woman, and evermore to remain constant in her proceedings, we think good, nevertheless, rather by good ways and means to prevent that she should not play the woman, (though she would,) than to depend upon her promise. Nor after she hath felt, at our hand, all gratuity and kindness, and known our liberality towards her in what she requireth, to leave her at liberty, upon the receipt of her brother's letters, to gather more stomach and stubbornness than were expedient. So that if her brother, upon desperation of us, should write to her in such wise as she might fondly take to heart, and fancy to swerve from her conformity, all our gentle handling of her should, in such case, be frustrate, and only serve her for the maintenance of such conceit as she might take in that behalf, and that she should not play the woman though she would. Therefore our pleasure is, that ye travail with her to write a letter to her brother directly, with other sentences, agreeably to the minutes which we send you herewith, as near as ye can. For persuading her thereto, ye may say, that considering she hath so honourably and virtuously proceeded hitherto, whereby she hath procured herself much love, favour, and reputation, it shall be well done if she advertises her brother of all things, as he may demean himself wisely, temperately, and moderately in the affair, not giving ear to tales and *bruits*, [reports]. Unless these letters be obtained, all *shall* [will] remain uncertain upon a woman's promise; viz. that she will be no woman,—the accomplishment whereof, on her behalf, is as difficult in the refraining of a woman's will, upon occasion, as in changing her womanish nature, which is impossible."[1]

[1] State-Papers.

And thus did this tyrannical self-deceiver, while in the very act of manifesting the most absurd caprice that any despot could perpetrate, reflect on the constancy of the female sex,—the most wayward and weak of whom could scarcely vie with him in fickleness and folly. "Ye may say to her," he concludes, "for her comfort, that howsoever her brother may conduct himself, or her other friends, she (continuing in her uniformity) shall never fare the worse for their faults. Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 13th of July, the 32nd year of our reign." In three days, Anne, or her advisers, addressed the following letter to Henry:—

"Most excellent and noble Prince, and my most benign and good Brother, I do most humbly thank you for your great goodness, favour, and liberality, which, as well by your majesty's own letters as by the report and declaration of your councillors, the lord great-master, the lord privy-seal, and your grace's secretary, I perceive it hath pleased you to determine towards me. Whereunto I have no more to answer, but that I shall ever remain your majesty's most humble sister and servant."[1]

The duke of Suffolk, Henry's ready tool in all his matrimonial tyrannies, and his coadjutors, lord Southampton and sir Thomas Wriothesley, the king's secretary, in their recital of what passed between themselves and the queen at Richmond, take great credit to themselves for having prevailed on her to subscribe herself the king's sister, instead of his wife. Part of their business was to deliver to her five hundred marks in gold, as a token from the king, being, in fact, the first instalment of her retiring pension, as his un-queened consort and discharged wife. Anne, having been kept without money, thankfully and meekly received this supply, without checking the mortifying conditions on which it was proffered. She evidently esteemed herself a happy woman to escape from her painful nuptial bonds with Henry without the loss of her head, and in token that she was quite as willing to be rid of him as he could be to cast her off, she cheerfully drew her wedding-ring from her finger and sent it back to him, together with a complaisant letter in German, the substance of which was explained by the commissioners to their royal master. The same persons came again to Richmond, July 17, and executed the

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. pp. 641, 642.

king's warrant for breaking up Anne's household as queen of England, by discharging all the ladies and officers of state who had been sworn to serve her as their queen, and introducing those who had been chosen by himself to form her establishment as the lady Anne of Cleves, in her new character of his adopted sister.

Anne submitted to every thing with a good grace, and, according to the report of the royal commissioners, "she took her leave openly of such as departed, and welcomed very gently her new servants at that time presented to her by them," although she had not been allowed the privilege of selecting them for herself. She was even so complaisant as to profess herself under great obligations to the king's majesty, and that she was determined to submit herself wholly to repose in his goodness," and this of her own free will, without any prompting from the commissioners, if we may venture to rely on the account dressed up by them to please the unprincipled despot, whose thirst for flattery was so unreasonable, as to lead him to expect his victims to thank him very humbly for the injuries he was pleased to inflict upon them in the gratification of his selfish tyranny. The following expressions, which in their report are put into the queen's mouth, are certainly not her phraseology, but that of Henry's amiable secretary, Wriothesley, as a sort of approbative answer in her name to Henry's letter to the privy council, before quoted, touching the mutations and caprices of her sex; for she is made to declare that "she would be found no woman by inconstancy and mutability, though all the world should move her to the contrary, neither for her mother, brother, or none other person living;" adding, "that she would receive no letters nor message from her brother, her mother, nor none of her kin and friends, but she would send them to the king's majesty, and be guided by his determination."[1] This was the part which Henry and his agents had endeavoured to intimidate his first ill-treated consort, Katharine of Arragon, into playing, but Anne of Cleves was placed in a very different position. She had no child to compromise by her submission, no jealous

[1] State-paper Records, *temp.* Henry VIII.

affection for a husband to struggle with, after twenty years of faithful companionship; neither had she a friend to support or counsel her in so difficult a position. Her contempt for Henry's character must at least have equalled his dislike of her person, and she apparently considered herself cheaply rid of a husband like him, even at the sacrifice of resigning the name and rank of his queen.

Henry was so well pleased at the restoration of the nuptial ring and the obliging demeanour of his discarded queen, that he despatched his commissioners to her again to present unto her "certain things of great value and richness which his grace then gave to her; and also to show to her letters which his majesty had received from the duke her brother, and also from the bishop of Bath, ambassador from England, then resident at the court of the duke of Cleves: which letters being opened and read, she gave most humble thanks to the king's majesty that it pleased him to communicate the same to her. And as, from a part of the English ambassador's letter, there appeared as if doubts had arisen in the minds of the duke of Cleves and Osliger his minister, as to whether the lady Anne were well treated, she wrote a letter to her brother in her own language; and had a nephew of Osliger's, then in king Henry's service, called in, and told him, before the said duke, earl, and sir Thomas, to make her hearty commendations to her brother, and to signify to him that she was *merry*, [cheerful,] and honourably treated, and had written her full and whole mind to him in all things. And this," continues our authority, "she did with such alacrity, pleasant gesture and countenance, as he [young Osliger] which saw it may well testify that he found her not miscontented." To the care of this Flemish youth was deputed the conveyance of Anne's letter to her brother, from which the following are extracts:—

"My dear and well-beloved Brother,

"After my most hearty commenda ion: Whereas, by your letters of the 13th of this month, which I have seen, written to the king's majesty of England, my most dear and most kind brother, I do perceive you take the matter lately moved and determined between him and me somewhat to heart. Forasmuch as I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof ye should be deceived by vain reports, I thought *mete* to write these present letters to you; by the which it shall please you to understand, how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king's highness to commit the examination of the matter

of marriage between his majesty and me to the determination of the holy clergy of this realm. I did then willingly consent thereto; and since their determination made, have also, upon intimation of their proceedings, allowed, approved, and agreed to the same."

She then explains, at some length, that she has consented to become the king's adopted sister, who has provided for her as such. She desires her good mother to be informed of the arrangement, and requests that no interruption may take place in the political alliance between England and her native country. Her concluding words are, "God willing, I purpose to lead my life in this realm. ANNA, duchess born of Cleves, Gulick, Geldre, and Berg, and your loving sister."[1] After she had dined, Anne further declared, "that she neither would, nor justly might, hereafter repute herself as his grace's wife, or in anywise vary from what she had said and written; and again declared she had returned his majesty the ring delivered to her at her *pretenced* marriage, with her most humble commendations."[2]

Another letter from Anne to her brother is preserved. It is without date, but evidently written at the same period as the preceding; and, from the concluding sentence, it is easy to perceive she dreaded that the slightest interference from her continental friends would imperil her life:—

"BROTHER,

"Because I had rather ye knew the truth by mine advertisement, than for want thereof be deceived by false reports, I write these present letters to you, by which ye shall understand that, being advertised how the nobles and commons of this realm desired the king's highness here to commit the examination of the matter of marriage between me and his majesty to the determination of the clergy, I did the more willingly consent thereto; and since the determination made, have also allowed, approved, and agreed unto the same, wherein I have more respect (as becometh me) to truth and good pleasure, than any worldly affection that might move me to the contrary.

"I account God pleased with what is done, and know myself to have suffered no wrong or injury, my person being preserved in the integrity which I brought into this realm, and I truly discharged from all bond of consent. I find the king's highness, whom I cannot justly have as my husband, to be, nevertheless, a most kind, loving, and friendly father and brother, and to use me as honourably and with as much liberality as you, I myself, or any of our kin or allies could wish; wherein I am, for mine own part, so well content and satisfied, that I much desire my mother, you, and other mine allies, so to understand, accept, and take it, and so to use yourself towards this noble and virtuous prince, as he may have cause to continue his friendship towards you, which on his behalf shall nothing be impaired or altered in this matter; for so it hath pleased his highness

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 643. [2] Ibid.

to signify to me, that like as he will show to me always a most fatherly and brotherly kindness, and has so provided for me, so will he remain with you and other according to the knot of amity which between you hath been concluded (this matter notwithstanding), in such wise as neither I, *ne* you, nor any of our friends shall have just cause of miscontentment.

"Thus much I have thought necessary to write to you, lest, for want of true knowledge, ye might take this matter otherwise than ye ought, and in other sort care for me more than ye have cause. *Only I require this of you,—that ye so conduct yourself, as for your untowardness in this matter I fare not the worse, whereunto I trust you will have regard.*"[1]

Thus we see that Anne was, in effect, detained by Henry as a hostage for the conduct of her brother and his allies, for she plainly intimates that any hostility from them will be visited on her head. Marillac, in relating this transaction to the king his master, in a letter dated July 21st, says,—"The marriage has been dissolved, and the queen appears to make no objection. The only answer her brother's ambassador can get from her is, 'that she wishes in all things to please the king, her lord,' bearing testimony of his good treatment of her, and desiring to remain in this country. This being reported to the king, makes him show her the greater respect. He gives her the palace of Richmond and other places for life, with 12,000 crowns for her revenue; but has forbidden the vicars and ministers to call her queen any more, but only 'my lady Anne of Cleves,' which is cause of great regret to the people, whose love she had gained, and who esteemed her as one of the most sweet, gracious, and humane queens they have had, and they greatly desired her to continue with them as their queen. Now it is said that the king is going to marry a young lady of extraordinary beauty, a daughter of a deceased brother of the duke of Norfolk,—it is even reported that this marriage has already taken place, only it is kept secret: I cannot say if it is true. The queen takes it all in good part." This certainly was her best policy, as his excellency seems to think. In less than a fortnight after Henry had dissolved his marriage with Anne of Cleves, he sent Cromwell to the block, and consigned Dr. Barnes to the flames in Smithfield.[2] The divorced queen had reason to congratulate herself that she had escaped with life, when she saw what was the doom of the two principal agents in her late marriage.

There are in Rymer's Fœdera[3] two patents subsequent to

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. [2] Burnet, vol. i. p. 188. [3] Vol. xiv. 709, 714.

the divorce, which relate to this lady. The former, dated 9th January, 1541, is a grant of naturalization in the usual form; in the other, she is described as Anna of Cleve, &c., who had come into England on a treaty of marriage, which, although celebrated in the face of the church, yet never received a real consummation, because the conditions were not fulfilled in due time. That the marriage was therefore dissolved by mutual consent, and she being content to abide in this realm, and to yield to its laws, and to discharge her conscience of that pretended marriage, the king, of his especial favour, granted to her certain manors and estates in divers counties, lately forfeited by the attainder of the earl of Essex[1] and sir Nicholas Carew, to be held, without rendering account, from the Lady-day foregoing the said grant, which was dated on the 20th of January, 1541. These estates were granted to her on condition that she should not pass beyond the sea during her life. Anne of Cleves possessed the manor of Denham-hall, Essex, as part of her jointure or appanage, as appears from the court-roll, beginning "*Cur' Serenissime Dna* . . . Anne de Cleve." It may be observed, the steward, not venturing to style her 'queen' after the divorce, and not knowing what to call her, discreetly leaves a blank before Anne.

The following is an extract from a contemporary record[2] of the deeds of Henry VIII. during the few months of his marital union with his fourth consort, set down in brief business-like order, like entries in a tradesman's day-book, without one word either in excuse or censure,—facts that require no adjectives of indignant reprobation to excite the horror of every right-minded person against the sanguinary tyrant:—

"The iiide day of *Jenyver*, Saturday, did the king and all the nobles of the realm, and the mayor and all the aldermen in their best array, and every craft in their best array, *went* [go] down in their barges to Greenwich, and every barge as goodly drest as they could devise, with streamers and banners. And there the king did receive and meet my lady Ann, the *deukes* doughter off Kleve, and made her queene of Inglande.

"The xxviij day of July, Wednesday, was beheaded, at Tower-hill, which that afore had been master of the Rolls; and after that, the king's secretary; and after that, vicar-general, knight of the Garter, earl of Essex, and lord

[1] Cromwell, whose spoils formed the principal fund for the maintenance of this princess.

[2] A Brief Diary, *temp.* Henry VII. and Henry VIII. MS. Vespasian, A xiv. Printed by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, No. viii. c. 30.

chamberlain of Ireland. And my lord Hungerford was beheaded there that same time too.

"The xxx day of July, Friday, was there drawn from the Tower to Smithfield vi doctors: iij of them was burned, and the *tother* three was hanged and quartered. They that were burned were doctor Barnes, doctor Garet, parson of Honey-lane, doctor Jerom, vicar of Stepney; and their names that was quartered, doctor Powelle, doctor Abelle, and doctor Fethurstone. And the heads of my lord Cromwell and my lord Hungerford were set up on London-bridge, and their bodies buried in the Tower. This same year was quene An, the dewkes doughter of Kleve aforesaid, put aside."

During the six months that Anne of Cleves was Henry's queen, some very important changes were effected, especially the dissolution of the monasteries, and the institution of the six bloody articles. As far as her little power went, she was at this time a friend to the Reformation, yet soon after a convert to the church of Rome. Owen Oglethorpe owed his promotion as a bishop to her favour. Anne was so fond of her step-daughter, the princess Elizabeth, that the only favour she asked of Henry after the dissolution of their marriage was, that she might sometimes be permitted to see her; a request which Henry was graciously pleased to grant, on condition that she should not be addressed by his daughter and her attendants by the style and title of queen, but simply as the lady Anne of Cleves.[1]

After the divorce Anne continued to reside at her palace at Richmond, and on the 6th of August Henry *honoured* her with a visit. She received him with a pleasant countenance, and treated him with all due respect; which put him into such high good humour that he supped with her merrily, and demeaned himself so lovingly, and with such singular graciousness, that some of the bystanders fancied he was going to take her for his queen again.[2] There is little doubt, however, that he was already married to her more attractive rival, Katharine Howard, whom two days afterwards he publicly introduced to his court as his queen. Perhaps he considered it prudent to pay a previous visit to Anne, to ascertain whether any objection would be raised on her part to his investing another with her lawful title. Anne wisely treated the affair with complacency. The duke of Cleves

[1] Leti, Vita di Elisabetta.

[2] Despatches of Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.

wept with bitter mortification when he received the account of his sister's wrongs, and found himself precluded from testifying the indignation they inspired: Anne, on the contrary, manifested the most lively satisfaction at having regained her freedom. The yoke of which Henry complained had, certainly, been no silken bond to her; and no sooner was she fairly released from it, than she exhibited a degree of vivacity she had never shown during her matrimonial probation. Marillac says, "This is marvellous prudence on her part, though some consider it stupidity." That which seemed to make the greatest impression on our diplomatic gossip was, that she every day put on a rich new dress, "each more wonderful than the last,"[1] which made two things very apparent; first, that she did not take the loss of Henry very much to heart; and secondly, that her bridal outfit was of a very magnificent description. Bad as Henry's conduct was to his rejected consort, one of the kings of France behaved still more dishonourably under similar circumstances, for he not only sent his affianced bride back with contempt, but detained her costly wardrobe and jewels for the use of a lady who had found more favour in his sight. Marillac tells his sovereign, September 3rd, 1540, "Madame of Cleves has a more joyous countenance than ever. She wears a great variety of dresses, and passes all her time in sports and recreations." From his excellency's next report, of the 17th of the same month, we gather that the divorced queen was said to be in a situation which would, if it had been really the case, have placed the king in a peculiar state of embarrassment between his passion for his new bride, Katharine Howard, and his frantic desire of increasing his family. Anne passed her time very comfortably, meanwhile, at her Richmond-palace, or among the more sequestered bowers of Ham;[2] and, in the exercise of all the gentle charities of life, pursued the even tenour of her way. "Of the repudiated queen," observes Marillac, in his despatch November 1st, "no more

[1] Despatches of Marillac; Bibliothèque du Roi.

[2] Some relics still remain at Ham-house of this era, chiefly ornaments of the fire-places, with the portcullis figured thereon, seen by the author in the summer of 1843.

is said than if she were dead." The duke of Cleves manifested a lofty spirit of independence, and could never be induced to admit the invalidity of his sister's marriage. The bishop of Bath, who had been sent over to reconcile him, if possible, to the arrangement into which Anne had entered, could get no further declaration from him than the sarcastic observation, that "He was glad his sister had fared no worse."[1]

In the first steps of the divorce an option was given to Anne as to her residence, either in England or abroad, yet the liberty of choice was illusory; the divorce-jointure of 3000*l.* per annum was made up of many detached grants of crown lands, among which the confiscated possessions of Cromwell stand conspicuous, but to all these grants the condition of her residence in England was attached.[2] A prudent regard to her pecuniary interests, in all probability, withheld this much-injured princess from returning to her father-land, and the fond arms of that mother who had reluctantly resigned her to a royal husband so little worthy of possessing a wife of "lowly and gentle conditions." Meekly as Anne demeaned herself in her retirement, a jealous watch was kept, not only on her proceedings, but the correspondence of herself and household, by king Henry's ministers, as we find by the following entry in the privy council book of July the 22nd, 1541:—"William Sheffield, lately one of the retinue at Calais, was apprehended for having said he had letters from the lady Anne of Cleves to the duke of Norfolk, and was brought before the council and searched; when it was found that his letters were only from one Edward Bynings of Calais to Mrs. Howard, the old duchess of Norfolk's woman, to Mrs. Katharine Basset and Mrs. Sympson, the lady Anne of Cleves' women, which were but letters of friendship from private individuals; yet he was committed for further examination."[3] The investigation came to nothing. The good sense and amiable temper of

[1] Lord Herbert's Henry VIII., vol. ii. fol. 224.
[2] See Manning's Surrey.
[3] Sir Harris Nicolas' Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

Anne preserved her from involving herself in any of the political intrigues of the times; and she with truly queenly dignity avoided all appearance of claiming the sympathy of any class of Henry's subjects. But though she avoided the snares of party, she was not so much forgotten by the people of England as the French ambassador imagined. The friends of the Reformation regarded her as the king's lawful wife, and vainly hoped the time would come when, cloyed with the charms of the youthful rival for whom he had discarded her, he would fling his idol from him, as he had done the once-adored Anne Boleyn, and reinstate the injured Fleming in her rights.

Within sixteen months after Anne of Cleves had been compelled to resign the crown-matrimonial of England, the fall of her fair successor took place. When the news reached Anne's quiet little court at Richmond of the events which had filled the royal bowers of Hampton with confusion, and precipitated queen Katharine from a throne to a prison, the excitement among the ladies of Anne's household could not be restrained. The domestic troubles of the king were regarded by them as an immediate visitation of retributive justice for the unfounded aspersions he had cast upon their virtuous mistress; the feelings of some of these ladies carried them so far beyond the bounds of prudence, that two of them, Jane Ratsey and Elizabeth Basset, were summoned before the council, and committed to prison, for having said, "What! is God working his own work to make the lady Anne of Cleve queen again?" Jane Ratsey added many praises of the lady Anne, with disqualifying remarks on queen Katharine, and said, "It was impossible that so sweet a queen as the lady Anne could be utterly put down:" to which *Elizabeth* Basset[1] rejoined, "What a man the king is! How many wives *will* he have?" The ladies were very sternly questioned by the council as to their motives in presuming to utter such audacious comments on the matrimonial affairs of the sovereign; on which Elizabeth Basset, being greatly

[1] This name, perhaps, ought to be Katharine Basset, as we see above that Katharine's letters were intercepted. She was the same maid of honour whose curious letter to her mother is quoted p. 62 of this biography.

alarmed, endeavoured to excuse herself by saying she was so greatly astounded at the tidings of queen Katharine's naughty behaviour, that she must have lost her senses when she permitted herself to give utterance to the treasonable words, "What a man the king is! How many more wives will he have?"[1]

Two days after, a more serious matter connected with Anne was brought before the council, for it was confidently reported that she had been brought to bed of a "faire boye," of whom the king was the father, but that she had neither apprized him nor his cabinet of the fact.[2] This rumour threw both Henry and his council into great perplexity, especially as the capricious monarch had honoured his discarded consort with several private visits at her palace of Richmond; and it is, moreover, evident that Anne had actually passed some days at the royal residence of Hampton-Court as the guest of Henry and his young queen, which seemed to give a colour to the tale. Henry expressed himself as highly displeased with the ladies and officers of state at Richmond, for not having apprized him of the supposed situation of the ex-queen. The affair came to nothing, and proved to be an unfounded scandal, which originated in some impertinent busy-body's comment on an illness that confined poor Anne to her bed at this momentous period. The said scandal was traced by the council from one inveterate gossip to another, through no less than six persons, as we learn from the following minute of their proceedings, forming a curious interlude in the examinations touching Henry's other queen, Katharine Howard:—

"We examined also, partly before dinner, and partly after, a new matter, being a report that the lady Anne of Cleves should be delivered of a fair boy; and whose should it be but the king's majesty's! which is a most abominable slander, and for this time necessary to be met withal. This matter was told to Taverner, of the signet, more than a fortnight ago, both by his mother-in-law (Lambert's wife, the goldsmith) and by Taverner's own wife, who saith she heard it of Lilgrave's wife; and Lambert's wife heard it also of the old lady Carew.

[1] MSS. 33 Henry VIII., State-Paper office. [2] Ibid.

Taverner kept it, [concealed it,] but they [the women] with others have made it common matter of talk. Taverner never revealed it till Sunday night, at which time he told it to Dr. Cox,[1] to be further declared if he thought good, who immediately disclosed it to me the lord privy-seal. We have committed Taverner to the custody of *me* the bishop of Winchester; likewise Lambert's wife (who seemeth to have been a dunce in it) to Mr. the chancellor of the Augmentations."[2] Absurd as the report was, it made a wonderful impression on the mind of the king, who occupied a ludicrous position in the eyes of Europe as the husband of two living wives, who were both the subjects of a delicate investigation at the same moment. The attention of the privy council was distracted between the evidences on the respective charges against the rival queens for nearly a fortnight,—a fact that has never been named in history.

How obstinate Henry's suspicions of his ill-treated Flemish consort were, may be seen by the following order to his council:—"His majesty thinketh it requisite to have it *groundly* [thoroughly] examined, and further ordered by your discretions, as the manner of the case requireth, to inquire diligently, whether the said Anne of Cleves hath indeed had any child or no, as it is bruited, [reported]; for his *majesty hath been informed that it is* so indeed, in which part his majesty imputeth a great default in her officers for not advising his highness thereof, if it be true. Not doubting but your lordships will 'groundly' examine the same, and finding out the truth of the whole matter, will advise his majesty thereof accordingly."[3] Dorothy Wingfield, one of the lady Anne's bedchamber women, and the officers of her household, were subjected to a strict examination before the council, and it was not till the 30th of December that they came to the decision that Frances Lilgrave,[4] widow, having slandered the lady Anne of Cleves and touched also the king's person, she affirming to have heard the report of others whom she refused to name, should be for her punishment committed to the Tower, and

[1] Prince Edward's tutor.

[2] Printed State-Papers, vol. i. pp. 697, 698. [3] Ibid. 701.

[4] The Lilgraves were the court embroiderers.—See life of Anne Boleyn.

Richard Taverner, clerk of the signet, also, for concealing the same."[1]

No sooner was Anne cleared from this imputation, than a great effort was made by her brother, and the Protestant party, to effect a reunion between her and the king. The duke of Cleves evidently imagined, that the disgrace of the new queen was neither more nor less than the first move of the king and his ministers towards a reconciliation with Anne. The duke's ambassadors opened the business to the earl of Southampton, to whom Osliger also wrote a pressing letter, urging the expediency of such a measure.[2] Southampton communicated the particulars to the king of his interview with the ambassadors on the subject, and inclosed Osliger's letter, but was certainly too well aware of Henry's opinion of the lady to venture to second the representations of the court of Cleves. The next attempt was made by the ambassadors on Cranmer, which is thus related by him in the following curious letter to the king:[3]—

"It may please your majesty to be advertised, that yesterday the ambassador of Cleve came to my house at Lambeth, and delivered to me letters from Osliger, vice-chancellor to the duke of Cleve, the purport whereof is nothing else but to commend to me the cause of the lady Anne of Cleve, which, though he trusted I should do of myself, yet he saith the occasion is such, that he will not put spurs to a horse which runneth of his own courage. When I had read the letter, and considered that no cause was expressed specially, but only in general that I should have commended the cause of the lady Anne of Cleve, after some demur the ambassador came to the point, and plainly asked me to effect the reconciliation. Whereunto I answered, 'that I thought it not a little strange that Osliger should think it meet for me to move a reconciliation of that matrimony, of the which I, as much as any other person, knew most just causes of divorce.' [Cranmer then declared he could take no steps in the matter unless the king should command him.] 'But,' continued he, 'I shall signify the same to his highness, and thereupon you shall have an answer.' Now what shall be your majesty's pleasure that I shall do? whether to make a general answer to Osliger by writing, or that I shall make a certain answer in this point to the ambassador by mouth? I most humbly beseech your majesty that I may be advertised, and according thereto I shall order myself, by the grace of God, whom I beseech daily to have your majesty evermore in his protection and governance. From my manor of Lambeth, this Tuesday the 13th of January.

"Your grace's most bounded
"chaplain and bedesman,
"T. CANTUARIEN."

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[1] Register of the Privy-Council office, p. 288.
[2] State-Papers, MSS. 294.
[3] State-Papers, 716, 717.

Cranmer, warned by the fate of Cromwell, ventured not to urge the king to put his head a second time into the yoke with his discarded consort, and the negotiation came to nothing. Perhaps Anne herself was unwilling to risk her life, by entering again into the perilous thraldom from which she had been once released. The tragic fate of her fair young rival must have taught her to rejoice that she had saved her own head by resigning a crown without a struggle.

In June 1543 Anne received a friendly visit from her step-daughter, the princess Mary, who stayed with her some days, and on her departure gave very liberal largesses to the officers of the household, from the gentlemen ushers down to the servants of the scullery department.[1] In the August of the same year Anne's mother, the widowed duchess of Cleves, died. Early in the following year Anne sent the princess Mary a present of Spanish sewing or embroidery silk.[2] No event of any importance occurred to break the peaceful tenour of Anne's life till the death of Henry VIII. In the first letter of Edward Seymour (afterwards the duke of Somerset) to the council of regency, he gives the following directions:[3]—"If ye have not already advertised my lady Anne of Cleves of king Henry's death, it shall be well done if ye send some express person for the same." This event left the ill-treated princess at full liberty, had she wished, to marry, or to return to her own country. But of marriage Anne had had an evil specimen; and, with greater wisdom than Henry's other widow, Katharine Parr, she retained her independence by remaining in single blessedness.

Anne visited the court of her royal step-son Edward VI., June 26, 1550. Her affairs had got into some disorder at that period, so that she found herself under the necessity of applying to her brother the duke of Cleves for his assistance. That prince represented her distress to the English government, and with some difficulty obtained for her the munificent grant of four hundred pounds towards paying her debts. The

[1] Sir F. Madden's Privy-purse Expenses; Princess Mary. [2] Ibid.
[3] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. i. p. 13.

pensions of such of her servants as were paid by the crown being in arrear, she petitioned the king for them to be liquidated; but the official reply coolly stated, "that the king's highness being on his progress, could not be troubled at that time about payments." Anne had acquired the English language and English habits, and formed an intimate friendship with Henry's daughter the princess Mary, who was a few months older than herself, as well as the young Elizabeth, to whom she appears to have behaved with great tenderness. England had therefore become her country, and it was natural that she should prefer a residence where she was honoured and loved by all to whom her excellent qualities were known to returning to her native land, after the public affronts that had been put upon her by the coarse-minded tyrant to whom she had been sacrificed by her family. Besides these cogent reasons, her property in England required her personal care, as it was subjected to some mutations by the new government, of which the records of the times afford proofs.[1] Among others, the following letter from Anne to her former stepdaughter:—

"ANNE OF CLEVES TO PRINCESS MARY.

"MADAM,

"After my most hearty commendations to your grace, being very desirous to hear of your prosperous health, wherein I very much rejoice, it may please you to be advertised that it hath pleased the king's majesty to have in exchange my manor and lands of Bisham, in the county of Berkshire, granting me in recompense the house of Westropp [Westhorpe], in Suffolk, with the two parks and certain manors thereunto adjoining; notwithstanding, if it had been his highness' pleasure, I was well contented to have continued without exchange. After which grant, for mine own assurance in that behalf I have travailed, to my great cost and charge, almost this twelve months; it hath passed the king's majesty's bill, signed, and the privy-seal, being now, as I am informed, stayed at the great seal, for that you, madam, be minded to have the same, not knowing, as I suppose, of the said grant. I have also received at this Michaelmas last past, part of the rent of the aforesaid manors. Considering the premises, and for the amity which hath always been between us, (of which I most heartily desire the continuance,) that it may please you therefore to ascertain me by your letters or otherwise, as it shall stand with your pleasure. And thus, good madam, I commit you unto the everliving God, to have you in merciful keeping. From my house of Bletchingly, the viii. day of January, anno M.V^c^LIII.

"Your assured loving friend to her little power to command,

"ANNA, the *dowghter* of Cleves."

[1] Hearne's Sylloge; likewise a letter from Edward VI.'s council, 1547. signifies that the lady Anne of Cleves shall have the use of the house, deer, and woods of Penshurst, as she now has those of Bletchingly. The eagerness of the

The last public appearance of Anne of Cleves was at the coronation of queen Mary, where she had her place in the regal procession, and rode in the same carriage with the princess Elizabeth, with whom she was always on the most affectionate terms. That precedence which Henry VIII. insured to her she always enjoyed, nor did any of the ladies of the royal family attempt to dispute it with her. But her happiness appears to have been in the retirement of domestic life. Two of her brothers, William duke of Cleves, and his successor, John William, were subject to mental malady, and died insane; but nothing appears to have ever ruffled the tranquil temperament of this amiable princess, who in the most difficult and trying situations conducted herself with great prudence.

After the celebration of queen Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, at Winchester, Anne of Cleves addressed to the royal bride a congratulatory epistle, in which, being evidently perplexed by the undefined dignity of queen-regnant, she rings the changes on the titles of "majesty," "highness," and "grace," in a singular manner;—

"To the Queen's Majesty,

"After my humble commendations unto *your majesty*, with thanks for your loving favour showed to me in my last suit, and praying of *your highness* your loving continuance, it may please *your highness* to understand that I am informed of *your grace's* return to London again; and being desirous to do my duty to see *your majesty* and the king, if it may so stand with *your highness'* pleasure, and that I may know when and where I shall wait on *your majesty* and *his*. Wishing you both much joy and felicity, with increase of children to God's glory, and to the preservation of your prosperous estates, long to continue with honour in all godly virtue. From my poor house at Hever, the 4th of August.

"Your highness' to command,

"Anna, the daughter of Cleves."

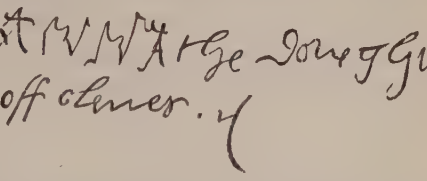
Endorsed, "The Lady Anne of Cleves to the Queen's majesty, August 4, 1554."

Anne retained property at Bletchingly after this exchange, in proof whereof is her receipt, early in the reign of queen Mary, to sir Thomas Carden, who was master of the revels at

letter in setting forth the superior advantages of Penshurst to her present residence, leads to the inference that the exchange was not voluntary on the part of Anne. Among the conveniences of Penshurst is mentioned its contiguity to Hever. The council adds, that her transfer from Bletchingly to Penshurst was the intention of the deceased king Henry, but they conclude with assertions that it is their wish in all things to please and gratify her grace.—Archæologia.

the court of Henry VIII., his son, and daughter. This document, signed by her own hand, is among the Losely MSS.,[1] dated the last day of December, first year of Philip and Mary, (1553) :—

"Received of sir Thomas Carden, knight, the day and year above written, for one quarter of a year's rent due unto us by the same sir Thomas Carden at this feast of Christmas, according to an indenture bearing date the second day of October in the year aforesaid, the sum of 8*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, in full contentation, satisfaction, and payment of our rents at Bletchingly, and our lands there, and in clear discharge of the same rents to this present day before dated. We have to these letters, being our acquittance, subscribed our name for his discharge.



Anne of Cleves spent much of her time at a residence she had at Dartford, being one of the suppressed abbeys which Henry VIII. had turned into a hunting-seat; and Edward VI. had given it into the bargain, when the exchange was made between Bletchingly and Penshurst. She was abiding at Dartford the year before her death, when sir Thomas Carden, her tenant at Bletchingly, who appears to have been likewise her man of business on all occasions, came to her at Dartford, and she begged him to get certain stores laid in at the Blackfriars for her residence against she came to London; which request was made before the officers of her household, "for her grace lacked money to buy the needful furniture, and she promised payment to sir Thomas if he would make the purchases for her." But the amount was left unpaid at the death of Anne of Cleves, and it appears, from sir Thomas Carden's account, she was without money at the time she requested him to make the purchases. Of his outlay the Losely MSS. furnish items. Her cellar he furnishes with three hogsheads of Gascoigne wine, at 3*l.* each; ten gallons of Malmsey, at 20*d.* per gallon; eleven gallons of muscadel, at 2*s.* 2*d.* per gallon; and sack, ten gallons, at 16*d.* per gallon. The spicery had a stock of

[1] Losely MSS., edited by A. J. Kempe, esq. p. 10.

three pounds of ginger, 3*s.*; of cinnamon, three ounces, 15*d.*; cloves and mace, six ounces; pepper, one pound, 2*s.* 4*d.*; raisins, two pounds, at 2*d.* per pound, while two pounds of prunes cost 3*d.* Three muttons at 7*s.* each; twenty capons, and a dozen lower price, cost 6*s.*; two dozen rabbits cost 3*s.* In the pastry department was laid in one bushel of fine wheat-flour, at the great price of 6*s.* per bushel. Thirty loads of coals were laid in, at 16*s.* the load; a vast many fagots and billets, and three dozen rushes for strewing the floors, at 20*d.* the dozen. In the chandry, sir Thomas Carden had provided thirty-five pounds of wax-lights, sixes and fours to the pound, and prickets, which last were stuck on a spike to be burnt; these wax-candles were 1*s.* per pound. Staff-torches were provided at 1*s.* 4*d.* a-piece, and white lights eighteen dozen, over and above sundry fair pots of pewter by the said sir Thomas bought and provided to serve in the buttery for the lady Anne's household; likewise brass, iron, and *latten* pots, pans, kettles, skillets, ladles, skimmers, spits, trays, and flaskets, with divers other utensils and properties furnished to the value of 9*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, some of which were broken, spoiled, and lost, and the rest remain at his house to his use, for which he asks no compensation. Likewise two dozen of fair new pewter candlesticks, delivered for her grace's chandry and chambers. The whole account finishes with a remark that he had provided sundry kinds of fresh fish, as carps, pikes, and tenches, at the request of her grace, which were privately dressed in her grace's laundry for the *trial of cookery*, by which it has been surmised that Anne made private experiments in the noble culinary art.

Anne possessed the placid domestic virtues which seem in a manner indigenous to German princesses. "She was," says Holinshed, who lived in her century, "a lady of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, and very bountiful to her servants." She spent her time at the head of her own little court, which was a happy household within itself, and we may presume well governed, for we hear neither of plots nor quarrels, tale-bearings nor mischievous intrigues, as rife in her home-circle. She was tenderly beloved

by her domestics, and well attended by them in her last sickness. She died at the age of forty-one, of some declining illness, which she took calmly and patiently. Her will is a very *naïve* production, showing the most minute attention to all things that could benefit her own little domestic world. It was made but two days before her death, being dated July 12th and 15th, 1557; it is, when divested of tautologies, as follows:—

"We, Anna, daughter of John late duke of Cleves, and sister to the excellent prince William, now reigning duke of Cleves, Gulick (Juliers), and Barre, sick in body, but whole in mind and memory, thanks be to Almighty God, declare this to be our last will and testament: 1st. We give and bequeath our soul to the holy Trinity, and our body to be buried where it shall please God. 2ndly We most heartily pray our executors undernamed to be humble suitors for us, and in our name, to the queen's most excellent majesty, that our debts may be truly contented and paid to every one of our creditors, and that they will see the same justly answered for our discharge.[1] Beseeching, also, the queen's highness of her clemency to grant unto our executors the receipts of our land accustomed to be due at Michaelmas towards the payment of our creditors, for that is not the moiety of our revenues, nor payable wholly at that time, and not able to answer the charge of our household, especially this year,[2] the price of all cattle and other *acats* [purchases] exceeding the old rate. 3rdly. We earnestly require our said executors to be good lords and masters to all our poor servants, to whom we give and bequeath, every one of them being in our check-roll, as well to our officers as others taking wages either from the queen's highness or from us, from the current month of July, one whole year's wages; also as much black cloth, at 13*s.* 4*d.* per yard, as will make them each a gown and hood, and to every one of our gentlemen waiters and gentlewomen accordingly. And to our yeomen, grooms, and children of our household, two yards each of black cloth, at 9*s.* the yard Also, to every one of the gentlewomen of our privy-chamber, for their great pains taken with us, to Mrs. Wingfield, 100*l.*; 20*l.* to Susan Boughton, towards her marriage; to Dorothy Curzon, towards her marriage, 100*l.*; to Mrs. Haymond, 20*l.* [To twelve other ladies, who seem of the like degree, she bequeaths various sums, from 10*l.* to 16*l.* each.] To our laundress, Elizabeth Eliot, 10*l.*; and to mother Lovell, [this was the nurse of her sick-room,] for her attendance upon us in this time of this our sickness, 10*l.*

"*Item.* We give and bequeath to every one of our gentlemen daily attendant on us, over and beside our former bequests, [viz. wages and black cloth,] 10*l.*; that is to say, to Thomas Blackgrove, 10*l.*, to John Wymbushe, 10*l.*, [eight gentlemen are enumerated]; likewise to our yeomen and grooms 11*s.* a-piece, and to all the children of our house 10*s.* a-piece. And we give to the duke of Cleves, our brother, a ring of gold with a fair diamond; and to our sister the duchess of Cleves, his wife, a ring having therein a great rock ruby, the ring being black enamelled. Also, we give to our sister, the lady Emely, a ring of gold, having thereon a fair pointed diamond; and to the lady Katherine duchess

[1] For the health of her soul, which, as a Catholic, she considered debts endangered.

[2] It was a time of famine: witness the enormous price of 6*s.* for a bushel of flour in the accounts of sir Thomas Carden.

of Suffolk,[1] a ring of gold, having a fair table diamond, somewhat long; and to the countess of Arundel a ring of gold, having a fair table diamond, with an H and I of gold set under the stone. Moreover we give and bequeath to the lord Paget, lord privy-seal, a ring of gold, having therein a three-cornered diamond; and to our cousin the lord Waldeck[2] a ring of gold, having therein a fair great hollow ruby. Moreover our mind and will is, that our plate, jewels, and robes be sold, with other of our goods and chattels, towards the payment of our debts, funerals, and legacies. And we do further bequeath to Dr. Symonds, our *phisicon*, towards his great pains, labours, and travails taken oft-times with us, 20*l.*; and to Alarde, our surgeon and servant, 4*l.*; and to our servant John Guligh, over and above his wages, 10*l.*; and to every one of our alms-children, towards their education, 10*l.* a-piece, to be delivered according to the discretion of our executors. Also we will and bequeath to the poor of Richmond, Bletchingly, Hever, and Dartford, 4*l.* to each parish, to be paid to the churchwardens at the present, and to be laid out by the advice of our servants thereabouts dwelling. And to our chaplains, sir Otho Rampello, and to sir Denis Thoms, either of them to pray for us, 5*l.* and a black gown. And to our poor servant James Powell, 10*l.*, and to Elya Turpin, our old laundress, to pray for us, 4*l.*, and to our late servant, Otho Willicke, 20*l.*, ; and our will and pleasure is, that our servants, sir Otho Rampello, Arnold Ringlebury, John Guligh, John Solenbrough, Derrick Pasman, Arnold Holgins, and George Hagalas, being our countrymen, and minding to depart out of this realm of England, shall have towards their expenses, every one 10*l.* And we bequeath to Thomas Perce, our cofferer, to Thomas Hawe, our clerk-comptroller, and to Michael Apsley, clerk of our kitchen, for their pains, taken with us sundry ways, over and besides their formal wages, 10*l.* each. And our will and pleasure is, that our said cofferer, who hath disbursed much for us for the maintenance of our estate and household, should be truly paid by our executors; likewise all other of our servants that hath disbursed any money for us at any time, if they have not been paid. The residue of all our goods, plate, jewels, robes, cattle, and debts, not given or bequeathed, after our funeral debts and legacies, we give and bequeath to the right honourable Nicholas Heathe, archbishop of York and lord chancellor of England, Henry earl of Arundel, sir Edmund Peckham, and sir Richard Preston, knights, whom we ordain and make our executors of this our last will and testament. And our most dearest and entirely beloved sovereign lady queen Mary we earnestly desire to be our overseer of our said last will, with most humble request to see the same performed as shall to her highness seem best for the health of our soul. And in token of the special trust and affiance which we have in her grace, we do give and bequeath to her most excellent majesty, for a remembrance, our best jewel, beseeching her highness that our poor servants may enjoy such small gifts and grants as we have made unto them in consideration of their long service done unto us, being appointed to wait on us at the first erection of our household by her majesty's late father, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., for that his said majesty said then unto us, 'That he would account our servants his own, and their service done to us as if done to himself:' therefore we beseech the queen's majesty so to accept them in this time of their extreme need. Moreover we give and bequeath to the lady Elizabeth's grace—[afterwards queen Elizabeth]—my second best jewel, with our hearty request to accept and take into her service one of our poor maids, named Dorothy Curzon. And we do likewise give and bequeath unto every one of our executors before named, towards their pains, viz. to the lord chancellor's grace, a fair bowl of gold with a cover;

[1] The heiress of Willoughby, fourth wife and widow to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

[2] The count of Waldeck.

to the earl of Arundel, a maudlin standing-cup of gold with a cover; to sir Edmund Peckham, a jug of gold with a cover, or else a crystal glass garnished with gold and set with stones; to sir Richard Preston, our best gilt bowl with a cover, or else that piece of gold plate which sir Edmund leaveth (if it be his pleasure), most heartily beseeching them to pray for us, and to see our body buried according to the queen's will and pleasure; and that we may have the suffrages of holy church according to the Catholic faith, wherein we end our life in this transitory world.

"These being witnesses, Thomas Perce, our cofferer, Thomas Hawe, our comptroller, John Symonds, doctor in physic, &c.; also Dorothy Wingfield, widow, Susan Boughton, Dorothy Curzon, *jantlewomen* of our privy-chamber [bedchamber], with many others; and by me, Dionysius Thomow,[1] chaplain and *confessor* to the same most noble lady Anna of Cleves."

Two days after the dictation of this will, the repudiated queen of England expired peacefully at the palace of Chelsea. Her beneficent spirit was wholly occupied in deeds of mercy, caring for the happiness of her maidens and alms-children, and forgetting not any faithful servant however lowly in degree. She was on amicable terms both with the catholic Mary and the protestant Elizabeth, and left both tokens of her kindness. Although she was a Lutheran when she came to this country, it is very evident from her will that she died a Catholic.

Queen Mary appointed her place of burial in Westminster-abbey, where her funeral was performed with some magnificence. A hearse was prepared at Westminster, "with seven grand palls . . . . . as goodly a hearse as ever seen."—"The 3rd of August my lady Anne of Cleves[2] (some time wife of Henry VIII.) came from Chelsea to burial unto Westminster, with all the children of Westminster, (of the choir,) with many priests and clerks, and the *gray amice* of St. Paul's, and three crosses, and the monks of Westminster. My lord bishop of London [Bonner] and my lord abbot of Westminster [Feckenham] rode together next the monks. Then rode the two executors, sir Edmund Peckham and sir Richard Preston; and then my lord admiral and my

[1] Thomas, or Tomeo, had been comptroller of Katharine of Arragon's household at Bugden, and was transferred to that of the princess Elizabeth: he had perhaps since taken orders, for he is, under the name of *Denis Thoms*, (p. 94,) left a small legacy to pray for her soul; thus, although the will is evidently transcribed by himself, he spells both christian and surname differently in the course of it.

[2] Cottonian, Vitellus, F 7. Sir F. Madden has carefully restored from a half-burnt fragment this quaint detail of her burial.

lord Darcy, followed by many knights and gentlemen. After her banner of arms came her gentlemen of the household and her head officers, and the bier-chariot, with eight banners of arms and four banners of white taffeta, wrought with fine gold. Thus they passed St. James and on to Charing-cross, where was met a hundred torches, her servants bearing them; and the twelve bedesmen of Westminster had new black gowns, and they had twelve burning torches and four white branches; then her ladies and gentlewomen, all in black, on their horses, and about the hearse sat eight heralds bearing white banners of arms." These white ensigns were to signify that Anne of Cleves had lived a maiden life. "At the abbey-door all did alight, and the bishop of London and my lord abbot, in their mitres and copes, received the good lady, censing her; and their men did bear her under a canopy of black velvet with four black staves, and so brought her under the hearse, and there tarried dirge, and all the night with lights burning. The next day requiem was sung for my lady Anne daughter of Cleves, and then my lord of Westminster [abbot Feckenham] preached as goodly a sermon as ever was made, and the bishop of London sang mass in his mitre. And after mass, the lord bishop and lord abbot did cense the corpse; and afterwards she was carried to her tomb, where she lies with a hearse and cloth of gold over her. Then all her head officers brake their staves, and all her ushers brake their rods, and cast them into her tomb, and all the gentlemen and ladies offered at mass. My lady of Winchester was chief mourner, and my lord admiral and lord Darcy went on each side of her; and thus they went in order to a great dinner, given by my lord of Winchester to all the mourners."

Anne of Cleves is buried near the high altar of Westminster-abbey, in a place of great honour, at the feet of king Sebert, the original founder.[1] Her tomb is seldom recognised,—in fact, it looks like a long bench placed against the wall, on the right hand as the examiner stands facing the altar, near the oil portraits of Henry III. and king Sebert. On closer inspection, her initals A and C, interwoven in a monogram,

[1] Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603.

will be observed on parts of the structure, which is rather a memorial than a monument, for it was never finished.[1] "Not one of Henry's wives, excepting Anne of Cleves, had a monument," observes Fuller, "and hers was but half a one." The hearse of the queen was stripped by some thieves of all its ornaments of gold cloth, velvet, and banners: it had, in consequence, to be taken down within a fortnight of its erection. The robbery was laid, by popular report, on the monks of Westminster;[2] yet as the destruction of funeral pomps under their care militated against their very tottering establishment in England, they may be acquitted of the imputation.

It is evident that reports were spread throughout the courts of Germany, that the residence of Anne of Cleves in England was a detention full of cruelty and restraint. These ideas gave credence to an impostor, who presented herself in a state of distress at the palace of John Frederic II., prince of Coburg, and pretended to be the princess of Cleves, repudiated by Henry VIII. She was a long time entertained by the hospitable prince as his kinswoman, but was finally proved to be a maniac, and died in confinement.[3]

[1] Stowe, vol. ii. p. 603. [2] Machyn's Diary, p. 148: Camden Society.
[3] Feyjoo's Praise of Woman.

KATHARINE HOWARD,

FIFTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Parents of Katharine—Her lineage—Her adoption by the duchess of Norfolk—Neglected education—Evil associates—Early imprudences—Connivance of Mary Lassells—Katharine courted by Francis Derham—His presents to her—Their secret engagement—Wrath of the duchess of Norfolk—Derham absconds—His mournful adieu—Improvement of Katharine's conduct—Derham's return—She repels his addresses—His perseverance and jealousy—Katharine is introduced at court—Henry VIII. falls in love with her—Appointed maid of honour—The king marries Katharine—She appears publicly as queen—Medallion in honour of her marriage—Ladies of her household—Perilous reports—Royal progress to Grafton, &c.—Rumours of the restoration of Anne of Cleves—Affection of the king to queen Katharine—Residence at Windsor, Hampton-Court, Westminster, and Greenwich—Katharine's dower—Her estrangement from her uncle Norfolk—Great northern progress of the king and queen—Queen admits Derham into her household—Imprudent interview with her cousin Culpepper—Katharine denounced before the privy council.

The career of Katharine Howard affords a grand moral lesson, a lesson better calculated to illustrate the fatal consequences of the first heedless steps in guilt, than all the warning essays that have ever been written on those subjects. No female writer can venture to become the apologist of this unhappy queen, yet charity may be permitted to whisper, ere the dark page of her few and evil days is unrolled,

> "Full gently scan thy brother man,
> Still gentler sister woman.

Katharine Howard, while yet a child in age, being deprived of a mother's watchful care and surrounded by unprincipled persons of maturer years, made shipwreck of all her hopes on earth ere she knew the crime—the madness into which she was betrayed. Let no one who has been more fortunately

Katharine Howard.

London, Henry Colburn, 1851.

circumstanced boast. John Bradford, one of the most illustrious of our Protestant martyrs, who afforded in his own practice a perfect exemplification of Christian holiness, when he beheld a criminal handcuffed and carried ignominiously to execution, exclaimed, "But for the grace of God, there goes John Bradford!"

Katharine Howard was the cousin-german of a previous victim of Henry VIII.'s stormy love and murderous caprice, the beautiful and ill-fated Anne Boleyn; she was his fifth wife, and the third private gentlewoman whom he elevated to the perilous dignity of his queen. Although she was his subject, the lineage of this lady was, in some respects, not inferior to his own. Through her royal ancestress, queen Adelicia, Katharine Howard was the descendant of the imperial race of Charlemagne.[1]

Margaret Brotherton, the grand-daughter of Edward I. and Marguerite of France,[2] transmitted the mingled blood of the Plantagenets and the kings of France to her descendants, by Thomas Mowbray, the heir of the Albinis and the Warrens, and thus united, in a blended line, the posterity of Henry I. and his two queens, "Matilda the Good and Adelicia the Fair." Margaret of Brotherton was created duchess of Norfolk, and claimed her father Thomas Plantagenet's office of earl-marshal. Her claims were allowed, and she was called the *mareschale;* but her son, Thomas Mowbray, was invested by her with the marshal's rod, and acted as her deputy. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the famous Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, and their daughter Margaret conveyed the honours and demesnes of all these noble houses to her son by sir Robert Howard; namely, John, the first duke of Norfolk of the name of Howard. He was slain at Bosworth, and his dukedom was confiscated by Henry VII. Thomas, his eldest son, was the victorious Surrey of Flodden-field.[3] At that memorable battle, where the national glory of England was so signally advanced by the valour and military skill of Katha-

[1] See biography of queen Adelicia, vol. i.

[2] Life of Marguerite of France, vol. i.

[3] Howard Memorials by Henry Howard, esq. of Corby.

rine's family, her father, lord Edmund, Surrey's ninth son, was the marshal of the English host, under the command of his renowned father. He led the right wing, and sustained unshrinkingly the fiery onslaught of Huntley and Home, though the Cheshire men fled; leaving, as the ancient record certifies, "the said master Edmund in a manner alone, without succour, by his banner, which he gallantly defended," verifying the chivalric aphorism which Scott, in after years, attached to the cognizance of his house,—

> "For who, in field or foray slack,
> Saw the blanche lion e'er give back."

The standard-bearer, indeed, was slain and hewn to pieces, and the stainless banner of Howard fell with him, yet not before the dauntless *lionceau* of the house, who had so well maintained it, was himself thrice beaten down to the ground; but, "like a courageous and a hardy young gentleman," pursues our document, "he recovered again, and fought hand to hand with sir David Home, and slew him with his own hands. And thus the said master Edmund was in great peril, till the lord Dacre, like a good knight and true, came to his succour and relieved him."[1] After the battle, young Edmund received the well-earned honour of knighthood from the sword of his victorious father, and the forfeited dukedom of Norfolk was restored to the gallant Surrey, as a reward for the good services he and his brave sons had performed for their king and country that day.[2] Henry also granted the following augmentation of honour to the arms of Surrey and his pos-

[1] This curious narrative, by a contemporary, is to be found in Galt's Life of Wolsey. It has recently been reprinted in black letter.

[2] The triumph of the blanche lion of Katharine's paternal house was commemorated by king Henry's laureate, Skelton, in these lines of his Song of Flodden:—

> "On Branxholme moor and Flodden hills,
> Our English bows, our English bills,
> Against ye poured so sharp a shower,
> Of Scotland ye have lost the flower.
> The white lion, rampant of mood,
> He raged, and rent out your heart blood;
> He the white, and you the red,
> The white there struck the red stark dead."—*Skelton*,
> (from a black-letter edition.)

terity; viz. to bear on a bend in an escutcheon the upper half of a red lion,[1] depicted as the arms of Scotland, pierced through the mouth with an arrow.

After her marriage with the king, Katharine Howard bore the Flodden augmentation on the third quarter of her escutcheon,[2]—a proof that she was proud of the honour of her family, though, unhappily, regardless of her own. But deeply as this child of sinful passion erred, we should remember that her grandfather, her father, and her uncles performed good services for England, and advanced the glory of our country both by land and sea. Out of respect to their memories, we are bound to deal as gently by their unhappy kinswoman as the circumstances of the case will admit. Justice, indeed, requires that implicit credence should not be given to the statements of those who, without allowing her the benefit of a trial, brought her to the block unheard.

Katharine Howard was the fifth child and second daughter of lord Edmund Howard, by Joyce, or Jocosa, daughter of sir Richard Culpepper, of Holingbourne in Kent, widow of sir John Leigh, knight.[3] Lord Edmund Howard is enumerated among the noble bachelors who attended Mary Tudor to France in 1515, and supposing he married soon after, the earliest date that can be given for Katharine's birth is 1521 or 1522. She was, in all probability, born at Lambeth, which was one of the great Howard stations, where the head of the family, Thomas duke of Norfolk, kept his state when in attendance on the court. There, too, the duchess-dowager of

[1] After the honour of this victory, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, (as a *note* of the conquest,) gave to his servants this cognizance to wear on the left arm, which was a white lion (the beast which he before bore as the proper ensign of that house derived from the family of Mowbray) standing over a red lion, (which was the peculiar badge of the kingdom of Scotland,) and tearing the same red lion with his paws.—Holinshed.

[2] Willement's Regal Heraldry. See also MS. in the Herald's college, Vincent, L 14, fol. 104.

[3] Sir Thomas Howard, her eldest brother, was killed in the French wars; Henry, the second, died young; sir George Howard, the third, left no posterity. Margaret, her eldest sister, married sir Thomas Arundel, and is the ancestor in the female line of the Arundels of Wardour; Mary married Edmund Trafford, of Trafford in Lancashire; Joyce became the wife of John Stanney, a simple esquire; and Isabel, of another esquire of the Baynton family.—Howard Memorials.

Norfolk, his step-mother, and her family, resided in great splendour, and there Katharine's father, lord Edmund Howard, had a house.[1] That brave commander, who by his valour and military skill had so greatly contributed to the victory at Flodden-field, which preserved England from being overrun by an invading army, had reaped no other reward than glory for his brilliant services on that memorable day. He inherited only a younger son's portion from his illustrious father, and having married, not from motives of interest, but pure affection, a lady who brought him ten children, he and his numerous family had to struggle with the miseries of poverty, which his elevated birth and distinguished reputation rendered the more irksome. Nor was this all, for poor lord Edmund was not only without money, and destitute of credit, but at last so deeply involved in difficulties from the steps taken by his creditors to recover the sums he had been constrained, under divers emergencies, to borrow at usurious interest, that he was compelled to conceal himself under various disguises, for fear of arrest. His lady and children, among whom was a future queen of England, were of course exposed to the bitterest hardships and privations in consequence of this painful adversity. As these were the piping times of peace, lord Edmund's trusty sword lay rusting in its sheath, and his past services were lightly regarded. He was therefore desirous of turning his talents and energies into some more profitable channel, in the hope of winning bread for his starving family. Ships were at that time fitting out, by king Henry's order, for voyages of discovery in the new world, and the unrewarded hero of Flodden was desirous, as a last resource, of engaging in an expedition, which, however perilous, (navigation being then in its infancy,) offered to gentlemen of narrow fortunes but great souls, a prospect of acquiring wealth by daring enterprise. The following piteous letter, in which the father of Katharine Howard unfolds his pecuniary distresses to cardinal Wolsey, and solicits for employment in this service, affords touching evidence of the desperation of his circum-

[1] Howard Memorials. Manning's Kent.

stances, and can scarcely be read without emotion when the services he had performed for England are considered:—

"Lord Edmund Howard to Cardinal Wolsey.

"My duty remembered humbly, I beseech your grace to be my good lord, for without your gracious help I am utterly undone. Sir, so it is, that I am so far in danger of the king's laws by reason of debt I am in, that I dare not go abroad, nor come at mine own house, and am fain to absent myself from my wife and my poor children, there is such writs of execution out against me; and also, such as be my sureties are daily arrested and put to great trouble, which is to my great shame and rebuke. Sir, there is no help but through your grace, and your good mediation to the king's grace, in the which is my singular trust; and your gracious favour, shared unto me in the obtaining of this bill that I now do labour for, shall not only be meritorious, but shall be the safe-guard of my life, and relief of my poor wife and our x children, and set me out of debt. And I humbly beseech your grace, for such *poor service* as I have done the king's grace, and trust for to do, and that I be not cast away."

Gallant spirit! how modestly he alludes to deeds which turned the fortunes of the day at Flodden, when, almost single-handed, he sustained the fiery charge of Huntley and of Home, and slew the latter in knightly duel, hand to hand, as before recorded to his honour. What English reader's heart does not burn within him at the melancholy fact, that such a man should have been compelled to skulk in holes and corners for fear of encountering duns and bailiffs, and also to make humble suit to "the butcher's cur," through whom all preferments flowed, for the means of earning a livelihood! He does not sue for court places or pensions, but for employment, and that from loyal and patriotic motives, withal, for he says,—

"And if the king's grace, or your grace, should command me to do any service, I would trust to do acceptable service; and liefer I had to be in his grace's service at the farthest end of Christendom, than to live thus wretchedly, and die with thought, sorrow, and care. I may repent that ever I was nobleman's son born, leading the sorrowful life that I live. If I were a poor man's son, I might dig and delve for my living, and my children and wife's, for whom I take more thought than for myself; and so may I not now, but to get reproach and shame to me and all my blood. Sir, if there be any creature living that can lay to me either treason, murder, felony, rape, extortion, bribery, then let me have the extremity of the king's laws. And I trust there shall none lay against me any thing to be proved to my reproach, but only debt.

"Sir, I am informed there shall be a voyage made into a new-found land with divers ships, and captains and soldiers in them, and I am informed the voyage shall be profitable to the king's grace. Sir, if your grace think my poor carcass any thing meet to serve the king's grace in the said voyage, for the bitter passion of Christ be you my good lord therein; for now I do live as wretched a life as ever

did gentleman being a true man, and nothing have I to live on, or me, my wife and children, meat or drink. And glad I would be to venture my life to do the king a service; and if I be put thereunto, I doubt not but I shall do such service as shall be acceptable, and do his grace honour. And, sir, I have nothing to lose but my life, and that would I gladly adventure in his service, and to get somewhat toward my living."

Lord Edmund Howard concludes this most touching appeal with an apology that he was unable to prefer his suit in person to the cardinal, because he durst not venture abroad for fear of arrest. The bill, to which he alludes twice in his letter, was probably a bill in chancery, for which he was desirous of obtaining Wolsey's good offices; and if so, there is no cause for wonder at the pecuniary difficulties in which he was involved. There is no date to this letter, neither is the success of lord Edmund Howard's earnest supplication to be permitted to earn bread for his starving family in the king's service in the new-found lands stated. That he subsequently obtained the honourable employment of comptroller of Calais and the surrounding marches, he probably owed to the powerful interest of his niece Anne Boleyn, when her star was in the ascendant; but, in the interim, severe privations were suffered by him and his children. As for his lady, she sunk under the difficulties of her position, and died early in life, leaving several of her children helpless infants. Katharine, who had been principally reared in the nursery of her uncle, sir John Culpepper, at Holingbourne, as the play-fellow of his little heir, Thomas Culpepper, with whom her name was afterwards to be so painfully connected in the page of history, was subsequently received into the family of her father's step-mother Agnes Tylney, duchess-dowager of Norfolk.[1]

Lord Edmund Howard married a second wife[2] in a less elevated rank of society, and was probably very thankful for being relieved of the care and charge of his second daughter, which the old duchess Agnes took entirely upon herself, but without any intention of supplying, by acts of maternal

[1] This lady was the third wife and widow of the valiant earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk. She was cousin to his second wife, Elizabeth Tylney.

[2] Dorothy Troyes.

tenderness and kindly beneficence, the place of the fond mother of whom the noble orphan had been thus early bereft. It was indeed an evil hour for the little Katharine when she left the paternal roof, and the society of the innocent companions of her infant joys and cares, to become a neglected dependant in the splendid mansion of a proud and heartless relative; and could her brave father have foreseen the consequences of this arrangement, it is easy to imagine how much rather he would have placed her on her bier, than have permitted the demoralizing associations to which she was exposed in her new home. Lord Edmund Howard's duties compelled his residence at Calais during the latter years of his short life, or it is possible that his parental vigilance might have been alarmed in time to preserve his child from ruin.[1] The duchess of Norfolk was so perfectly unmindful of her duties to her orphan charge, that Katharine was not only allowed to associate with her waiting-women, but compelled at night to occupy the sleeping apartment that was common to them all.[2] Unhappily they were persons of the most abandoned description, and seem to have taken a fiendish delight in perverting the principles and debasing the mind of the nobly-born damsel who was thrown into the sphere of their polluting influence.

Katharine, unfortunately for herself, while yet a child in age, acquired the precocious charms of womanhood, and before she had even entered her teens, became the object of illicit passion to a low-born villain in the household of the duchess, named Henry Manox. He was a player on the virginals, probably Katharine's instructor on that instrument, and might take advantage of the opportunities too often afforded to persons in that capacity to prefer his suit, and by degrees to establish himself on terms of unbecoming familiarity with his pupil. Katharine was residing in the family of the duchess at Horsham, in Norfolk, when this degrading intimacy commenced, which was fostered and encouraged by one of the duchess's

[1] Lord Edmund Howard died March 19, 30th Henry VIII. (the year after the death of queen Jane Seymour), being then comptroller of Calais and its marches.

[2] State-Papers; Acts of Privy Council.

women called mistress Isabel, who was her confidante, and carried the tokens that were exchanged between her and Manox. When mistress Isabel married and left the household of the duchess of Norfolk, her place and office of confidante was supplied by a woman from the village of Horsham, of the name of Dorothy Barwike.[1] Soon after, the duchess of Norfolk removed with Katharine and her whole establishment to her house at Lambeth. Katharine's uncles, the duke of Norfolk and lord William Howard, had mansions also at Lambeth, which was at that time very much the resort of the nobles of Henry's court, and was considered as a very pleasant retreat, with its beautiful orchards and gardens sloping down to the banks of the Thames.

The removal of the duchess of Norfolk to Lambeth was, in all probability, for the purpose of attending the coronation of her grand-daughter Anne Boleyn, in whose court she made a considerable figure. The coronation of that queen and the christening of the princess Elizabeth both took place in the year 1533, when Katharine Howard, though certainly too young to have any part assigned to her in royal ceremonials of state, was old enough to mar all her own hopes in life, and to stain the hitherto unsullied honour of her house. It was while at Lambeth that she formed a fatal intimacy with a female of low birth, of the name of Mary Lassells, who was the nurse of her uncle lord William Howard's first child by the daughter of lady Russell.[2] On the death of lady William Howard in 1533,[3] Mary Lassells entered the service of the

[1] State-Paper MS.

[2] State-Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII.

[3] Lord William Howard, eldest son of Thomas Howard second duke of Norfolk by Agnes Tylney, and founder of the great Effingham line, was half-brother to lady Boleyn, consequently great-uncle by the half-blood to queen Elizabeth, whose kind and manly protector he afterwards became. He was born about 1509.–Howard Memorials. His first wife was Katharine Broughton; the time of his marriage to her is not ascertained: she was daughter and one of the coheirs of sir John Broughton of Tuddington, Bedfordshire. This lady died April 23, 1533, leaving one daughter, Agnes, who married Paulet marquess of Winchester. His second wife was Margaret, daughter of sir T. Gamage, (date of marriage unknown,) by whom he had Charles, the celebrated hero of the Armada, and the fast friend of queen Elizabeth. Lord William united in his own person the somewhat incongruous offices of lord high-admiral of England and lord chamberlain to queen Mary, and afterwards to queen Elizabeth.

duchess of Norfolk, and was permitted to sleep in the dormitory which the young and lovely daughter of lord Edmund Howard shared with the female attendants of the duchess. Supposing Katharine Howard to have been born in 1521, the very earliest date that can be assigned for the birth of the *fifth* child of a man who was a bachelor in the close of the year 1515, then would she have been under thirteen at the period when Mary Lassells was added to the *ménage* of the duchess, a fact which makes the following circumstances most melancholy. Mary Lassells very soon began to discuss with Katharine's trusty confidante, Dorothy Barwike, the intrigue in which that unprincipled woman was lending her aid to involve the hapless child; she told Mary Lassells that "Manox was ensured (that is, contracted or troth-plight) to mistress Katharine Howard, with whom he was much in love." On this Mary Lassells (whose indignation at the supposed passion of the musician for the young lady inspires a suspicion that she was actuated by jealousy) said to him with some warmth, "Man! what meanest thou, to play the fool of this fashion? Knowest thou not, that an' my lady of Norfolk know of the love between thee and mistress Howard she will undo thee? And besides this, she is come of a noble house; and if thou shouldst marry her, some of her blood will kill thee."[1] Manox replied, in the most profligate language to this remonstrance, that "his designs were of a dishonourable nature, and, from the liberties the young lady had allowed him, he doubted not of being able hereafter to effect his purpose." When Mary Lassells repeated this to Katharine, she was greatly offended with Manox, cried "fie upon him!" said "she cared not for him," and then, unable to control or defer the effusion of her indignation, she proceeded with Mary Lassells in quest of him to the house of lord Beaumont, where he was, and there passionately upbraided him with his baseness. Manox, by way of excuse, replied, "that his passion for her so transported him beyond the bounds of reason, that he wist not what he said."[2] Whether Katharine had the weakness to be satisfied with this apology is not stated, but she was once, and once only, seen

[1] State Paper MS. [2] Ibid., Henry VIII.

with him afterwards, walking at the back of the duchess's orchard at Lambeth.

Such is the history of the first error of her who was hereafter to become the queen of England, and who was cousin-german to her who then wore the crown-matrimonial.[1] But if the motherless, neglected child who was thus early beguiled from the straightforward path be deserving of blame, what shall be said of the conduct of Mary Lassells, who, being aware of the clandestine addresses of the base Manox, and having even heard him avow designs which the tender youth of the nobly-born maiden alone prevented him from effecting, so far from warning the duchess, or any of the members of the Howard family, of the peril of their youthful relative, actually accompanied her on a stolen expedition to the servants' hall of a neighbouring nobleman's house in quest of the profligate villain? What punishment would in these days be considered too severe for a nurse, who could thus shamelessly betray the confidence of her employers? Surely the statements of such a person are little deserving of credit, couched as they are, too, in language which none but the most abandoned of human beings could have used; yet it is on the testimony of this woman that Katharine was eventually brought to the block. It is possible that Katharine's childish fancy for Manox originated in her musical propensities: the love of music, when indulged to excess, has not unfrequently involved older and better educated ladies than this neglected, wrong-headed girl in perilous acquaintances and associations. Katharine's infatuation for the low-born musician was, however, of ephemeral date; soon after her arrival at Lambeth she was entangled in another clandestine courtship, with a lover of a very different stamp from Manox, but certainly little suited for a mate to a daughter of the ducal line of Howard.

Her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, retained in his service a band of gentlemen, whom he called his pensioners or household troop. They were, for the most part, persons of better birth than fortune, and many of them claimed some degree of affinity to their lord, whom they were ready to follow to the field,

[1] Anne Boleyn.

to back him in his quarrels with his neighbours, or even, if required, in defiance to the sovereign. They had free quarters, good pay, and little to do, on ordinary occasions, but to seek their own amusement. The gentlemen-pensioners of the duke of Norfolk and earl of Northumberland were the last vestige of feudal retainers, and were regarded as persons of more valour than morality.[1] One of these bold spirits, named Francis Derham, became deeply enamoured of Katharine Howard, and being allied to her in blood, and an especial favourite with the old duchess, he aspired to nothing less than winning her for his wife. He found the young lady only too easy of access, surrounded as she was by the unprincipled females who had previously encouraged her to listen to the addresses of Manox.

Katharine appears to have been kept without money by the duchess, and having the passion for finery natural to girls of her age, allowed Derham to supply her with all those little ornaments to her dress which she was unable to obtain for herself. On one occasion, when she was languishing to possess an artificial flower called a French fennel, which was universally worn by the ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, Derham told her, "He knew of a little woman in London with a crooked back, who was skilled in making all sorts of flowers of silk;" and Katharine requested him to employ this person to make a 'French fennel' for her, bidding him pay for it, and she would pay him again when she had the means. Derham complied with her wish, and when he had put her in possession of this coveted piece of finery, she dared not wear it till she had prevailed on lady Brereton to say she gave it to her.[2] Derham has been represented as a person in the lowest class of society: this is a mistake, for not only was he a relation of the ducal line of Howard, but evidently a gentleman of some property. Whenever the inconsiderate Katharine desired silks, satins, or even velvet, for her habiliments, she allowed him to procure them for her, under the vague promise of reimbursing him for his outlay at some future period. She was once indebted to this perilous creditor in a considerable sum.[3]

On the New-year's day they exchanged love-tokens. Der-

[1] See the Household-books of Percy and Howard.
[2] State-Papers, quoted by Burnet. [3] Ibid.

ham gave Katharine a silk heart's-ease, and she gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. These were, according to the fashion of the times, curiously wrought with the needle, probably by Katharine's own hand,—such at any rate was the report; but when questioned on this subject after she was queen, she scornfully denied that such was the fact, and said, "as far as she could remember, they were wrought by Clifton's wife of Lambeth," and affirmed on oath, "that she never gave him any other present."[1] Derham had also a bracelet of silken work which had been hers; "but that he took from her perforce," she said, "and kept in her despite." He also boasted himself of a little ruby ring, but that Katharine also forswore "as none of hers."[2] It is a curious fact, that Derham transferred to her an old shirt, of fine Holland or cambric, belonging to the deceased lord Thomas Howard, which the duchess had given to him.[3] The shirts worn by the gallants of Henry's court were very costly with point and fine needle-work. It would have been a curious piece of costume if Katharine had explained for what purpose she coveted this garment, and how she had exercised her ingenuity in converting it into handkerchiefs, and other little accessories to her wardrobe.

It is too evident, from the fact of her accepting so many presents from Derham, that little attention was paid to her comforts, and that she occupied a doubtful station in the family, having neither consideration nor sympathy vouchsafed to her by those of her own rank and lineage. Her young heart thus chilled and embittered by the neglect and privations which she experienced on the one hand, and assailed by the passionate importunities of the most devoted of lovers on the other, Katharine forgot that she, in whose veins the blood of the Plantagenets and the Carlovingian monarchs mingled, was no mate for one of her uncle's gentlemen-at-arms, and consented to become the troth-plight or affianced wife of Francis Derham. In the days of Catholicism, such engagements were recognised by the church as binding; and if the existence of a pre-contract could be proved, it not only

[1] Examinations of queen Katharine Howard. [2] Ibid.
[3] Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.

presented, while undissolved, an obstacle to the solemnization of matrimony between either of the parties with another person, but, if such matrimony had been contracted, rendered it illegal. History presents innumerable examples of marriages having been declared null and void where a previous promise had been violated by either of the parties. In Scotland, to this day, the acknowledgments that passed between Katharine Howard and Derham would constitute binding wedlock. Derham asked her permission to call her "wife," and entreated her to call him "husband," to which Katharine replied, "she was content that it should be so." One day, having kissed her before witnesses, who made some observation on the freedom of his behaviour, he turned about and asked, "Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?" One of the bystanders then said, "I trow this matter will come to pass as the common saying is."—"What is that?" said Derham. "Marry!" replied the other, "that Mr. Derham shall have Mrs. Katharine Howard."—"By St. John!" said Derham, "you may guess twice, and guess worse."[1]

The ballad lore of that age, which has always been supposed to give a lively picture of the manners of the times, is wonderfully deficient in morality; and often describes high-born ladies and lovers of low degree acting with lamentable disregard of propriety, if any impediments to their marriage were opposed by their friends. How corrupting such *chansons* were to the young and thoughtless may be imagined; and Katharine Howard had no anxious mother to watch over her, and inculcate principles of virtue and habits of feminine reserve. The only care the duchess of Norfolk appears to have taken for the preservation of her youthful grand-daughter's honour was, to have the doors of the chamber in which she and her waiting-women slept locked every night, and the keys brought to her; but this caution was defeated by the subtlety of one or other of her attendants, by whom they were privily stolen away, and Derham was admitted to pay his nocturnal visits, in defiance of all propriety.[2]

[1] Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.
[2] Examinations in State-Paper office.

"Sometimes," said Katharine, "he would bring strawberries, apples, wine, and other things to make good cheer with, after my lady was gone to bed; but that he made any special banquet,[1] or that, by special appointment between him and me, he should tarry till after the keys were delivered to my lady, is utterly untrue. Nor did I ever steal the keys myself, or desire any other person to steal them, to let him in; but for many other causes the doors have been opened, and sometimes Derham hath come early in the morning and much misbehaved himself, but never by my request or consent."[2] It was reported by Wilks and Baskerville, two of the unprincipled females who were the accomplices in the ruin of this hapless girl, that on one of these occasions it was asked, "What shifts should we make if my lady came suddenly in?" and that Katharine rejoined, "Derham must go into the little gallery if my lady come." Katharine denied having made this suggestion in the following words,—"I never said so; but he hath said it himself, and so hath he done, indeed."[3] With equal simplicity and earnestness she denied having received from Derham the present of a quilted cap, when destitute of the means to make such a purchase. "He bought not for me the quilted cap," said she, "but only the sarcenet to make it; and I delivered the sarcenet to a little fellow in my lady's house to embroider, as I remember his name was Rose, an embroiderer, to make it what pattern he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with friars' knots, as he can testify, if he be a true man:" nevertheless, when it was made, Derham said, "What, wife? here be friars' knots for Francis!" Francis I. had brought into fashion an enigmatical allusion to the name of Francis, devised with these friars' knots and the pansy flower. In Hall's account of the 'field of the cloth of gold,'[4] may be seen this passage: "The French king and his band were apparelled in purple satin, branched

[1] Queen Katharine's Examination. [2] Burnet. [3] Ibid.

[4] P. 616. The 'friars' knot' was that with which the Franciscans tied their rope girdles. In the inventory of the princess Mary's jewels, there is mention of a necklace of goldsmiths' work of friars' knots, presented to Mr. Selynger's daughter about the same period.—Madden's Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, 179.

with gold and purple velvet, embroidered with *friars' knots*; and in every knot was pansy flowers, which together signified 'think on Francis.'" Katharine had certainly worn the silk pansy Derham had given her, with the cap garnished with these friars' knots, from which he drew the flattering compliment to his Christian name, "that she thought of Francis."

Derham gave all his money into her keeping; and once, when he was going on some secret expedition, he left the indenture for the obligation of a hundred pounds that was due to him in her custody, telling her clearly, "that if he never returned, she was to consider it as her own."[1] Katharine inquired whither he was going, but he would not satisfy her on that point. How long his absence lasted, and of the nature of the business in which he was engaged, there is no evidence; but as he was afterwards accused of piracy, it is possible that he had embarked in a desperate enterprise of that kind, with a view of improving his fortunes. Derham was occasionally tormented with jealousy, and fears of losing Katharine. He especially dreaded her going to court; and as she was eager to go, they had high words on this subject. Derham told her, "If she went, he would not tarry long in the house;" on which she replied, "He might do as he list."

For the sake of obtaining more frequent opportunities of being in Katharine's company, Derham had given up his post in her uncle the duke's military retinue, and entered the service of the duchess-dowager of Norfolk, to whom he was page, or gentleman usher. After a time, the duchess became suspicious of Derham's conduct, and was wont to exclaim, when she missed him, "Where is Derham? You shall find him in the maids' chamber, or with Katharine Howard."[2] By the maids' chamber, the duchess meant the apartment where the damsels in her state establishment sat together at their appointed tasks of embroidery, tapestry work, and spinning. One day she entered unexpectedly, and found Derham, not only trespassing within this forbidden bound, but presumptuously romping with her youthful kins-

[1] Burnet, vol. iii.

[2] MS. in State Paper office, 33 Henry VIII.

woman Katharine Howard; on which, being greatly offended, she beat them both, and gave Mrs. Bulmer a box on the ears for sitting by and permitting such familiarity.[1] Yet she did not dismiss Derham, because he was their relation, though she frequently chid the young lady, and sometimes punished her on his account; but the tender age of Katharine appears to have blinded her as to the peril in which she stood. At length the dreadful truth, with all its revolting circumstances, was forced upon the attention of Katharine's careless guardian by one of the women who had long been privy to the matter. The old duchess once more vented her indignation upon Katharine in blows. Katharine was afterwards asked by the council of king Henry, in reference to this report, "Whether the duchess struck her on the discovery of her misconduct, and how often?"[2] Her reply to this query has not been preserved.

Derham would, in all probability, have paid with his blood the penalty of his audacity, in bringing dishonour on one of the noblest houses in England, but he fled before the storm, and took refuge in Ireland, where, according to most accounts, he pursued the vocation of a pirate. It was doubtless when he snatched a perilous farewell of Katharine, that she, with the tears streaming down her cheeks, uttered these memorable words,—"Thou wilt never live to say to me, 'Thou hast swerved.'"[3] The matter was hushed up out of respect to the feelings of Katharine's noble father, and for the sake of her sisters and other members of her illustrious family, who would have been in some degree involved in her disgrace had it been made public. Her tender age, and the contaminating influence to which she had been exposed, claimed also some compassion for the helpless victim who had been thus early led into sin and sorrow. The household of the duchess was purified of the abandoned women who had warped the youthful mind of Katharine, and the damsel was herself placed under a salutary restraint. It appears, however, that she contrived, through the agency

[1] MS. in State-Paper office, 33 Henry VIII.

[2] State-Papers, unpublished.

[3] State-Paper, in Burnet.

of a female in the house, named Jane Acworth, who possessed the pen of a ready writer, to carry on a secret correspondence. After a time her secretary,[1] as she called this person, married a gentleman of the name of Bulmer, and went to live at York; and Katharine, separated from all evil associates, acquired, as she advanced towards womanhood, the retiring grace and feminine reserve natural to that season of life. She even became remarkable for her modest and maidenly deportment.

When Derham found means to return clandestinely from Ireland, and endeavoured to renew his intercourse with her, she positively refused to have any communication with him. Reason and reflection had probably taught her to recoil with horror from the man who had cast an irremediable blight on her opening bloom of life. Derham's attachment was, however, of a deep and enduring character, and his unwelcome constancy was to her productive of the most fatal results. There was at that time a report in circulation, that a matrimonial engagement was in contemplation between Katharine Howard and her maternal kinsman, Thomas Culpepper; and Derham, attributing her altered manner to her preference of this gentleman, asked her angrily, "If she were going to be married to him, for he had heard it so reported?"—"What should you trouble me therewith? for you know I will not have you," was Katharine's contemptuous rejoinder; "and if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know."[2] Culpepper was Katharine Howard's first cousin, being the nephew of her deceased mother: he was in the household of Anne of Cleves, and is called by the historian Pollino "a most beautiful youth." He and Katharine Howard were playmates in the same nursery in infancy. The vehement opposition of Derham to Katharine's intention of going to court appears like an assertion on his part, as far as circumstances would permit, of a right to control her actions. If, however, he possessed that right, he was in no position to enforce it; and we gather, from subsequent evidences,[3] that he returned to Ireland long

[1] State-Paper MS. [2] Burnet, vol. iii. [3] State-Papers.

before there was a prospect of Katharine's fatal elevation to a throne.

It has been generally said, that Katharine Howard's first introduction to her sovereign was at a banquet given by the bishop of Winchester to his royal master a few weeks after his marriage with Anne of Cleves. When Gardiner observed the impression made by the charms and sprightly wit of the fair niece of his patron the duke of Norfolk, he contrived that the king should have frequent opportunities of seeing her. Richard Hilles, an English merchant, who was a Protestant, wrote to the Zurich reformer, Henry Bullinger, in these words: "Before the feast of St. John the Baptist, [June 24,] it was whispered about that the king intended to divorce his queen [Anne of Cleves], whom he had married with great pomp in the face of the church, on the feast of the Epiphany last Christmas. It was first of all rumoured among the courtiers, who observed the king to be much taken with another young lady, of very diminutive stature." Again Richard Hilles reports, "The king was seen by many citizens of London to pass over the Thames to her in a little boat, frequently in the day-time, and also at midnight. Bishop Gardiner often entertained the king and this little girl, the niece of the duke of Norfolk, making for them feasts at his house. Divorce at first was not dreaded for the queen, but the introduction of a rival on different terms."[1] Thus scandal was already busy on the subject of the fickle monarch's passion for the miniature beauty in her teens.[2] The date of Katharine Howard's appointment as maid of honour to Anne of Cleves is uncertain, but it probably took place at the time when the queen was deprived of her foreign attendants, and the "straunge maidens" were superseded by some of the noble *belles* of Henry's court. The arrangement that added the new

[1] Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters: Parker Society, second series, pp. 201, 202.

[2] *Parvissima puella* is the expression used by Hilles. "What, then, was the age of this very little girl?" is Lingard's shrewd query after quoting these words. If the computation we have previously given as to the date of her birth be correct, she was in her eighteenth year; it is possible that she was younger. All contemporary authorities speak of her as *very* young.

object of the sovereign's regard to the establishment of his despised consort was of course of his own ordaining, as it afforded him the gratification of her society in his royal circle, as well as in his more private hours of relaxation; and thus we see him, for the third time, the avowed lover of a favourite maid of honour. How far his addresses were encouraged by the youthful Katharine is not known. She seems to have behaved with greater propriety than either Anne Boleyn or Jane Seymour under similar circumstances; for no one has accused her of treating the queen with disrespect, or presuming to assume airs of state in rivalry to her. It has been very generally asserted, but on what grounds no one has specified, that Katharine permitted herself to be rendered a political puppet in the hands of Gardiner and her uncle Norfolk, to further their measures against the cause of the Reformation; and that Cromwell, dreading the effects of her influence, spake of her in very disadvantageous terms to the king, in order to dissuade him from making her his queen. There is great probability in this statement; but that Cromwell's death was attributable to the ill offices of the offended beauty requires proof, for there is not the slightest contemporary evidence, not so much as a private letter, to bear out the assertions of Burnet and Rapin that she prevailed on the king to sign the death-warrant of his fallen minister. Katharine Howard neither possessed the talents, the energy, nor the vindictive temper of her cousin Anne Boleyn. Her intrigues were not those of state policy; and as for her subserviency to her uncle Norfolk's wishes, his letters to the king are a sufficient refutation of that report.

After Katharine's removal to court, Derham vanished so entirely from the scene, that no one knew whether he were living or dead. This was an auspicious circumstance for Katharine; but her grandmother, whose share of wisdom was certainly small, could not control the absurd curiosity which prompted her to inquire of her domestics if any of them knew what had become of Francis Derham? They replied, "that none of them knew."—"Then," said the duchess, "if any one knows where he is, belike it will be Katharine Howard."

Soon after these inquiries, Katharine, who was then one of the maidens of the court, came to pay her grandmother a visit; and the old lady was guilty of the folly of reviving his apparently forgotten name, by asking her "if she knew where he was? Katharine replied, "that she did not know where he was *become*."[1]

Some years had passed away since the guilt was incurred which had cast so dark a cloud over the hopes and expectations of that period of existence which is generally the golden age of life. Those years had probably been fraught with repentance and bitter regret for her fault; and if they had not led to amendment of life, which charity would lead us to hope, the change in her deportment was so decided, that she was remarkable for her maidenly and modest behaviour, which, as Henry afterwards declared, formed her greatest attraction in his sight. Marillac, in a letter to Francis I., dated July 21st, thus speaks of the reports connected with Henry's engagement with Katharine: "Now it is said the king is going to marry a lady of great beauty, daughter to a deceased brother of the duke of Norfolk. It is even said that the marriage has already taken place, but is kept secret. I cannot tell how far it is true." In a letter to the constable Montmorenci, of the same date, he adds, "that he has heard the lady is not only married to the king, but likely to bring him a family."[2] The old duchess of Norfolk took infinite pains to secure the royal alliance for her fair young *protégée*. She bestowed costly array and jewels on her to enhance her native attractions, and it was said that she instructed her in what manner to demean herself to the king's highness, so as to please him. She was even guilty of the folly of commending Katharine to the king as a person worthy of the honour of becoming his wife, and one calculated to promote his happiness.[3]

If Katharine had flattered herself with the idea, that because some years had passed away since her early misconduct had occurred it was forgotten, she must have been undeceived when she received the following letter from one of her former

[1] State-Paper MS., Henry VIII. [2] Dépêches de Marillac.
[3] MS., State-Paper office; hitherto inedited.

unprincipled confidantes, the person through whose assistance she had carried on a clandestine and forbidden correspondence with her seducer:—

JOAN BULMER TO KATHARINE HOWARD.

"If I could wish unto you all the honour, wealth, and good fortune you could desire, you would neither lack health, wealth, long life, nor yet prosperity. Nevertheless, seeing I cannot as I would express this unto you, I would with these my most heartly salutations *pight* you to know, that whereas it hath been shown unto me that God of his high goodness hath put unto the knowledge of the king a contract of matrimony that the queen[1] hath made with another before she came into England, and thereupon there will be a lawful divorce had between them; and as it is thought that the king of his goodness will put you in the same honour that she was in, which no doubt you be worthy to have, most heartily desiring you to have in your remembrance the unfeigned love that my heart hath always borne towards you, which for the same kindness found in you again hath desired always your presence, if it might be so, above all other creatures, and the chance of fortune hath brought me, on the contrary, into the utmost misery of the world and most wretched life. Seeing no ways, then, I can express in writing, knowing no remedy out of it, without you of your goodness will find the means to get me to London, which will be very hard to do; but if you write unto my husband and command him to bring me up, which I think he dare not disobey, for if it might be, I would fain be with you before you were in your honour; and in the mean season I beseech you to save some room for me, what you shall think fit yourself, for the nearer I were to you the gladder I would be of it, what pains soever I did take.

"I would write more unto you, but I dare not be so bold, for considering the great honour you are toward, it did not become me to put myself in presence; but the remembrance of the perfect honesty that I have always known to be in you, and the report of sir George Seaford, which hath assured me that the same thing remains in you still, hath encouraged me to this. Whereupon I beseech you not to be forgetful of this my request; for if you do not help me, I am not like to have worldly joys. Desiring you, if you can, to let me have some answer of this for the satisfying of my mind; for I know the queen of Britain will not forget her secretary, and favour you will show

"Your *umble sarvant*,

"With heart unfeigned,

"York, the 12th day of July." "JONE BULMER.[2]

The letter of Joan Bulmer was only the foretaste of what Katharine had to expect as the fruits of her early follies. No sooner was the rumour of the king's divorce from his new queen, combined with the report of his passion for her, spread abroad, than she found herself beset with those persons whom, of all the world, it was most to her interest to have kept at a distance. The evil spirits who had departed from her for a season returned to harass and intimidate her with demands

[1] Anne of Cleves.

[2] This letter is among the inedited documents preserved in the State-Paper office. The orthography is a little modernised. It is written in a firm bold character, something like that of an engrossing clerk.

which she wanted the moral courage to withstand. In fact, she had no power to extricate herself from these perilous and degrading connexions, unless she had revealed her former misconduct to the king. But even if Katharine had been permitted by her family to make such a disclosure to her royal lover, she was placed in a predicament that left her only the alternative of becoming a queen, or confessing her own shame: she chose the first. Derham, meantime, though long *perdue*, was not ignorant of the king's passion for his betrothed; for in allusion to it, he said to one of his former comrades, "I could be sure of mistress Howard an' I would, but I dare not. The king beginneth to love her; but an' he were dead, I am sure I might marry her." This speech leads to the conclusion that he was induced to waive his prior claim to the fair object of his sovereign's choice, and it is more than probable that the old duchess of Norfolk was the person who prevailed upon him to remain quiescent; and if so, this would account for the otherwise inscrutable mystery of that lady's conduct in tolerating his presence, and even allowing him to take up his abode in her house a second time, after his misconduct with the young Katharine.

The public announcement of the dissolution of Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves was followed by a petition from his servile parliament, "beseeching him, for the good of his people, to venture on a fifth marriage, in the hope that God would bless him with a more numerous issue."[1] The nuptials of the royal Bluebeard of English history with Katharine Howard were privately solemnized within a few days, or it might be a few hours, after he was released from his marriage vows to Anne of Cleves. Some persons, as, for instance, Marillac, the French ambassador, supposed he did not wait for that ceremony. It seems strange that no particulars of the solemnization of Henry's fifth marriage have ever been brought to light. The day, the hour, the witnesses, and the person by whom the nuptial benediction was pronounced, are not on record; but on the 8th of August, 1540, Katharine Howard was introduced by Henry at Hampton-Court as his queen.

[1] Journals of Parliament. Lingard. Tytler.

On that day she took her seat at chapel in the royal closet by his side. She afterwards dined in public, on which occasion she placed her youngest step-daughter, the princess Elizabeth, opposite to herself at table, and always gave her the place of honour next to her own person, because she was the daughter of her cousin Anne Boleyn. On the 15th of August, Katharine was publicly prayed for throughout the realm as queen of England. This is particularly noticed by Marillac, who says, "the king, the queen, and the child, Edward prince of England, were prayed for in all the churches, the new queen's name having superseded that of the repudiated princess of Cleves."[1]

No surprise is testified by any contemporary at this alliance as derogatory to the king. A close connexion already existed between the royal family and Katharine's, in consequence of the former marriage between her uncle, at that time duke of Norfolk, when lord Thomas Howard, with the king's aunt, the lady Anne Plantagenet. As Katharine Howard was first cousin to Henry's second wife, Anne Boleyn, their marriage required a dispensation from the pope, both parties being Roman-catholics; but Henry, in his new character of head of the church, thought proper to dispense with this ceremony. This marriage was the first ever contracted between persons so connected without previously obtaining the papal sanction, and it formed the precedent for all others. Henry had taken care to prepare for the legality of the contract by a previous act of parliament concerning marriages within certain degrees, which bore upon the case.[2]

A few days after Henry had acknowledged Katharine for his queen, he conducted her to Windsor, where they remained till the 22nd of August. They then made a little progress to Reading, Ewelm, Rycott, Notley, Buckingham, and Grafton. At Grafton the royal bride and bridegroom sojourned from August 29th till September 7th.[3] The absence of all records of pageantry and processions would indicate, that the enamoured monarch had been desirous of enjoying the society

[1] Leti. [2] Speed. Journals of Parliament.
[3] Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii.

of his young queen in the retirement of the country, unfettered by the observations and restraints of royal etiquette. Henry's finances at this period were at a low ebb. The expenses of his pompous nuptials with his unbeloved Flemish bride, and his subsequent gifts and settlements on her, had completely exhausted all his resources. He could neither afford to honour Katharine Howard with a public bridal nor a coronation, but he paid her the compliment of causing gold coins to be struck in commemoration of their marriage, bearing the royal arms of England, flanked with H R, and surmounted with the regal diadem.[1] On the reverse is a rose, crowned, in allusion to his bride, flanked by the initials K R, with the following legend,—

HENRICUS VIII. RUTILANS ROSA SINE SPINA.

The rose, which Henry, in the first transports of his short-lived passion for his Howard queen, chose for her symbol, makes a conspicuous figure in the augmentation which he granted to her armorial bearings in honour of her marriage.[2]

Among the inedited MSS. in the State-Paper office, we find a list of the officers of state and ladies of queen Katharine Howard's royal household. The ladies were those of the highest rank in the kingdom, and some of them members of the royal family:—

"*The great ladies of the queen's household.*—The lady Margaret Douglas, (niece to the king), the duchess of Richmond, (daughter-in-law to the king, and cousin to the queen,) the duchess of Norfolk, (widow of the queen's grandfather,) the countess of Sussex, the lady Howard, the lady Clinton.

Ladies of the privy-chamber.—The countess of Rutland, the lady Rochford, lady Edgecomb, lady Baynton, (the queen's sister).

Chamberers.—Mrs. Tylney, Mrs. Morton, Mrs. Fryswith, Mrs. Luffkyn.

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[1] Engraved in Vertue's Howard-book, and through the kindness of Philip Howard, esq. M.P., of Corby-castle, I have been favoured with a tracing.

[2] In the arms of Katharine Howard, Henry impaled with his own the royal quartering of Brotherton; whilst, in further evidence of her royal descent, one of the quarterings was formed of the arms of France and England.—Life of Surrey, by sir H. Nicolas. The full achievement of queen Katharine Howard is as follows: *Azure, three fleurs-de-lys in pale, or, between two flaunches, ermine, each charged with a rose, gules.* The escutcheon of this queen, within a chaplet of leaves and red and white roses, ensigned with a royal crown, was painted on the east window of Gresham college-hall, in the city of London, from which it was delineated the 22nd of July, 1669.—Sandford's Genealogical Hist. of England, page 459, fol. ed

Gentlewomen of the privy-chamber.—Mrs. Herbert, Mrs. Tyrwhitt, Mrs. Leye, Mrs. Gilmyn.

Ladies and gentlewomen attendant.—The lady Dudley, lady Arundel, (the queen's sister,) lady Denny, lady Wriothesley, lady Heneage, lady Knevet, lady Cromwell, (sister to the deceased queen Jane Seymour,) Mrs. Mewtas, Mrs. Broughton.

Maids of honour.—The lady Lucy, Mrs. Basset, Mrs. Garnyshe, Mrs. Cowpledike, Mrs. Stradling, Mrs. Stonor."

A list of yeomen ushers, yeomen of the chambers in ordinary, pages of the chambers, and pages in ordinary follows. The names of the officers of the household are not of any particular interest. Her chaplains were Drs. Malet and Oglethorpe: the latter held the office of almoner to her predecessor, Anne of Cleves. Sir Thomas Denny was her chancellor at first, but was afterwards superseded by her sister's husband, sir Thomas Arundel.

The historians of this period bear universal testimony to the passionate fondness of the king for his new consort. Marillac, the French ambassador, who had enjoyed the opportunity of paying his compliments to the royal pair on their marriage, in a letter to his own sovereign Francis I., dated September 3rd, 1540,[1] gives the following lively sketch of Katharine's appearance in her bridal court, and Henry's demeanour to her. "The new queen is a young lady of moderate beauty, but superlative grace: in stature she is small and slender. Her countenance is very delightful, of which the king is so greatly enamoured, that he knows not how to make sufficient demonstrations of his affection for her, and very far exceeds the caresses he ever bestowed on the others. She is dressed after the French fashion, like all the other ladies of this court, and bears for her device round her arms, *Non aultre volonté que le sienne*, 'No other will than his.'" The expression *beauté médiocre*, which is used by Marillac in reference to this queen, would seem to infer that Katharine was not so remarkable for her personal charms as she has been represented by historians; but, independently of the acknowledged fact that opinions vary greatly on the subject of female loveliness, Marillac might only mean to qualify his first notice of Katharine when speaking of

[1] Extracted by sir Cuthbert Sharpe from Dépêches de Marillac, preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

her from report, in which he says "the king is going to marry a young lady of the greatest beauty." Marillac's royal master, Francis I., having been much harassed with Henry's requisitions for him to provide him with a consort endowed with perfections such as are seldom to be found in mortal woman, had probably demanded of his accredited spy at the court of England an accurate description of the lady whom his queen-killing friend considered worthy the honour of becoming his next victim. The only authentic portrait of the Howard queen is an original sketch of her among the Holbein heads in the royal library at Windsor.[1] She is there represented as a fair blooming girl in her teens, with large laughing blue eyes and light brown hair, which is folded in Madonna bands on either side a brow of child-like simplicity: she has a nose *retroussé*, and very full red lips. It is the countenance of an unintellectual little romp trying to assume an air of dignity, and reminds us of a good-humoured Flemish peasant rather than a courtly beauty and a queen. Instead of the slender graceful proportions described by Marillac, she is so plump and round, that she appears literally bursting out of her tight boddice, which is made very high, and fits closely to her shape. It opens a little in front, and is fastened with a small round brooch. Her head-dress, which is very formal and unbecoming for so young a person, is a small French hood sitting quite flat to the head, with a narrow plaited border. It is possible that Holbein's sketch of Katharine Howard was taken some months after her elevation to the throne, when she might have lost her delicate contour.

If the charms of royalty and power had lulled the young queen into forgetfulness of the precarious tenure on which these perilous distinctions were held by Henry's wives, she was full soon reminded that the sword was suspended over her own head by a single hair. Within three weeks after her marriage with the king, mysterious reports to her disparagement were in circulation, for, on the 28th of August, the attention of the privy council was called to the fact that a certain priest at Windsor was accused, with others of his

[1] Drawn by Mr. Harding, and engraved for this biography.

company, of having spoken unbefitting words of the queen's grace, for which he and another person had been apprehended. The priest was committed to the custody of Wriothesley, the king's secretary, and the other incarcerated in the keep of Windsor-castle.[1] How alarming any investigation of scandals, that might lead to the discovery of those passages in her early life which have been detailed in the preceding pages of this memoir, must have been to the queen may be imagined. With such a secret as she had on her mind, her diadem could have poorly compensated her for the agonizing apprehensions under which she must have writhed while the examinations were pending. Henry, being in the first intoxication of his bridal happiness, passed the matter lightly over. "The priest was simply enjoined to confine himself to his own diocese, and admonished by his majesty's command to be more temperate in the use of his tongue;" but the person from whom he had heard the unbefitting words of the queen, which had been unguardedly repeated by him, was confined till further order.[2] It was, in all probability, this affair that afforded her enemies the first clue to Katharine's early errors, though the cloud passed over for a time. If she had been of a vindictive temper, a severer penalty might have been paid by those who had thus maligned her within the verge of her own court, and measures would have been taken to put to silence every tongue that ventured to disparage her.

After a short sojourn in the sylvan bowers of Grafton, the court removed to Ampthill. While there the royal household appears to have required reform, for we find that "Robert Tyrwit, esq., the vice-chamberlain to the king, and sir Edward Baynton, knight, the queen's vice-chamberlain, and divers other gentlemen the king and queen's servants, to the number of sixteen, were advertised of the king's pleasure concerning the sober and temperate order that his highness would have them to use in his highness's chamber of presence and the queen's; as also the behaviour of themselves towards the king's privy council, gentlemen of the privy-chamber, and all

[1] Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

[2] Sir H. Nicolas' Acts of Privy Council, 32 Henry VIII., vol. vii. p. 89.

other his highness's servants of every degree." Katharine could have had little control over such of her attendants as had pertinaciously attached themselves to her fortunes. Joan Bulmer was one of her bedchamber women, so also was Katharine Tylney, a person only too well acquainted with her former misconduct, and, worst of all, the profligate villain Manox was in her service, as one of the royal musicians. At Ampthill the king and queen remained till the 1st of October, after which they withdrew to the greater seclusion of More-park, in Hertfordshire; and while there, Henry, being impatient of the slightest interruption or intrusion, issued the following gracious orders, through his privy council, to queen Katharine's vice-chamberlain and his own, and all the officers of the royal household, "that from henceforth they should in no wise molest his royal person with any suit or petition, but cause all suits or supplications to be made in writing, and delivered to his council."[1]

The court returned to Windsor, October 22. At this period reports were in circulation that Henry was about to dismiss Katharine, and reinstate Anne of Cleves in her place, and that the repudiated queen was likely to become a mother at a very unseasonable juncture for all parties. Marillac, whom no particle of gossip seems to escape, thus notices these rumours: "It is false what has been said about the king leaving the new queen, to take the one whom he has repudiated, for he bestows so many caresses on her he now has, with such singular demonstrations of affection, that it cannot be. That which caused the report was, that it has been said the other lady, who has been indisposed, was pregnant." In his next letter to Francis I., dated November 1st, he says, "It is believed that the new queen has entirely gained the favour of the king, and of her who was lately queen they speak no more than if she were dead."

Katharine held her court at Windsor rather better than a month. The acts of the privy council of November 23 specify, "that the king and the queen, accompanied only by the lord privy-seal, the lord admiral, the master of the horse, the vice-

[1] Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

chamberlain of the privy council, and the ladies, gentlemen, and gentlewomen of their privy-chamber, departed to Oking, where they remained until the 7th of December; upon which day his highness with the queen's grace departed to Oatlands, and there remained till the 18th of the same month, when they returned to Hampton-Court."[1] Henry VIII., in his journeys and removals, was on former occasions attended by his council; but now he dispensed with their presence, that he might spend his Christmas at Hampton-Court in the society of his young queen without the interruption of business or the restraints of royal pomp. The first separation, after a marriage of six months, that had occurred between the king and queen took place February 7, 1541, when the king, for the dispatch of business, removed to London, with his personal attendants, "only leaving behind him at Hampton-Court the queen's grace, with the whole household: he returned again the tenth day."[2]

No sort of pomp or regal splendour distinguished the court of Katharine Howard. We find no records of her indulging her love of dress in the purchase of costly robes or jewellery, nor of gifts bestowed on her kindred or favourites. So quiet and unostentatious was the tenour of her life at this period, that the only matter worthy of notice during her residence at Hampton-Court is the order to her tailor, dated March 1st, to provide the following needful articles for the use of the venerable countess of Salisbury, at that time an attainted prisoner in the Tower of London, under sentence of death, and despoiled of all her substance:—

"*Imprimis*, a night-gown furred, a kyrtle of worsted, and a petticoat furred.
Item, another gown of the fashion of a night-gown, of saye lined with satin of cypress, and faced with satin.
Item, a bonnet and a frontlet.
Item, four pair of hose.
Item, four pair of shoes and one pair of slips,"[3] (probably slippers).

The warm clothing provided for her by queen Katharine was probably the means of preserving the venerable princess to undergo a fate not less dreadful than that of perishing with the cold in her cheerless prison lodgings. Katharine's dower

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. [2] Ibid. p. 130. [3] Ibid. p. 147.

was settled on her by the king's letters-patent previous to the Easter festival: other grants, licences, and concessions are secured to her by the same instruments. The whole of the spring and part of the summer were spent by Henry and Katharine in domestic retirement at the country palaces of Greenwich and Eltham, or in making progresses through Kent, Essex, and the midland counties.

If, as asserted by the majority of historians, Katharine had remained under the political guidance of her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner bishop of Winchester, it is certain that, as her influence with the king increased, she grew impatient of the tutelage of her uncle, who certainly did not possess the art of conciliating the affections of the ladies of his family, since he was at open variance with his wife, his sister, his daughter, and his step-mother, the duchess-dowager of Norfolk. It might be that Katharine took part in the quarrel between him and the last-named lady, with whom she was certainly on terms of the greatest confidence; but from whatever cause their disagreement arose, it was highly imprudent of the queen, who was naturally an object of jealousy and distrust to the Protestant party, to deprive herself of the protection and support of her powerful kinsman. The event afforded a striking exemplification of the divine proverb, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand." Katharine, in the pride of youth and beauty, and blinded by her boundless influence over the mind of a royal husband, forgot, perhaps, that the throne to which his capricious passion had exalted her was based on the graves of three of her predecessors, and that it was only too likely to prove in her own case (as in that of Anne Boleyn) a splendid ascent to a scaffold: she imagined, that while she was all-powerful with Henry, she might defy the rest of the world.

The whole realm was then split into two great parties, so nicely matched, as to strength and numbers, that the ruling balance was in the hand of the sovereign, to dispose according to his own pleasure. It was that power which rendered Henry VIII. a despotic monarch, and enabled him to trample on the boasted laws and liberties of Englishmen with impunity.

Catholics and Protestants had succumbed alike to his evil passions, and endeavoured to use them as political weapons in their struggles with each other for mastery. The contest had commenced when Henry's divorce from Katharine of Arragon was first agitated, and the Protestant party supported the interests of Anne Boleyn.[1] Five years had passed away since those rival queens had vanished from the arena, and yet the names of Anne and Katharine were still the watchwords of the warring parties; for Henry was again the husband of two living wives bearing those names, and the legality of his divorce from the protestant queen Anne and his marriage with the catholic Katharine was almost as much questioned by his Protestant subjects, as his divorce from Katharine of Arragon and his marriage with Anne Boleyn had been by the Catholics. Thus we see, that Katharine Howard was regarded by the reformed party in much the same light as Anne Boleyn had formerly been by the Catholics. It was fondly imagined by persons who regarded Anne of Cleves as Henry's lawful queen, that he might be won to a reconciliation with her, if he could be convinced of the unworthiness of her fair successor to fill her place. That the duke of Cleves was so persuaded, we have shown in the preceding memoir, and it is a fact that throws some light on the diplomatic tact with which the political leaders of that party had organized their plans for the downfall of Katharine Howard.

The early follies of Katharine were known to too many not to have reached the persons most interested in destroying her influence with the king; and if they delayed striking the blow that was to lay her honours in the dust, it was only to render it more effectual. The "snake was to be killed, not scotched." A crisis at length arrived, which afforded a favourable opportunity for carrying the project into execution. There was a Catholic insurrection in Yorkshire this spring, headed by sir John Neville. Henry, attributing this to the influence of cardinal Pole, gave orders for the execution of the venerable countess of Salisbury, his mother, who had lain under sentence of death in the Tower for upwards of a twelvemonth. Her

[1] Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

sentence had been basely and illegally procured by Cromwell, just before his own arrest for treason.[1] His execution, and probably the influence of the new queen, had thus long delayed the headsman's axe from descending on the guiltless victim. She was the last of the Plantagenets, and, with a spirit not unworthy of her mighty ancestors, refused to submit to an unjust sentence by laying her head upon the block. "So should traitors do," she said, "but I am none; and if you will have my head, you must win it as you can." A scene of horror followed, which was concluded by the ruffian minister of Henry's vengeance dragging the aged princess by her hoary hair to the block, where he "slovenly butchered her, and stained the scaffold from veins enriched with all the royal blood of England."[2]

Henry's mistrust of the Catholic party, in consequence of the late insurrection, induced him to leave the administration of affairs in the hands of an anti-papal council, headed by Cranmer, Audley the lord chancellor, and Seymour earl of Hertford, the brother of the late queen Jane, when he proceeded on his journey into Yorkshire. Queen Katharine was the companion of his journey: they left London early in July, passed some days at the palace at Grafton, and so travelled through Northampton and Lincolnshire to York.[3] The progress was attended with some degree of splendour, but more of terror. Henry was received by his subjects on the road as a destroying angel, ready to inflict the vengeance of Heaven on the counties implicated in the late revolt. As the best propitiation they could devise, the men of Lincolnshire offered him money in all the towns through which he passed with his fair young queen:[4] probably, he would not have been appeased without blood also, if she who possessed the art of charming his fury-passions had not been at his side. In Yorkshire the king and queen were met by two hundred gentlemen of the shire, in coats of velvet, with four thousand tall yeomen and serving-men, who on their knees made a submission by the

[1] Herbert. Guthrie. Lingard.
[2] Guthrie. Lingard. Tytler. Rapin. Burnet.
[3] Acts of Privy Council. Hall. Guthrie. [4] Ibid.

mouth of sir Robert Bowes, and gave the king 900*l*. Katharine witnessed a pageant of no less interest when the archbishop of York, with upwards of three hundred ecclesiastics and their attendants, met the king on Barnesdale, and made a like submission, with the peace-offering of 600*l*. Like submission was made by the mayors of York, of Newcastle, and of Hull, each of whom gave the king 100*l*. In the course of their progress, Katharine held a court at her dower-manor of Shire, which, in memory of that circumstance, is still called 'queen's-hold.'

It was during this fatal progress that Katharine, when at Pontefract-castle, sealed her own doom by admitting her former paramour, Francis Derham, into her household as a gentleman in waiting and private secretary to herself. Sharon Turner, following lord Herbert and some other writers, says, "that Derham was only employed on two or three occasions, in the absence of the queen's secretary, to write her private letters." When we reflect on the nature of some of the letters the unfortunate Katharine was in the habit of receiving, we may readily suppose she preferred the dreadful alternative of employing Derham as her amanuensis, rather than a person unacquainted with her fatal secret. It is a doubtful point whether the "mysteries of writing," and consequently of reading letters, were among the accomplishments of this ill-fated queen. Joan Bulmer's epistle, previous to the royal marriage, claims Katharine's grateful remembrance on the grounds of having exercised her clerkly skill in her service when but a private gentlewoman, and it is certain that no letter written by Katharine can be found: even her signature has been vainly sought at the State-Paper office and elsewhere. The duchess of Norfolk has been accused of having herself introduced Derham into her grand-daughter's court,[1] and desired her to give him some appointment in her household. It is to be lamented that neither of these unhappy ladies had the moral courage to put a stern negative on his audacious demand of preferment. That it was not willingly given may certainly be inferred from the fact, that Katharine had been queen of

[1] Holinshed. State-Paper MS.

England upwards of a year before she granted this appointment, the date of which, according to Holinshed, was the 27th of August, 1541. On the 29th of the same month, her cousin Thomas Culpepper had a long private interview with her at Lincoln, in her closet or privy-chamber at eleven at night, no one being present but lady Rochford, her principal lady in waiting, by whom he was introduced. The conference lasted many hours, and at his departure the queen presented him with a chain and a rich cap.[1] This secret meeting, and the unseasonable time at which it took place, was afterwards construed into a proof of a criminal intimacy between the queen and her kinsman; but if Katharine had really been engaged in an intrigue with this near relation, she would scarcely have hazarded bringing him and Derham into contact, knowing as she did the jealous temper and lawless character of her seducer. Culpepper was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber: he had lately committed a frightful crime in his native county, and had, moreover, perpetrated murder when resisting his apprehension. Henry VIII. pardoned him his complicated guilt,[2] but it was very probable that distress, caused by the expenses of his situation, had impelled the interview with the queen, his kinswoman, and his extortion from her of such jewels as she had nearest at hand.

The king and queen arrived at York about the 14th of September, and tarried there twelve days. Great preparations had been made for the reception of Henry's nephew, James V. of Scotland; but that prince, placing no great reliance on his uncle's principles, excused himself from accepting his invitation to meet him there. Henry and Katharine quitted York September 26, and that night they supped and slept at Holme,[3] an ancient moated mansion, which had been recently forfeited to the crown by the re-

[1] Burnet. Rapin.

[2] Richard Hilles to Henry Bullinger, Zurich Letters, second series: Parker Society, p. 226.

[3] Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. Holme is now the seat of the hon. P. Stourton, who married Katharine, the eldest daughter of H. Howard, esq. of Corby, descended from the same stem as the unfortunate queen Katharine Howard.

bellion of sir Robert Constable. On the 1st of October they reached Hull, where they remained five days, and crossing the Humber, they pursued their homeward route through Lincolnshire. In one of the letters from the council with the king to that in London, Mr. secretary Wriothesley writes, "The king and queen, and all the train, be merry and in health." In the course of this progress Katharine enjoyed more of the pomp and pageantry of royalty than had fallen to her lot since her marriage with the king. The truth was, they travelled at the expense of the wealthy aristocracy of those counties which, having been recently involved in rebellion, omitted nothing that was likely to conciliate the offended sovereign. Henry, who became every day more enamoured of his young queen, took great delight in displaying her to his people in his public entrances into the principal towns in their route, and omitted nothing that was likely to give her pleasure. Katharine, being of a plastic age and temper, readily adapted herself to his humour, and made it her study to amuse and cheer him when he came to her fatigued and harassed with the cares of state. The increase of her influence during this progress was beheld with jealous feelings by those who were naturally desirous of destroying her credit with the king; and the circumstance of the royal travellers resting one night at the house of sir John Gorstwick, who had, during the preceding spring, denounced Cranmer in open parliament "as the root of all heresies," was sufficiently alarming to that primate. There was, moreover, a select meeting of the privy council, at which Gardiner presided, held at Gorstwick's house, affording strong confirmation to the assertions of Burnet and Rapin, that Cranmer had reason to believe that he should very shortly follow Cromwell to the scaffold, unless some means were found of averting the gathering storm.

At this momentous crisis the archbishop communicated to his colleagues, the earl of Hertford and the lord chancellor, the particulars of the queen's early misconduct in the house of the duchess of Norfolk, which had been conveyed to him by John Lassells, brother of the vile woman who had connived

at the indiscretions, and finally the guilt, of the unhappy girl. This disclosure was stated to have taken place in a conversation between Lassells and his sister, in consequence of his advising her to ask for a place in the queen's household, as others had done; to which Mary said "she did not wish to enter into the service of the queen, but that she pitied her." —"Why so?" asked Lassells. "Marry!" replied the other, "because she is light both in conditions and living," and then she related the tale of Katharine's lapse from virtue with Derham in revolting terms.[1] Alas, for the motherless child who had, in the most perilous season of woman's life, been exposed to the contaminating society of such a female! The disclosure was regarded by the earl of Hertford and the lord chancellor as a matter proper to be laid before the king, and the task was deputed to Cranmer.[2]

[1] Acts of the Privy Council. Lord Herbert's Henry VIII. White Kennet. Burnet. [2] Ibid.

KATHARINE HOWARD,

FIFTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

The queen unconscious of her danger—Fondness of the king—Their return to Windsor—Arrival at Hampton-Court—The king's thanksgiving for his conjugal happiness—The queen accused by the privy council—Grief of the king—She is arrested—Her terror and agonies—Evidence against her—Lady Rochford implicated—Queen sent to Sion-house—Deprived of her royal state-attendance—The duchess of Norfolk and the queen's kindred arrested—Derham and Culpepper imprisoned—Derham and his confidant tortured—Duchess of Norfolk's terror and sickness—Her depositions and danger—Fresh tortures inflicted on Derham and Damport—They are executed—Queen's attainder—Is brought to the Tower—Condemnation—Her message—Protestations to her confessor—Queen executed with lady Rochford—Interment—Contemporary verses on her fate.

THE queen, unconscious of how dark a cloud impended over her, was receiving fresh tokens of regard every hour from Henry, who behaved as if it were his intention to prove to the world—

"How much the wife was dearer than the bride."

They arrived at Windsor on the 26th of October, and proceeded to Hampton-Court on the 30th, in readiness to keep the festival of All Saints.[1] Henry and Katharine both received the sacrament that day. Henry, on this occasion, while kneeling before the altar, raised his eyes to heaven, and exclaimed aloud, "I render thanks to thee, O Lord! that after so many strange accidents that have befallen my marriages, thou hast been pleased to give me a wife so entirely conformed to my inclinations as her I now have." He then requested his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, to prepare a public form of thanksgiving to Almighty God for having blessed him with so loving, dutiful, and virtuous a queen. This was to be read on the mor-

[1] Acts of Privy Council.

row, which was All Souls'-day; but on that fatal morrow, while Henry was at mass, the paper that contained the particulars of the misconduct of her whom he esteemed such a jewel of womanhood and perfect love to himself, was put into his hands by Cranmer, with a humble request that he would read it when he was in entire privacy.[1] The object of Cranmer in presenting the information against the queen to Henry in the chapel, was evidently to prevent the announcement to the people of the public form of thanksgiving which had been prepared by the bishop. The absence of Katharine from her accustomed place in the royal closet, afforded the archbishop the better opportunity of striking this decisive blow.

Henry, at first, treated the statement as a calumny invented for the destruction of the queen; for, as he himself afterwards declared, "he so tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived such a constant opinion of her honesty, that he supposed it rather to be a forged matter than the truth." On which, being greatly perplexed, he sent for the lord privy-seal, the lord admiral, sir Anthony Browne, and sir Thomas Wriothesley, to whom he opened the case, saying, at the same time, "He could not believe it to be true; and yet, the information having been once made, he could not be *satisfied* till the certainty thereof were known, but he would not, in any wise, that in the inquisition any spark of scandal should arise against the queen."[2] He then despatched the lord privy-seal to London, where John Lassells was secretly kept, to try if he would stand to his saying. Lassells reiterated his tale, and added, that "He would rather die in the declaration of the truth, since it so nearly touched the king, than live with the concealment of the same." His sister was also examined, who gave evidence of the early misconduct of the queen. That Katharine had admitted Derham and Manox, with Joan Bulmer and other persons who were acquainted with her fatal misconduct, into her royal household, was probably a matter in which she had no choice, as she was entirely in their power; but the circumstance of their being there afforded a startling confirmation of the charges against her.

[1] Herbert. Burnet. Rapin. [2] Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. 354.

Wriothesley received express instructions from the king to take Derham into custody on an accusation of piracy, because he had been formerly noted in Ireland for that offence,[1] making that pretence lest any spark of suspicion should get abroad from his examination. The arrest was effected; and Henry's wrathful jealousy having been powerfully excited by a report that the old duchess of Norfolk should have had the folly to say, when in the queen's chamber, to a certain gentlewoman, "There," pointing to Derham, "this is he who fled away into Ireland for the queen's sake," caused him to be examined very sharply as to the nature of his connexion with the queen.[2] Derham boldly acknowledged "that a promise of marriage had been exchanged between himself and the queen many years previous to her union with the king; that they had lived as man and wife while he was in the service of her grandmother the duchess of Norfolk; and that they were regarded in that light among the servants in the family. That he was accustomed to call her wife, and she had often called him husband, before witnesses; that they had exchanged gifts and love-tokens frequently in those days; and he had given her money whenever he had it. He solemnly denied that the slightest familiarity had ever taken place between them since Katharine's marriage with the king."[3] This was the substance of his first statements, freely given, nor could the extremity of torture wring from him any thing of further import against the queen; neither is there the slightest evidence tending to convict her of having renewed her criminal intimacy with him.[4] On the contrary, it would appear by the bitter scorn of her expressions, when compelled to name him,[5] that he had become the object of her greatest aversion after she had seen the folly of her early infatuation, and felt the blight his selfish passion had been the means of casting on her morning bloom of life.

According to the historical traditions of Hampton-Court, the wretched Katharine called incessantly on the name of her royal

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, vol vii. p. 354. [2] State-Paper MS.
[3] State-Papers, vol. i. [4] Ibid.
[5] Queen Katharine's examination, in Burnet.

husband, and made more than one desperate attempt to see him. The first time was at the hour when she knew he would be at mass in the chapel, and although she had been ordered to confine herself to her own chamber, she was not so strictly kept but she watched her opportunity to rush into the private gallery leading from her bed-room to the queen's entrance to the royal closet in the chapel, and was with difficulty prevented from bursting into his presence, with the declared intent of throwing herself at his feet and imploring his mercy, or claiming his protection. When she was stopped and carried back, she struggled violently, and her screams were heard by every one in the chapel. On another occasion, she escaped from her chamber, through the low door in the alcove at the bed's head, into the back-stairs' lobby, and though instantly pursued, she reached the foot of the private stair, called 'the maid of honour's stair,'[1] before she was overtaken and brought back. Local superstition long asserted, that the phantom of a shrieking lady, clothed in white, with dishevelled hair, haunted that gallery and staircase. But to return to sober facts: when the result of the first day's investigation was brought to the king by the persons employed in that business, he seemed like a man pierced to the heart;[2] and after vainly struggling for utterance, his pride and firmness gave way, and he burst into a passion of tears. He left Hampton-Court the next morning without seeing the queen, or sending her any message. The same day the council came to her in a body, and informed her of the charge that had been made against her. She denied it with earnest protestations of her innocence, but the moment they were gone fell into fits so violent, that her life and reason were that night supposed to be in danger.[3] When this was reported to the king, he sent Cranmer to her in the morning with a deceitful assurance, that "If she would acknowledge her transgressions, the king, although her life had been forfeited by the law, had deter-

[1] The staircase so called led from the lobby of the queen's back-stairs to that portion of the ancient Tudor palace which was demolished.

[2] Acts of Privy Council. Herbert. Lingard. Guthrie.

[3] Lingard. Tytler. State-Papers.

mined to extend unto her his most gracious mercy." Katharine, who was in a state of frantic agony when the archbishop entered, was overpowered with softer emotions on hearing the message, and unable to do more than raise her hands with expressions of thankfulness to the king for having shown her more mercy than she had dared to ask for herself.[1] In the evening Cranmer returned to her again, when, finding her more composed, he drew from her a promise "that she would reply to his questions as truly and faithfully as she would answer at the day of judgment, on the promise which she made at her baptism, and by the sacrament which she received on All Hallows'-day last past."[2]

The particulars of the queen's behaviour during these interviews, and the agonizing state of excitement in which she was at this dreadful crisis of her fate, will be best detailed in the following letter from Cranmer to the king:—

CRANMER TO HENRY VIII.

"It may please your majesty to understand, that, at the repair to the queen's grace, I found her in such lamentation and heaviness as I never saw no creature, so that it would have pitied any man's heart in the world to have looked upon her; and in that vehement *rage*[3] she continued (as they informed me which be about her) from my departure from her unto my return again, and then I found her, as I do suppose, far entered towards a *franzy*, which I feared, before my departure from her, at my first being with her. Surely, if your grace's comfort had not come in time, she could have continued no long time in that condition without a *franzy*, which, nevertheless, I do yet much suspect to follow hereafter. As for my message from your majesty unto her, I was purposed to enter communication in this wise: First, to exaggerate the grievousness of her demerits; then to declare unto her the justice of your grace's laws, and what she ought to suffer by the same; and last of all, to signify unto her your most gracious mercy. But when I saw in what condition she was, I was fain to turn my purpose, and to begin at the last part first, to comfort her by your grace's benignity and mercy; for else, the recital of your grace's laws, with the aggravation of her offences, might, peradventure, have driven her into some dangerous extasy, or else into a very franzy, so that the words of comfort, coming last, might have come too late. And after I had declared your grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your majesty, who had showed her more grace and mercy than she herself thought meet to sue for, or could have hoped for. Then, for a time, she became more temperate and moderate, saving that she still sobbed and wept; but after a little pausing, she suddenly fell into a new *rage*, much worse than before. Now I do use her thus: when I do see her in any such extreme *braids*,[4] I do travail with her to know the cause; and then, as much as I can, I do labour to take away, or at

[1] State-Papers. [2] Lingard. Tytler.
[3] By the word 'rage' the writer always means *agony*. [4] Paroxysms.

the least, to mitigate the cause, and so I did at that time. I told her there was some new fantasy come into her head, which I desired to open unto me; and, after a certain time, when she had recovered herself that she might speak, she cried, and said:—'Alas, my lord, that I am alive! The fear of death did not grieve me so much before, as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness, for when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy, more than I could have looked for, (showed unto me, so unworthy, at this time,) maketh mine offences to appear before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before. And the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so mis-order myself against his majesty.'

"And for all I could say to her, she continued in a great pang a long while. After that, she began something to remit her *rage*, and come to herself; she was metely well until night, and I had good communication with her, and, as I thought, brought her into a great quietness. Nevertheless, at night, about six of the clock, she fell into another pang, but not so outrageous as the first; and that was (as she showed me) because of remembrance, that at that time of the evening (as she said) master Heneage was wont to bring her news of your grace. And because I lack time to write all things to your majesty, I have referred other things to be opened by the mouth of the bearer of this, sir John Dudley, saving I have sent enclosed all that I can get of her concerning any communication with Derham, which, although it be not so much as I thought, yet I suppose is surely sufficient to prove a contract, although she thinks it be no contract. The cause that master Baynton was sent to your majesty was, partly for the declaration of her state, and partly because, after my departure from her, she began to excuse and tamper those things which she had spoken unto me and set her hand, as, at my coming unto your majesty, I shall more fully declare by word of mouth, for she saith, 'that Derham used to her importune-force, and had not her free will and consent.' Thus, Almighty God have your majesty in his preservation and governance.

"From your grace's most bounden chaplain,

"T. CANTUARIEN."[1]

From Cranmer's assertion that the queen had "set her hand" to the paper, it has been inferred that she was able to write, but it might be only her mark of attestation; and, even if she could sign her name, it does not prove her capability of writing letters, or any thing beyond a signature. In the whole of this transaction, there is nothing more extraordinary than the perversity of Katharine in refusing to acknowledge that, as far as an obligation which had not received the sanction of the church could go, she was plighted to her kinsman, Francis Derham, before she received the nuptial ring from king Henry. But, with the same headstrong rashness which

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. pp. 689–691. This is written entirely with Cranmer's hand. By the expressions in this letter, which is full of kind feeling, it seems Cranmer really believed Henry would show the mercy he pretended to the wretched girl.

had characterized her conduct from childhood, she determined to cling to her queenly dignity at all hazards, rather than admit of any plea that would have the effect of rendering her subsequent marriage with the king null and void. The following passages are subjoined, on that point, from her confession, which was sent by Cranmer to the king:—"Being again examined by my lord Canterbury, of contracts and communications of marriage between Derham and me, I shall here answer faithfully and truly, as I shall make answer at the last day of judgment, and by the promise that I made in baptism, and the sacrament I received upon All Hallows'-day last past. First, I do say that Derham hath many times moved me unto the question of matrimony, whereunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than I have confessed. And as for those words, 'I do promise that I love you with all my heart,' I do not remember that I ever spoke them; but as concerning the other words, that 'I should promise him by my faith and troth,' I am *sure* I never spoke them. Questioned whether I called him husband, and he me wife? I do answer, that there was communication in the house that we two should marry together, and some of his enemies had envy thereat; wherefore he desired me to give him leave to call me wife, and that I would call him husband, and I said, 'I was content.' And so, after that, commonly he called me wife, and many times I called him husband, and he used many times to kiss me. And I suppose this is true, that at one time he kissed me very often. Some who stood by made observations on his conduct, whereunto he answered, 'Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?'"[1]

King Henry remained in the neighbouring palace of Oatlands, whither he had withdrawn to await the result of these investigations. He appears to have been torn with contending passions, and not venturing to trust to his own feelings with regard to his unhappy queen, he left all proceedings to the direction of Cranmer and the council. Katharine was now

[1] Queen Katharine Howard's confession; Burnet's Reformation.

placed under arrest, and her keys were taken away from her.[1] On the 11th of October the archbishop of Canterbury, with Wriothesley and Mr. comptroller, received orders to go to the queen, and signify to her the king's pleasure that she should depart on the following Monday to Sion-house, while the inquiry pended. The state of a queen was not yet entirely taken from her, but reduced to the following appointments, which are copied from the order in council:—

"The furniture of three chambers, hanged with mean stuff, without any cloth of estate, [canopy]; of which three, one shall serve for Mr. Baynton and the others to dine in, and the other two to serve for her use, and with a small number of servants. The king's highness's pleasure is, that the queen have, according to her choice, four gentlewomen and two chamberers, foreseeing always that my lady Baynton be one, whose husband the king's pleasure is should attend the queen, and have the rule and government of the whole house. Besides Mr. Baynton, his wife, and the almoner, the king appointeth none specially to remain with her; the rest are to depart upon Monday next. And the king's pleasure is, that my lady Mary[2] be conducted to my lord prince's house by sir John Dudley, with a convenient number of queen Katharine's servants."

Lady Margaret Douglas (the daughter of Henry's sister, the queen of Scotland) had likewise to make way for the disgraced queen's establishment; she was conducted to Kenninghall, and with her went the young duchess of Richmond. The queen's maids of honour were ordered to return to their friends, excepting Mrs. Basset, whom the king, "considering the calamity of her friends, determined to provide for." The privy council Report states, also,—

"The king's resolution to lay before the parliament and judges the abominable behaviour of the queen, but without any mention of pre-contract to Derham 'which might serve for her defence,' but only to open and make manifest the king's highness's just cause of indignation and displeasure. Considering no man would think it reasonable that the king's highness (although his majesty doth not yet take the degree of her estate utterly from her) should entertain her so tenderly in the high degree and estate of a queen, who for her demerits is so unworthy of the same. Therefore the king's majesty willeth, that whoever among you know not only the whole matter, but also how it was first detected, by whom, and by what means it came to the king's majesty's knowledge, with the whole of the king's majesty's sorrowful behaviour and careful proceeding in it, should upon the Sunday coming assemble all the ladies and gentlewomen and gentlemen being now in the queen's household, and declare unto them the whole process of the

[1] State-Papers, vol. i.

[2] The princess Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. 'My lord prince' was her infant brother, afterwards Edward VI.

matter. (except that ye make no mention of the pre-contract,) but omitting that, set forth such matter as might confound their misdemeanour. Touching the queen's departing from that house and removing to Sion, shall be on Monday next coming, such ladies only to remain at Hampton-Court to abide the queen's removing as by advertisements from you of those that shall succeed there; providing always that the ladies keep their day of departure upon Monday, and such only to remain at Hampton-Court to abide the queen's removing as shall be attendant at Sion. Giving you, Mr. comptroller, to understand that Mr. Weldon, master of the household, hath been here spoken to, to make provision of wine, beer, and other necessaries at Sion for that purpose.

"At the king's palace of Westminster, the 11th November, at night.

"Your loving friends,

"NORFOLK. SOUTHAMPTON. SUFFOLK. RUSSELL.
"ANTONE BROWNE. ANTONY WINGFELD.
"RAFE SADLEYR.

"Furthermore, his majesty's pleasure is, that Mr. Seymour shall remain there, with all the jewels and other things of the queen's, till she be gone, and then to bring them hither. And to the queen's grace ye must appoint six French hoods, with the appurtenances, with edges of goldsmiths' work, so there be no stone or pearl in the same; likewise, as many pair of sleeves, six gowns, and six kirtles of satin damask and velvet, with such things as belong to the same, except always stone and pearl.

"At the court [Westminster], to my lord of Canterbury, at Hampton-Court."[1]

In parts of this order we trace the lingering tenderness of the king for her who had been so lately the object of his adoring fondness. It is also curious to observe how those, who at first raked up the most trivial gossips' tales (that eight years ago circulated among the menials of the duchess of Norfolk) in order to establish the fact of a pre-contract between Derham and the queen, now caution their colleagues "by no means to mention the *pre-contract*, lest it should serve her for an excuse to save her life." The council had, in fact, come to the determination of proceeding against the queen on the awful charge of adultery, and, finding it impossible to convict her of that crime with Derham, they determined to fix it on some other person. But so circumspect had been the deportment of Katharine since her marriage, that the only man to whom she had ever manifested the slightest degree of condescension was her first cousin, Thomas Culpepper, the son of Katharine's uncle, sir John Culpepper, of Holingbourne in Kent. Thomas bore a bad character in his native county, which, however, did not prevent his appointment as a gentleman of the privy-chamber to Henry VIII. before the

[1] State-Papers, p. 695.

elevation of his fair kinswoman to the fatal dignity of queen-consort. His name is found among the royal appointments at the marriage of Anne of Cleves, and he distinguished himself in the jousts at Durham-house in honour of those nuptials. In the thirty-third year of king Henry he obtained the grant of three manors from the crown. The nearness of their relationship naturally caused great intimacy between him and Katharine, for they had been companions in childhood; but whether there were ever a matrimonial engagement in perspective between them, as suspected by her forsaken and jealous lover, Derham, previous to her union with the king, cannot now be ascertained. It is possible that such a report might have decided the council to implicate him with the queen in a charge of adultery. As this was the only means of dissolving the king's marriage, the queen's female attendants were strictly examined with a view to establish the charge. Whether these unfortunate women were examined by torture, like the men, or only put in terror of it, is not on record; but when we remember that Wriothesley and Rich were the agents by whom the evidences were collected, it may be supposed they were not very scrupulous as to the means they employed. These were the men afterwards found superseding the more merciful executioner in his abhorrent office in the dungeon of the young, the lovely, and pious Anne Askew, when, provoked by her silent fortitude, they threw off their gowns and worked the rack with their own ferocious hands, till they nearly tore her delicate frame asunder. These two men were the most unprincipled and sanguinary of the whole swarm of *parvenus* of whom Henry's cabinet was composed. Wriothesley is thus portrayed by a contemporary poet:—

> "From vile estate, of base and low degree,
> By false deceit, by craft and subtle ways,
> Of mischief mould, and key of cruelty,
> Was crept full high, borne up by various stays.
> * * * *
> With ireful eye, or glaring like a cat,
> Killing by spite whom he thought fit to hit."[1]

[1] Cavendish.

It is impossible to read Wriothesley's reports of the examinations of the witnesses without perceiving his deadly malice against the queen and her kindred. When writing to his colleague Sadler, he does not disguise his satisfaction at "pyking out any thing that is likely to serve the purpose of *our business*," as he calls it. "I assure you," writes he, "my woman Tylney hath done *us* worthy service and true, as it appeareth."[1] That the evidence on which Mr. secretary Wriothesley felicitates himself so highly goes no farther than to prove that the queen was surrounded by spies, who were disposed to place evil constructions on her most trifling departure from the rigour of royal etiquette, let the dispassionate reader judge. The following is a faithful transcript of the curiously indited document which contains the deposition of Katharine Tylney at Westminster, November 13th, 33 Henry VIII.—"She saith, that she remembers at Lincoln the queen went two nights out of her chamber, when it was late, to lady Rochford's chamber, which was up a little pair of stairs by the queen's chamber.[2] And the first night this deponent and Margaret,[3] her colleague, went up with her; and the queen made them both go down again, but Margaret went up again eftsoons, and this deponent went to bed with Mrs. Fryswith, (another of the queen's chamberers). As far as she remembereth, when it was late, about two of the clock, Margaret came up to bed to them; and she (Tylney) said to Margaret, 'Jesus! is not the queen a-bed yet?' and Margaret said, 'Yes, even now.' The second night, she says that 'the queen made all her fellows go to bed, and took only this deponent with her; at which time she tarried also in manner as long as she did the

[1] MS. in State-Paper office.

[2] The chamber of the lady in waiting is situated precisely in the same way in the royal château of St. Germain's, up a small narrow staircase, through the lobby of the queen's back-stairs, for the convenience of private communication between the queen and her principal female attendant of state. The customs of royalty in those days were much the same in England and France, the precedents having been formed by the French princesses who have worn the crown-matrimonial of this country.

[3] Katharine Tylney and Margaret Morton were two of the queen's chamberers, or bedchamber women.

other night, during which time this deponent was in a little place with my lady Rochford's woman,' and therefore, 'on her peril,' saith 'she never saw who came unto the queen and my lady Rochford, nor heard what was said between them.'" The only fair way of reporting the examination of witnesses is, by stating both queries and replies verbatim; such was not however the mode of master Wriothesley's recital of Katharine Tylney's deposition, since, by omitting all his own queries and threats, and condensing all her replies into a subtly arranged narrative deposition, he produces an impression "that the queen went into lady Rochford's chamber to meet some person whom the deponent could not see." Now the tenour of the evidence is simply this, that Tylney saw no one; and even if there had been any one there, the place where she waited with lady Rochford's woman was so situated, that she could neither have seen nor heard what passed. But was there any one to see? as Wriothesley endeavours to imply; and to that straight-forward question common sense replies, What need of implications by logical subtleties, if a fact so suspicious as the queen meeting any one secretly in her lady in waiting's chamber at dead of night had really been elicited from Katharine Tylney, even by the terror of rack and gibbet. It was a period when admissions so extorted were used as legal evidence, therefore if Tylney had admitted such a proceeding on the part of her unhappy mistress, it would have been stated in report point-blank, without mincing the matter, as presumptive evidence of the general levity and impropriety of the queen, although it could not have established her guilt, since she was not alone.

Equally vague and inconclusive as the above is the context of Wriothesley's recital of Tylney's deposition.—"*Item.* She saith 'that the queen hath caused her to do sundry such strange messages to lady Rochford, that she could not tell how to utter them; and at Hampton-Court, lately, she bade her go to my lady Rochford and ask her 'When she should have the thing she promised her?' And she (lady Rochford) answered, that 'She sat up for it, and she would the next day bring her word herself.' A like message and answer

was conveyed to and from my lord of Suffolk.[1] It is, of course, impossible to penetrate into the secret of these messages, but as the king's brother-in-law, Suffolk, was one of the parties concerned, it is impossible to imagine they were any way connected with love-affairs; and if they had been, he would have deposed to that effect. The probability is, that they related to supplies of money, or the private purchase of jewels or articles of adornment, which the queen employed the agency of these persons to procure in an underhand way. Katharine, like all persons who have been early initiated into the dark mysteries of sin, had evidently acquired a systematic habit of concealment, even with regard to those trifling actions which, when openly performed, would never excite suspicion.

The testimony of Margaret Morton[2] (Tylney's companion) is unfavourable to the queen, as far as her own opinion goes. She imagined "that the lady Rochford was a party to some intrigue that the queen was carrying on when she was at Lincoln, Pontefract, and York. . . . . When they were at Pontefract," she says, "the queen had angry words with Mrs. Luffkyn (another of the chamberers) and herself, and forbade their attendance in her bedchamber;" on which, these two women kept a jealous watch on her majesty's proceedings. "Lady Rochford," Margaret said, "conveyed letters to and from the queen to Culpepper, *as it was supposed;* and that one night, when they were at Pontefract, and the queen was in her bedchamber with no other attendant than my lady Rochford, that lady (which was an unusual thing) did not only lock the chamber door, but bolted it in the inside also; and when the king came with the intent to pass the night there, he found the door fastened, and there was some delay before he was admitted." It is possible, however that the queen was in the bath, or so engaged as to render it expedient to fasten her chamber door, for there is no evidence to prove that any *other* person was in the chamber besides the lady in waiting and the queen.

The fate of Anne Boleyn and her brother lord Rochford,

[1] MSS. in State-Paper office, 33 Henry VIII. [2] Ibid.

had recently afforded melancholy witness on how slight grounds a queen of England might be sent to the block, and noble gentlemen (Norris, Brereton, and Weston) "done to death by slanderous tongues." The only evidence adduced in proof of the alleged crime of Anne Boleyn with her brother was, that he had leaned his hand on her bed; and now his widow, who had borne murderous testimony against her lord, was to be brought by retributive justice to an ignominious death on a charge of having been an accomplice in a royal intrigue, because she, as lady in waiting, had been present at an interview between the queen and her first cousin. Lady Rochford was many years older than her thoughtless mistress, and, having been lady of the bedchamber to the four preceding queens, she was well versed in all matters of royal etiquette, and ought to have warned the young, inexperienced consort of a sovereign so jealous as Henry of the misconstructions that might be placed on her conduct, if she gave a private audience to her cousin at an improper hour.

How greatly Katharine's health was shaken by the agitating scenes of that dreadful week, may be gathered from a letter of sir Ralph Sadler, directing the archbishop and Wriothesley to "question the queen again with respect to her intimacy with Culpepper, if they found her in such a state of health and mind as to bear it." Nothing could induce Katharine to admit that there had ever been the slightest impropriety between her and this near relative. None of the great ladies in attendance on the queen were examined. Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, who was the first lady in waiting, however, received a severe reprimand,[1] not for being privy to any levity on the part of the queen, but for her own misconduct in having entered into a clandestine courtship with lord Charles Howard, who was at the same time the young uncle of the queen, and also the half-brother of her first love, the unfortunate lord Thomas Howard, who died a prisoner in the Tower for having presumed to plight his troth, without the king's consent, to a lady in such near relation to the crown. On the 13th of November Katharine was removed as a

[1] State-Paper MS.

degraded prisoner from Hampton-Court to Sion. Her disgrace was proclaimed to her attendants, who were assembled in the Star-chamber for that purpose, and the household was discharged.

Though many of the queen's ladies were, as we have seen, of the highest rank, the lord chancellor entered into all the details, in his declaration of Katharine's former misconduct with Derham, when both were in the family of the old duchess of Norfolk. He concluded with an intimation that there was "a still further appearance of abomination in the queen, which for the present he left in a cloud."[1] The very next day Henry's ministers (who were in great haste to proclaim the dishonour of their royal master to foreign nations) addressed a circular announcing the whole order and story of the queen's early frailty and suspected adultery to the king's ministers abroad, and even confided all the details to the French ambassador. Francis I., in return, sent his condolences to Henry on the misbehaviour of Katharine Howard, saying, "He was sorry to hear of the great displeasures, troubles, and inquietations which his good brother had recently had by the naughty demeanour of her, lately reputed for queen."[2] The motives of Henry's council in thus blazoning the charges against the queen as facts, before they had been substantiated as such by a trial, are glaringly apparent. There was a strong yearning in the king's heart towards her, therefore the chance existed of her regaining her former influence, since no actual evidence could be brought of her disloyalty to him; and, in the event of a reconciliation, those who had accused Katharine would have cause to apprehend punishment for conspiring against her life and fame. They played their perilous game with too much skill to allow the bruised reed to rise again, and before the first transport of Henry's indignation had subsided sufficiently to admit of his forming a dispassionate judgment of the nature of his wrong,—

> "For to be wroth with what we love,
> Doth work like madness on the brain,"—

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 684. [2] Ibid.

they struck a master-stroke of policy, by inducing him to sanction the publication of details which would prevent the possibility of his ever receiving Katharine again as his queen.

In the mean time, information was conveyed to the council that the duchess of Norfolk, on hearing the rumour of the arrest of the queen and Derham, had secretly despatched a confidential servant, named Pewson, to Hampton-Court, to ascertain the real state of the case. Pewson, on his return, told his lady "that it was reported that the queen had played the king false with Derham, and that Katharine Tylney was privy to her guilt." The duchess said "She could not think it was true; but if it were, all three deserved to be hanged" She then said to Derham's friend, Damport, "I hear Mr. Derham is taken, and also the queen. What is the matter?" "Some words, belike, spoken by him to a gentleman usher," was the reply. The duchess expressed great alarm "lest any harm should befall the queen in consequence of evil reports." She gave Damport 10*l.*, doubtless to purchase his silence, and it seems she had been accustomed to allow him an annual stipend.[1]

The duke of Norfolk was despatched, by order of the king, to make search at the duchess's house at Lambeth for Derham's papers and effects; before his arrival, however, the old duchess, with the assistance of the yeoman of her kitchen, and some others of her *meiné*, had broken open the coffers and trunks belonging to Derham, and carried off and (as it is supposed) destroyed every thing that was likely to be brought in evidence against herself, or any of the parties implicated in a knowledge of the queen's early history.[2] When the duke reported what had been done by his step-mother, she and all her servants were placed under arrest, and very strictly examined by the council. The following is their account of the examination of one of the subordinates:—"First we began with Ashby, the duchess of Norfolk's man, and wrote on Sunday three or four leaves of paper, where, among many long tales of small importance, he said, that when the duchess broke up Derham's coffers, he (Ashby) and her comptroller

[1] State-Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII. [2] Ibid.

(a priest) were present, besides the smith, who picked the one coffer and broke open the other. The duchess took out all the writings, and carried them to her chamber, saying she would peruse them at her leisure, without suffering any person to be present: the like she did, also, with such writings as were in his *mail*.[1] She declared that she meant not any of these things to come to revelation. She would have had Ashby take a satin coat belonging to Derham, in the place of 30*s*. 8*d*. which Derham owed him, but he refused it. He confessed, also, that the duchess had been in the greatest fear lest Alice Wilks should have told lord William of the familiarity between the queen and Derham. She would have sent one to Calais, to have informed the lord William Howard of this matter, if she had not been advised to the contrary. He (Ashby) confessed that she (the duchess) once said, that 'If there be no offence since the marriage, she (the queen) ought not to die for what was done before;' and also, 'that she demanded whether the *pardon*[2] would not serve other persons who knew of their naughty life before the marriage.' Also, he confessed that she broke open a chest and two coffers of Damport's, after he was committed to the Tower, and likewise took out all his writings and letters at this breaking also. Ashby and her comptroller were present, and one Dunn, yeoman of her cellar, who played the smith's part."[3] On a second and third examination of the persons concerned in this transaction, nothing further could be learned than that the duchess found several bundles of papers, some ballads, and books with musical notes for playing on the lute, among Derham's effects. How his trunks and personal property came to be in the duchess of Norfolk's house can only be accounted for on the supposition that his office at court did not entitle him to lodgings in the palace; that he was only there in rotation with other gentlemen in waiting, and that his general home was in the house of his noble kinswoman, the duchess of Norfolk.

[1] The same as 'malle,' the French word for portmanteau.

[2] This pardon is frequently mentioned, but is inexplicable.

[3] State-Papers, vol. i. p. 697.

Although his parentage is a mystery, for he appears as if standing alone in the world, connected only by some unexplained tie of kindred with the noble house of Howard, yet he always had the command of money, as we find by his costly presents to Katharine when she was living as a dependant in the house of the duchess. Being cross-questioned on some portions of Katharine Tylney's evidence, touching the duchess of Norfolk's knowledge of his clandestine courtship of the queen when a girl, Derham admitted the fact "that the duchess had once seen him kiss her grand-daughter; for which she struck him and beat her, and gave Mrs. Bulmer a blow for permitting it," as related before. "Many times, also," he said, "she would blame him and mistress Katharine." He affirmed "that he was introduced into the royal household by the queen's desire, who told the duchess of Norfolk to bring him;"[1] and this admission is, in reality, the only point in the evidence tending to criminate Katharine after her royal marriage. Then, however, it is to be observed, that Derham, from first to last, represented himself as the affianced husband of the queen, whom he still loved with unabated passion; and there can be no doubt, as the ecclesiastical law then stood, that he could have invalidated her marriage with Henry, or any other man, by the proofs he adduced of his prior claim to her hand. Lady Howard deposed, that the queen once asked her, "Where Derham was?" and she replied, "He is here with my lord;" and the queen said, "My lady of Norfolk hath desired me to be good unto him." Be this how it might, the circumstance of his being in the household had the worst possible effect on the queen's cause, and was used by the council as presumptive evidence that it was her intention to wrong the king. Henry naturally regarded it in that light.[2]

Mr. secretary Wriothesley gives a lively account of the terror of the duchess of Norfolk, and her resistance to the royal mandate, when he brought the order for her arrest. The recent butchery of the aged countess of Salisbury of course rendered such a proceeding sufficiently alarming. The

[1] State-Paper MS., 33 Henry VIII. [2] Ibid.

duchess immediately fell very ill, and "said she was not well enough to be removed;" on which Wriothesley tells the council, "that he, and the earl of Southampton, and Mr. Pollard went to see her, the better to perceive whether she were indeed as sick as she pretended. . . . . At first," says he,[1] "we entered as though we had only come to visit and comfort her, whereby we perceived, in short space, that she was not so sick as she made for, but able enough to repair to my lord chancellor, as his highness appointed. Then began we to tell her that my lord chancellor had certain questions to demand of her, which should much serve to the clearing of the matter, and so advised her to repair to him, saying the matters were not long, *ne* such as we thought she would not both shortly and truly answer; but here she began to be very sick again, 'even at the heart,' as she said, which was the sickness of mistrust that, if she went, she should not return again. Nevertheless, with much ado we got her to condescend to her going, and so we departed, to the intent that she should mistrust no false measure; and we all staid at the house of *me* sir Thomas Wriothesley, till we saw her barge pass. We have also travailed this day with Pewson, whom we have in custody, but he is yet stiff. Marry! he confesseth already his going to Hampton-Court after Derham's apprehension, 'but the purport of his going to those parts was to buy boards for my lady of Norfolk, and faggots for himself at Kingston,' as he saith; but we think he can, and shall tell another tale, wherein, as in all the rest, we shall travail to the best of our powers to get out the truth. Sir, we pray you to send hither all such examinations as you have touching these matters, that we may peruse them, and *pick* all such things out of them as may serve to the purpose of our business."[2]

Katharine had now the bitter agony of learning that her aged relative was not only involved in her disgrace, but was sick and in prison, and in peril of being brought to a death

[1] State-Paper, printed by government, vol. i. p. 696.

[2] Letter from Wriothesley and Southampton to sir Ralph Sadler.—State-Papers, vol. i.

of ignominy for having concealed her light conduct. "We twain," write Southampton and Wriothesley, "went to the Tower, and then first began with my lady of Norfolk, whom we found on her bed, as it appeared very sickly. Pressing her as much as we might to declare some further matter and knowledge touching the misconduct of the queen and Derham, assuring her on his majesty's behalf of her own life if she would in some sort make us her ghostly confessors, she made us answer, 'that she would take her death of it, that she never suspected any wrong between them.' She took God to witness that she never thought them to be of that abominable sort she now knoweth them to be of; nevertheless, she will not deny but she perceived a sort of light love and favour between them more than between indifferent persons, and had heard that Derham would sundry times give her (Katharine Howard) money, which she thought proceeded from the affection that groweth of kindred, the same Derham being her kinsman. But in that she told not his majesty thereof before his marriage, and in that she brake Derham and Damport's coffers, she confesseth to have offended God and his majesty, and beseecheth his highness most humbly, therefore, 'in his most noble heart to forgive her, and to be her good and gracious lord as he hath been, for otherwise her days would not be long.' We assure you she appeareth wondrous sorrowful, repentant, and sickly."[1]

Queen Katharine and her grandmother were both at this period sick nearly unto death with grief and terror, and in their separate prisons they were assailed with subtle interrogatories day after day by the pitiless members of king Henry's council, of which the purport was to outrage all the ties of nature by rendering them witnesses against each other. Some of the questions put to the unhappy queen bore no reference to her alleged offences, but are standing proofs of the insolent curiosity of those by whom she was examined. She was even asked "what change of apparel the duchess was wont to give her yearly, when under her care?" with other questions of the most irrelevant and trivial nature.[2] No

[1] State-Papers, p. 722. [2] Proceedings of the Council, in State-Paper office.

evidence proving the crime of adultery against the queen could be extorted from the duchess of Norfolk, or any other witness. On the 31st of November, Culpepper and Derham were arraigned for high treason in Guildhall before the lord mayor, contrary to any previous form of law,[1]—justice was out of the question, for on the right hand of the intimidated civic magistrate sat the lord chancellor, on his left the duke of Suffolk. The lord privy-seal, the earls of Sussex and Hertford, with others of the council, sat also as judges that day.[2] By those great state-officers of the crown, some of whom had previously presided while the prisoners were questioned by torture, Derham and Culpepper were adjudged guilty, and condemned to the dreadful death decreed to traitors. But though this sentence was pronounced, no proof of the crime of which they were accused had been established, and as it was considered necessary to substantiate the charge against the queen, they were respited for a few days,—not in mercy, but that they might be subjected to fresh examinations by torture. They bore the extremity of their sufferings from day to day, if not unshrinkingly, without permitting any thing that could criminate the queen to be wrung from the weakness of exhausted nature. Culpepper maintained the innocence of his royal kinswoman to the last unswervingly, nor could the extremity of torture draw from Derham an admission that the slightest criminality had passed between himself and Katharine since her marriage with the king.[3] Damport, his friend, was subject to the torture of having his teeth forced out in the brakes, an instrument supposed to be the same as that called 'the duke of Exeter's daughter.' Worn out with his sufferings, Damport at length desired to speak to one of the council, and he would make confession. The report of the two gentlemen to whom his admissions were made is as follows: "I, sir John Gage, and I, sir Richard Rich, went to him, and his saying for that time was, that Derham once said to him, when the king favoured mistress Katharine, 'I could be sure of mistress Katharine Howard

[1] Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii. [2] Holinshed, p. 1583, first edition.
[3] State-Paper office MS.

an' [if] I would, but I dare not, the king beginneth to love her; but an' he were dead, I might marry her.'[1] Damport also confesseth, that Derham told him that the duchess of Norfolk once said to a gentlewoman, in the queen's chamber, pointing to him, 'This is he who fled away to Ireland for the queen's sake.' Damport confesseth this now, but would not do it before for any torture that he could be put to; we have resolved, that both he and Derham shall be seriously examined again this day of certain points. Derham maketh humble suit for the remission of some part of the extremity of his judgment, wherein we require you to know his majesty's pleasure. He denied these confessions of Damport. From Christ's-church this Tuesday morning, December 6th."

The council, by the king's direction, gave this reply to the query of the coadjutors in London: "Touching Culpepper and Derham, if your lordships do think that ye have got as much out of Derham as can be had, that ye shall then (giving them time that they may prepare themselves to God for the salvation of their souls) proceed to their execution."—"We think," writes Wriothesley again, "we can get no more of Derham than is already confessed; therefore, unless we shall hear otherwise from the king's majesty, we have resolved that they shall suffer to-morrow, December 9th." This was followed by an order from the council in London to the council with the king, saying, "Though they thought the offence of Culpepper very heinous, they had given orders for him to be drawn to Tyburn, and there only to lose his head, according to his highness's most gracious determination." Derham petitioned for some mitigation of his cruel sentence, but when application was made to the king, the following was the reply: "The king's majesty thinketh he deserveth no mercy at his hand, and therefore hath determined that he shall undergo the whole execution."[2]

On the following day Derham and Culpepper were drawn to Tyburn. Culpepper, out of consideration to his noble connexions, was beheaded; Derham was hanged and quartered, with the usual barbarous circumstances of a traitor's death:

[1] State-Papers, published by government, vol. i. [2] State-Papers.

both protested their innocence of the crime for which they suffered. The heads of both were placed on London-bridge. Wriothesley expresses an enthusiastic wish "that every one's faults who were accused, might be *totted* on their own heads," and thus proceeds to sum up the malefactions of the duchess of Norfolk in the following order: "First, having knowledge of Katharine's derelictions, she did recommend her to his majesty; and afterwards was a *mean* [medium] for her to extend favour, or rather to renew favour, to Derham. And when Derham was taken and in the Tower for his treason, after the same was declared to her by the whole council, she did secretly break up two chests, and out of the same conveyed all such letters as might manifest her own knowledge of the affair."[1]

There is something peculiarly characteristic of the man in the zest with which Wriothesley enters into the proceedings against the unfortunate kindred of the queen. "Yesterday," he writes, "we committed the lord William Howard, his wife, and Anne Howard. The lord William stood as stiff as his mother, and made himself most clear from all mistrust or suspicion. I did not much like his fashion."[2] This letter is in confidence to his colleague, and affords shrewd signs of a conspiracy in the council against the queen and her family. Why else should Wriothesley have disliked the appearance of fearless innocence in lord William Howard, or felt uneasy at the probability of his clearing himself from the charge that was aimed at his life? As for his property, *that* was immediately sequestered, and strict inquiry made into the truth of a report, "that some of his lordship's stuff [goods] had been thrown into the sea during the stormy passage of lord William and his family from France:" the loss was, however, confined to the mules and horses. The council were greatly embarrassed what to do with the infant children of lord William Howard, four in number, and those of lady Bridgewater, who were thus rendered homeless; but at last they consigned them to the custody of Cranmer, of the bishop of Durham, and lady

[1] State-Papers, 709, 710.
[2] State-Paper MSS., 33 Henry VIII.

Oxford, "to be dealt with according to their own discretion and convenience."[1]

The unfairness with which the trials of lord William Howard and Damport were conducted was so great, that the master of the rolls, the attorney and solicitor-general, and three of the king's council, the very persons who had taken the examinations, were brought as witnesses against the prisoners, in lieu of other evidence.[2] The offence of Damport was simply that of being acquainted with the previous state of affairs between his friend Derham and the queen before her marriage, which, instead of revealing to the king, he had tattled to his acquaintance. He was, in the end, subjected to the most horrible tortures to compel him to make further disclosures, or rather, as the case really stood, to force him to purchase a respite by inventing incidents tending to furnish evidence of a criminal intimacy between Katharine and Derham after her marriage with the king, which the council had failed to prove. If Damport had possessed any such knowledge, he would doubtless have divulged it, for he had not the faculty of keeping a secret; yet he bore all the inflictions Wriothesley and his colleagues could devise in the shape of torture, rather than bear false witness against the queen and his former friend, Derham. The latter had actually been condemned and hung on the presumptive evidence of having evil intentions. The crime of having seduced a noble maiden whom the king subsequently had unwittingly wedded, was his real offence; but, however deserving he was of death for such a breach of the law of God, his punishment was illegal, as the law of England does not decree the penalty of being hanged, drawn, and quartered for such transgressions.

The members of the council in London, in one of their letters to the council with the king, express a fear, "as the duchess of Norfolk is old and testy, that she may die out of perversity, to defraud the king's highness of the confiscation of her goods; therefore it will be most advisable that she, and all the other parties named in a former letter, may be

[1] Acts of the Privy Council, vol. vii. pp. 282, 283.

[2] Lingard, vol. vi. p. 315.

indicted forthwith of misprision of treason, whereby the parliament should have better grounds to *confiske* their goods than if any of them chanced to die before the bill of attainder past."[1] Here, then, was a laudable attention to contingencies of life and death for the benefit of the royal purse. Shades of Dudley and Empson! hide your diminished heads, while the proceedings of the monarch who brought ye to the scaffold for deeds of wrong and robbery are unveiled. In a letter dated December 11th, his majesty's council is advertised by the council in London, that they had found the value of 2000 marks in money, and about 600 or 700 in plate, belonging to the duchess of Norfolk.[2] The disgusting thirst for plunder, which is so marked a feature in the proceedings of the king and his council at this period, was further gratified on the 21st, when Southampton, Wriothesley, and Sadler triumphantly wrote to Henry, to inform him that they had had another interview with the poor sick old duchess, who had voluntarily confessed where she had hid 800*l.* in money of her own property.[3] On the news of this unexpected addition to their prey, they informed the aged captive that it was the king's gracious intention to spare her life; whereupon she fell on her knees with uplifted hands, and went into such paroxysms of hysterical weeping, that these gentlemen were "sorely troubled" to raise her up again. Henry certainly appears to have derived much consolation for his matrimonial mortifications from the rich spoils of plate, jewels, and money that were torn from the kindred of his unhappy queen. Sir John Gorstwick and John Skinner were appointed to go to Ryegate to lord William Howard's house, to take an inventory of all the money, jewels, goods, and chattels they should find there, and bring the same to the council; Mr. secretary Wriothesley, master Pollard, and Mr. attorney were appointed to go to the duchess of Norfolk's and lord William's houses at Lambeth, for the same purpose. Sir Richard Long and sir Thomas Pope were sent on the like errand to the lady Bridgewater's houses in Kent and Southwark: the duchess of Norfolk's house at Horsham had been previously ran-

[1] State-Papers, vol. i. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. MS.

sacked. Lady Rochford's house at Blickling, in Norfolk, was also put under sequestration.

Damport, Manox, and the duchess of Norfolk's servants were found guilty of the crime of misprision of treason. They made pitiful supplication for mercy, and the punishment of death was remitted by the king. Mary Lassells was, by the desire of the council with the king, exempted from the indictment for misprision of treason, in which all the parties privy to the queen's early frailty were included. So low had the personal dignity of the sovereign fallen, that a feeling of gratitude was expressed in his majesty's name to this woman, because "she did from the first opening of the matter to her brother seem to be sorry, and to lament that the king's majesty had married the queen."[1] Great credit is given by the council to Mary Lassells for her good service in having revealed the matter, and also that she had refused to enter into the service of the queen. Beyond her own assertion, there is not the slightest evidence that she ever had the offer of doing this, and it was probably Katharine's neglect or forgetfulness of this woman that provoked her to the denouncement. It is impossible to overlook her enmity to the queen throughout. So end the friendships of vice.

The new year opened dismally on the fallen queen, who was still confined to the two apartments hung with mean stuff that had been allotted to her in the desecrated abbey of Sion. Her reflections during the two dreary months she had worn away in her wintry prison may be imagined: they were months replete with every agony,—shame, grief, remorse, and terrible suspense. On the 16th of January, 1541-2, the new parliament that was to decide the fate of the queen met at Westminster. Katharine had, indeed, received a promise in the king's name from Cranmer that her life should be spared; but if, relying on the sacredness of that promise, she had fondly imagined the bitterness of death was passed, she must have been the more astounded when the bill for her attainder was brought into the house of lords. She was without friends, counsellors, or money at this awful crisis. The only person

[1] State-Papers, published by government, vol. i.

who might have succoured her in her sore distress was her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, if he had been so disposed. This nobleman was one of the greatest men of the age. In point of naval, military, and diplomatic talents he had no second. He was the premier peer of England, and his unbounded wealth enabled him to retain in his band of pensioners a little standing army of his own, in defiance of all the royal edicts against feudal retainers. He had the power of rising up in the house of lords, and demanding that his niece, the queen of England, should be allowed the privilege of an Englishwoman,—a privilege which the lowliest subjects, the most atrocious criminal in the realm, could claim,—a fair trial for the offences of which she had been accused by her enemies; and that, if guilty, she should be proved so by the law, and not treated as such on presumption only.

But Katharine had offended her uncle by withdrawing herself from his political tutelage. Like her fair and reckless cousin, Anne Boleyn, she had spurned his trammels in the brief hour of her queenly pride, and when the day of her adversity arrived, he not only abandoned her to her fate, but ranged himself on the side of her enemies. We have seen how this duke treated Anne Boleyn at the time of her trial; his conduct to the unhappy Katharine, whom he had been partly the means of placing in a situation so full of peril even to a woman of sound principles and approved conduct, appears scarcely less cruel. It is impossible that feelings of personal apprehension could have elicited from the conqueror of sir Andrew Barton, and one of the victors of Flodden, the expressions we find in the following extract of his letter to the king, on the arrest of the members of his family who were involved in the disgrace of the queen:—

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO HENRY VIII.

"Most noble and gracious Sovereign Lord: yesterday came to my knowledge that mine ungracious mother-in-law, mine unhappy brother and his wife, with my lewd sister of Bridgewater, were committed to the Tower, which I (by long experience knowing your accustomed equity and justice used to all your subjects) am sure is not done but for some of their false and traitorous proceedings against your royal majesty; which revolving in my mind, with also the most abominable deeds done by two of my nieces[1] against your highness, hath brought me into the

[1] Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

greatest perplexity that ever poor wretch was in, fearing that your majesty, having so often and by so many of my kin been thus falsely and traitorously handled, might not only conceive a displeasure in your heart against me and all other of my kin, but also abhor in manner to hear speak of any of the same. Wherefore, most gracious sovereign lord, prostrate at your feet most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter has come to light by my declaration to your majesty, according to my bounden duty, of the words spoken to me by my mother-in-law when your highness sent me to Lambeth to search Derham's coffers, without the which I think she had not further been examined, nor consequently her ungracious children. Which my true proceedings towards your majesty being considered, and also the small love my two false traitorous nieces and my mother-in-law have borne unto me, doth put me in some hope that your highness will not conceive any displeasure in your most gentle heart against me, that God knoweth did never think thought which might be to your discontentation."[1]

This letter seems to throw some light on the hostility of the duke of Norfolk to the unfortunate queens, his nieces. They had evidently espoused the cause of the old duchess Agnes in the family feud, and her influence had probably been exerted, both with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, in crossing his political measures and lessening his credit at court.

The bill for the attainder of Katharine Howard, late queen of England, Jane lady Rochford, Agnes Howard duchess of Norfolk, Anne countess of Bridgewater, lord William Howard, Anne Howard, wife to the queen's brother Henry, and some others, was read for the first time January 21st.[2] On the 28th the lord chancellor, feeling some misgivings as to the legality of bringing the queen and so many noble ladies to the block without allowing the accused the opportunity of making the slightest defence, reminded the peers "How much it concerned them all not to proceed too hastily with the bill for attainder of the queen and others, which had been yet only read once among them;" bidding them remember, "that a queen was no mean or private person, but a public and illustrious one: therefore her cause ought to be judged in a manner that should leave no room for suspicion of some latent quarrel, and that she had not liberty to clear herself if, perchance, by reason or counsel she were able to do it." For this purpose he proposed "That a deputation, as well of the commons as of the lords, should go to the queen, partly to tell her the cause of their coming, and partly, in order to help

[1] State-Papers, published by government, vol. i. [2] Journals of Parliament

her womanish fears, to advise her to have presence of mind sufficient to say any thing to make her cause the better." He added, "that it was but just that a princess should be tried by equal laws with themselves, and expressed his assurance that it would be most acceptable to her most loving consort if the queen could clear herself in this way," and in the mean time the bill against her was ordered to be suspended.[1] This equitable proposition of the lord chancellor was disapproved and negatived by the privy council,[2] by whom it was determined that no opportunity, however limited, should be granted to Katharine of either speaking in her own defence, or impugning the testimony of the witnesses on whose unsifted assertions she was to be brought to the block. Whatever the conduct of the queen had been, she was in this instance the victim of the most unconstitutional despotism, and the presumption may be reasonably drawn, from the illegality and unfairness of the proceedings of the privy council, that the evidence against her could not have been substantiated, if investigated according to the common forms of justice.

On the 30th of January the lord chancellor declared "that the council, disliking the message that was to be sent to the queen, had thought of another way less objectionable; which was, to petition the king that the parliament might have leave to proceed to give judgment and finish the queen's cause, that the event of that business might no longer be in doubt; that his majesty would be pleased to pardon them, if by chance in speaking of the queen they might offend against the statutes then in existence; that the attainder against Derham and Culpepper might be confirmed by authority of parliament; and that his majesty would, out of regard to his own health, spare himself the pain of giving his assent in person to the bill of attainder, but allow it to pass by letters-patent under his great seal."[3] The bill was, with brutal haste, hurried through both houses, February 6. On the 10th, the queen was conveyed by water from her doleful prison at Sion to the Tower of London, under the charge of the duke of Suffolk,

[1] Journals of Parliament, 34 Henry VIII. Parliamentary Hist. vol. iii. p. 178.
[2] Ibid. [3] Journals of Parliament.

the lord privy-seal, and the lord great-chamberlain.[1] No record has been preserved of the manner in which Katharine Howard received the announcement that she must prepare for this ominous change. It is possible that, till that moment, the elastic spirits of youth, and a fond reliance on Cranmer's promise, had preserved

"The hope that keeps alive despair."

Those by whom she was guarded and attended on her last cold desolate voyage have been silent as to her deportment; and no page in history tells us whether Katharine Howard behaved with the proud firmness of a descendant of the Plantagenets, or betrayed the passionate grief and terror of a trembling woman when the portentous arch of the traitor's gate overshadowed her devoted head. From the length of the voyage and the season of the year, it is probable that darkness must have closed over the wintry waters of the Thames before the forlorn captive arrived at her destination, exhausted with fatigue and benumbed with cold. If this were the case, she was spared the horror of beholding the heads of her seducer Derham, and her unfortunate cousin, Thomas Culpepper, over the bridge. One night of suspense was passed by Katharine in her new prison lodging before her fate was sealed. How that interval was spent is unrecorded.

Henry gave his assent by commission the following day, February 11th, to the bill of attainder against his once-idolized consort. The same instrument included the names of Jane lady Rochford, Thomas Culpepper, and Francis Derham. The severed heads of those gentlemen had been, for the last two months, withering on London-bridge; so to them the sentence was immaterial. Notwithstanding the deceitful assurances of the royal grace that had been held out to the aged duchess of Norfolk by Wriothesley, for the purpose of beguiling her, if possible, into becoming a witness against her grand-daughter, the queen, she was included in the act of attainder, for Henry was resolutely bent on taking her life. He maintained that the offence of breaking open Derham's coffers, and destroying the papers she took from thence, was

[1] Holinshed, first edition.

sufficient evidence of the crime of high treason.[1] The judges, compliant as they were in most cases, had, in this instance, ventured to dissent from his majesty, as it was impossible to ascertain of what nature those papers were. Henry was irritated at the opinion of his law-officers, and said, "That there was as much reason to convict the duchess of Norfolk of treason, as there had been to convict Derham. They cannot say," he observes, "that they have any learning, to maintain that they have a better ground to make Derham's case treason, and to suppose that his coming again to the queen's service was to an ill intent of the renovation of his former naughty life, than they have, in this case, to presume that the breaking open of the coffers was to the intent to conceal letters of treason."[2] Thus we learn, from the highest possible authority, that Derham suffered on presumptive evidence only; not that he *had* wronged the sovereign, but that he had conceived an intention of doing so. This was, in fact, the true state of the case with regard to Derham.

The king was not present when the lord chancellor produced the bill, with the royal seal and the king's sign manual, in the house of lords, and desired the commons might attend. Previously, however, to the entrance of that body, the duke of Suffolk rose, and stated "That he and his fellow-deputies had been with the queen, and that she had openly confessed to them the great crime of which she had been guilty against the most high God and a kind prince, and, lastly, against the whole English nation; that she begged of them all to implore his majesty not to impute her crime to her whole kindred and family, but that his majesty would extend his unbounded mercy and benevolence to all her brothers, that they might not suffer for her faults; lastly, she besought his majesty, that it would please him to bestow some of her clothes on those maid-servants who had been with her from the time of her marriage, since she had now nothing else left to recompense them as they deserved."[3] The earl of Southampton rose and confirmed what the duke

[1] State-Papers, 700. [2] Journals of Parliament. Parl. Hist. Lingard.
[3] Journals of Parliament. Lingard.

said, but added something which has been obliterated from the journals of that day's proceedings, which, it is conjectured, was done to prevent posterity from learning some fact connected with the fate of the Howard queen. When the commons entered, the assent of the king to the bill was given by commission, and the fatal sentence, "*le roi le veut*," was pronounced to the act which deprived a queen of England of her life without trial, and loaded her memory with obloquy of so dark a hue, that no historian has ventured to raise the veil, even to inquire how far the charges are based on fact.

The persons who went with the duke of Suffolk to receive the confession of the queen, were those by whom she had been first accused to the king; viz., Cranmer, Southampton, Audley, and Thirlby. "How much she confesseth to them," says Burnet, "is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament, which only says she confessed." If she had confessed the crime of adultery, there can be no doubt that the act of attainder would have been based on her own admission, instead of a presumption that it was her intention to commit that crime. The confession, mentioned in general terms by Suffolk, was evidently her penitent acknowledgment of her incontinence before her marriage with the king. No one, indeed, appears ever to have felt deeper contrition for the offences of her youth than this unhappy queen. When she was informed that she must prepare for death, she addressed her confessor, Dr. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, in these words, which were afterwards delivered by him to a noble young lord of her name and near alliance: "As to the act, my reverend lord, for which I stand condemned, God and his holy angels I take to witness, upon my soul's salvation, that I die guiltless, never having so abused my sovereign's bed. What other sins and follies of youth I have committed, I will not excuse; but am assured that for them God hath brought this punishment upon me, and will, in his mercy, remit them, for which, I pray you, pray with me unto his Son and my Saviour, Christ."[1]

[1] Speed, 1030 Carte. Burnet.

Cranmer had humanely tried, by every means in his power, to induce Katharine to preserve her life by acknowledging a pre-contract with Francis Derham. But she repelled the idea with scorn; and, with the characteristic firmness of a Howard, determined rather to go to the block as queen of England, than to prolong her dishonoured existence on the terms suggested. The church of Rome allowed no divorce except in cases of pre-contract; and, as Katharine would not admit that she was troth-plight to Francis Derham, there was no other mode of severing Henry's matrimonial engagement with her than by the axe of the executioner. The only person against whom she testified resentment was her uncle Norfolk, who, in a letter to the council, written when he, in his turn, lay under sentence of death in the Tower, thus expresses himself of her and Anne Boleyn:[1]—"What malice both my nieces that it pleased the king's highness to marry did bear unto me is not unknown to such ladies as kept them in *this house*,[2] as my lady Herbert, my lady Tyrwitt, my lady Kingston, and others, which heard what they said of me." In the same letter the duke shows sufficient cause for the indignation expressed by the unhappy Katharine against him for his unmanly conduct to the unfortunate ladies of his family in their distress, since he boasts that he was the principal witness against the poor old duchess, his father's widow, saying, "Who showed his majesty the words of my mother-in-law, for which she was attainted of misprision, but only I?"[3] Katharine, when she vented the natural feelings of contempt and bitterness against her cruel uncle, had every reason to believe that her aged grandmother would follow her to the block, as she then lay under sentence of death in the Tower: who can wonder that she regarded Norfolk with horror?

The interval allowed to the un-queened Katharine Howard between her condemnation and the execution of her sentence was brief. More time to prepare for the awful change from

[1] Letter of the duke of Norfolk, in Guthrie and Burnet.

[2] Viz. the Tower of London, when they were under sentence there. By this it appears that the ladies named above remained at that time with queen Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

[3] Letter of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, to the council; MS. Cotton.

life to eternity would have been granted to the lowest criminal who should have been found guilty by the laws of his country, than was allotted to her who had shared the throne of the sovereign. The royal assent to her attainder was signified to her February 11th, and she was brought to the block on the morning of the 13th. But Katharine Howard, though still in the morning of life and the bloom of beauty, was already weaned from the world: she had proved the vanity of all its delusions, and the deceitfulness of royal favour. "Familiarized as the people now were with the sight of blood," observes Tytler, "it was not without some feelings of national abasement that they beheld another queen ignominiously led to the scaffold," and that, we may add, to die, not according to the law, but in defiance of the laws of England, which have provided, for the security of human life, that no one shall be put to death without a fair and open trial. Frivolous as were the evidences on which Anne Boleyn was condemned, she was allowed the privilege of speaking for herself. Her wit, her acuteness and impassioned eloquence, if heard with callous indifference by her partial judges, have pleaded her cause to all posterity,—they plead for her still. Katharine Howard was led like a sheep to the slaughter, without being permitted to unclose her lips in her own defence, save to her spiritual adviser, who was to receive her last confession. This prelate, be it remembered, was also the king's confessor, the same whom he had required upon All Saints'-day to unite with him in thanking God for having blessed him with such a wife!

More sympathy would in all probability have been manifested for the young, the beautiful, and deeply penitent queen, if she had had any other companion on the scaffold than the infamous lady Rochford, whose conduct in regard to her accomplished husband and Anne Boleyn had rendered her an object of general execration. Katharine Howard submitted to the headsman's stroke with meekness and courage, and her more guilty companion imitated her humility and piety in the closing scene of their fearful tragedy. The particulars, as described in a contemporary letter from an eye-witness, are as follows:—

OTTWELL JOHNSON TO HIS BROTHER JOHN JOHNSON,
Merchant of the Staple at Calais.

"At London, 15 of Feb. 1541-2.

"From Calais I have heard as yet nothing of your suit to my lord Gray; and for news from hence, I saw the queen and the lady Rochford suffer within the Tower the day following my letter on Sunday evening, whose souls (I doubt not) be with God. For they made the most godly and Christian end that ever was heard tell of (I think) since the world's creation, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, and with godly words and steadfast countenances they desired all Christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment of death, for their offences against God heinously from their youth upward, and also against the king's royal majesty very dangerously; wherefore they, being justly condemned (as they said) by the laws of the realm and parliament, required the people (I say) to take example at them for amendment of ungodly lives, and to gladly obey the king in all things,—for whose preservation they did heartily pray, and willed all people so to do, commending their souls to God, and earnestly calling upon him for mercy: whom I beseech to give us such grace, with faith, hope, and charity, at our departing out of this miserable world, to come to the fruition of his Godhead in joy everlasting. Amen.

"Your loving brother,

"OTTWELL JOHNSON.

"With my hearty commendations unto Mr. Cave and Mrs. Cave, not forgetting my sister, your wife, I pray you to let them be made partakers of this last news, for surely it is well worth the knowledge."[1]

That doubts were entertained of the guilt of this unhappy queen, from the misgivings of the lord chancellor after the first reading of the bill for her attainder, may also be inferred from the following contemporary notice among the Lambeth MSS. "This day, February 13th, was executed queen Katharine for many shocking misdemeanours, though some do suppose her to be innocent."[2] The last words of lady Rochford were, "That she supposed God had permitted her to suffer this shameful doom, as a punishment for having contributed to her husband's death by her false accusation of queen Anne Boleyn, but she was guilty of no other crime."[3] This declaration was made on the scaffold, probably after she had seen the head of her royal mistress severed by the axe of the executioner. If urged by conscience at that dreadful moment to acknowledge the guilt of perjury and murder, she would scarcely have marred her dying confession by falsely protesting her innocence of the more venial offences for which she had been sentenced to die with the queen. The scaffold

[1] From the original in her majesty's Record-office in the Tower. It was probably intercepted, else a private letter would scarcely be preserved in the national records. [2] No. 306, dated February. [3] Leti.

on which Katharine Howard and lady Rochford suffered was the same on which Anne Boleyn, the marquess of Exeter, and the venerable countess of Salisbury had been previously executed. It was erected within the Tower, on the space before the church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula. It has been long since removed; but its site may still be traced by the indelible stains on the flints, which faintly map out the dimensions of the fatal spot where so much royal and noble blood was spilt by the headsman's axe during the Tudor reigns of terror.[1]

Thus died in the flower of her age, and in the eighteenth month of her marriage, queen Katharine Howard, the fifth wife of Henry VIII., and the second queen whom he had sent to the block, after repudiating a lawful wife to obtain her hand. In both instances it might be said,

> "The beauteous toy, so fiercely sought,
> Had lost its charms by being caught."

Henry's motives for marrying Katharine Howard are explained in a letter from the privy council to Mr. Paget, his ambassador in France, in the following words:—"It pleased his highness, upon a notable appearance of honour, cleanness, and maidenly behaviour, to bend his affection towards Mrs. Katharine Howard, daughter to the lord Edmund Howard, (brother to *me* the duke of Norfolk); insomuch that his highness was finally contented to honour her with his marriage, thinking now in his old age, after sundry troubles of mind which have happened unto him by marriages, to have obtained such a perfect jewel of womanhood and very perfect love to him, as should have not only been to his quietness, but also brought forth the desired fruit of marriage, like as the whole realm thought semblable, and did her all honour accordingly."[2] In the act of settlement of the succession, the imaginary children, which Henry expected his fair young consort to bring him, were given the preference to his disinherited daughters by his two first queens. Katharine Howard,

[1] Christina, duchess-dowager of Milan, to whom the royal Bluebeard offered his hand, declined the honour with this cutting remark,—that "If she had had two heads, one should have been at his service."

[2] Acts of Privy Council, vol. vii.

like her cousin Anne Boleyn, probably fared the worse for not having fulfilled the royal tyrant's wish of male offspring. "Give me children, or you die," appears to have been the fearful alternative offered by Henry to his queens. He had assumed the title of king of Ireland a few days before the execution of his fifth consort. Katharine Howard therefore died the first queen of England and Ireland.

The mangled form of Katharine Howard was borne from the bloody scaffold to a dishonoured grave with indecent haste, and with no more regard to funereal obsequies than had been vouchsafed to her equally unfortunate cousin, the murdered Anne Boleyn, near whose ostensible place of burial her remains were interred. Weever gives the following record of her grave; "In St. Peter's chapel of the Tower, very near the relics of Anne Boleyn, lieth interred the body of Katharine, the fifth wife of Henry VIII., the daughter of Edmund and niece to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. It is verily believed, and many strong reasons are given both by English and foreign writers, that neither this queen Katharine nor queen Anne were any way guilty of the breach of matrimony whereof they were accused."—"If all the patterns of a merciless tyrant had been lost to the world," says sir Walter Ralcigh, when speaking of Henry VIII., "they might have been found in this prince." Henry VIII. was the first king of England who brought ladies to the block, and who caused the tender female form to be distorted with tortures and committed a living prey to the flames. He was the only king who sought consolation for the imagined offences of his wives against his honour by plundering their relatives of their plate and money.[1] Shame, not humanity, prevented

[1] Henry's next victim of the Howard blood was the most accomplished nobleman in his dominions, "Surrey of the deathless lay," who was cousin-german to the two murdered queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. He was brought to the scaffold on the most frivolous pretext. Warton, the poet, thinks that the fair Geraldine, whose name is immortalized in Surrey's graceful verse, was maid of honour to queen Katharine Howard. The king had signed the death-warrant of Katharine's uncle, the duke of Norfolk; but the timely death of the tyrant preserved the hoary head of that old and faithful servant, who had spent a long life in his service, from being pillowed for its last repose on the block.

him from staining the scaffold with the blood of the aged duchess of Norfolk; he released her after long imprisonment.[1]

Nikander Nucius, a Greek attaché of the imperial ambassador at the court of Henry VIII. in the year 1546, tells us that Katharine Howard, whom he places as the fourth, instead of the fifth, in his catalogue of Henry's wives, "was esteemed the most beautiful woman of her time." He records her tragic fate, but has so little idea of the real state of the facts that he says, "She had fallen in love with a noble youth of the court, and the king himself detected their guilt, and commanded their heads to be cut off with those who were the accessaries to their passion. And the heads, except that of the queen, he caused to be elevated on spears, and fixed on one of the turrets of the bridge; and the skulls are even at this time to be seen, denuded of flesh." A strange confusion of truth and falsehood pervades this statement, but it is curious, because from the pen of a contemporary, and denoting the precise spot occupied by the heads of Culpepper and Derham. These Nikander had himself seen. His ignorance of the English language caused him to make a few mistakes in the history attached to these ghastly relics of the royal matrimonial tragedy which occurred in 1541-2.[2]

George Cavendish introduces the sorrowful shade of the unfortunate Howard queen among his metrical visions. A few lines may bear quotation. As written by her contemporary they are very curious:—

"Thus as I sat, (the tears within my eyen)
Of her the wreck whiles I did debate,
Before my face me-thought I saw this queen,
No whit as I her left, God wot, of late,
But all be-wept, in black, and poor estate,
Which prayed me that I would ne forget
The fall of her within my book to set."

[1] In the possession of his grace the duke of Norfolk there is a pardon under the privy-seal, granted to Agnes duchess of Norfolk, for all treasons committed before the 14th day of February in the thirty-third year of his reign. The pardon is dated at Westminster, 5th of May, in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.

[2] The Travels of Nikander Nucius, translated from the original Greek, in the Bodleian Library, by the rev. J. Fidler, and edited by Dr. Cramer, is the last

Notwithstanding the rudeness of the measure, there is something very pathetic in the piteous imagery of the fallen queen, "all be-wept, in black, and poor estate," petitioning for her place in the melancholy train of contemporary victims, of which the shadowy *dramatis personæ* of George Cavendish's book is made up. She is not much beholden to his report after all, for he violates history by making her confess that which she denied before God and his holy angels; namely, violation of her marriage vows. Cavendish speaks of her as very young, and extols her great beauty, which he makes her lament as the occasion of her fall:—

> "To be a queen Fortune did me prefer,
> Flourishing in youth with beauty fresh and pure,
> Whom Nature made shine equal with the *steere*, [stars,]
> And to reign in felicity with joy and pleasure,
> Wanting no thing that love might me procure,
> So much beloved, far, far beyond the rest,
> With my sovereign lord, who lodged me in his nest."

Our poet makes the young queen bewail her loss of the royal obsequies, and that no one would wear mourning for her, in the following quaint lines:—

> "Now I know well," quod she, "among my friends all
> That here I left the day of my decay,
> That I shall get no pompous funeral,
> Nor of my black no man the charge shall pay;
> Save that some one, perchance, may hap to say,
> 'Such one there was, alas! and that was *ruth*, [pity,]
> That she herself distained with such untruth.'"

Culpepper is also compelled by our poet to make a ghostly confession of a crime there is no evidence to believe he ever committed, and which he denied on the rack and on the scaffold. It is, however, to be observed, that Cavendish makes all Henry's victims suffer justly, except the countess of Salisbury, though the view he has taken of both Katharine Howard and her predecessor Anne Boleyn is afterwards contradicted very fully, by the admission he describes Henry as making in the midst of his death-bed remorse:—

publication of the Camden Society. It is a great literary curiosity, but the account with which the Greek attaché favours his friends and countrymen of the history, religion, manners, and customs of England in the reign of Henry VIII., strongly reminds us of that which Hajji Baba boasts of having compounded for the information of the schah of Persia.

"After I forsook my first most lawful wife,
And took another my pleasure to fulfil,
I changed often, so inconstant was my life.
Death was the meed of some that did none ill,
Which only was to satisfy my will."

It was in consequence of the discovery of Katharine Howard's early misconduct, that the memorable act of parliament was passed making it high treason for any person to know of a flaw in the character of any lady whom the king might propose to marry without revealing it; and also subjecting the lady to the penalty of death, if she presumed to deceive her sovereign on that point.

KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Katharine Parr the first Protestant queen of England—Her royal descent—Relationship to Henry VIII.—Her birth at Kendal-castle—Death of her father—Prudent conduct of lady Parr—Katharine's learned education—Her royal destiny predicted—Her dislike of needlework—Sought in marriage for the heir of lord Scrope—Her mother's letters—Katharine weds lord Borough—His family—Katharine a widow at fifteen—Her residence at Sizergh-castle with lady Strickland—The queen's chamber at Sizergh—Katharine Parr's embroidery—She marries lord Latimer—Her rich dower—Her influence with the king—Cromwell's disgrace attributable to Katharine Parr—Death of lord Latimer—Katharine embraces the reformed faith—Religious assemblies at her house—Courted by sir Thomas Seymour—Her attachment—Compelled to relinquish him for the king—Her reluctance to the royal marriage—She is married to the king at Hampton-Court—Her attentions to her royal step-children—Presents to the princess Mary—Her friendship with Mary—Attachment of prince Edward—His letters—Henry's regard for Katharine Parr—She is appointed queen-regent—Her government in king Henry's absence—Return of the king—Painting of the royal family-group at Hampton-Court.

KATHARINE PARR was the first Protestant queen of England. She was the only one among the consorts of Henry VIII. who, in the sincerity of an honest heart, embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, and imperilled her crown and life in support of her principles. The name of Katharine, which, from its Greek derivation *Katharos*, signifies 'pure as a limpid stream,' seems peculiarly suited to the characteristics of this illustrious lady, in whom we behold the protectress of Coverdale, the friend of Anne Askew,—the learned and virtuous matron who directed the studies of lady Jane Gray, Edward VI., and queen Elizabeth, and who may, with truth, be called the nursing-mother of the Reformation.

Katharine Parr was not only queen of England, but an English queen. Although of ancient and even royal descent,

she claimed, by birth, no other rank than that of a private gentlewoman. Like Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, Katharine Parr was only the daughter of a knight; but her father, sir Thomas Parr, was of a more distinguished ancestry than either sir Thomas Boleyn or sir John Seymour. From the marriage of his Norman progenitor, Ivo de Tallebois, with Lucy, the sister of the renowned earls Morcar and Edwin, sir Thomas Parr inherited the blood of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Ivo de Tallebois was the first baron of Kendal, and maintained the state of a petty sovereign in the north. The male line failing with William de Lancaster, the seventh in descent, the honour and estates of that mighty family passed to his sisters Helwise and Alice. Margaret, the elder co-heiress of Helwise by Peter le Brus, married the younger son of Robert lord Roos, of Hamlake and Werks, by Isabel, daughter of Alexander II. king of Scotland. Their grandson, sir Thomas de Roos, married Katherine, the daughter of sir Thomas Strickland, of Sizergh-castle, Westmoreland. The fruit of this union was an only daughter, Elizabeth, who brought Kendal-castle and a rich inheritance into queen Katharine's paternal house, by her marriage with sir William de Parr, knight. Sir William Parr, the grandson of this pair, was made knight of the Garter, and married Elizabeth, one of the co-heiresses of the lord Fitzhugh, by Alice, daughter of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, and Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Alice Neville was sister to the king's great-grandmother, Cicely Neville, duchess of York; and, through this connexion, Katharine Parr was fourth cousin to Henry VIII.[1]

From the elder co-heiress of Fitzhugh, the patrimony of the Marmions, the ancient champions of England, was transmitted to sir Thomas Parr, father of queen Katharine. Her mother, Matilda, or, as she was commonly called, Maud Green, was daughter and co-heiress of sir Thomas Green, of Boughton and Green's Norton in the county of Northamptonshire. This lady was a descendant of the distinguished families of Talbot and Throckmorton. Her sister Anne wedded sir

[1] Dugdale.

Nicholas Vaux, afterwards created lord Vaux of Harrowden; and, dying childless, the whole of the rich inheritance of the Greens of Boughton centered in Matilda.[1] At the age of thirteen Matilda became the wife of sir Thomas Parr. This marriage took place in the year 1508. The date generally assigned for the birth of Katharine Parr is 1510; but the correspondence between her mother and lord Dacre, in the fifteenth year of Henry VIII., in which her age is specified to be *under* twelve,[2] will prove that she could not have been born till 1513. Her father, sir Thomas Parr, at that time held high offices at court, being master of the wards and comptroller of the household to Henry VIII. As a token of royal favour, we find that the king presented him with a rich gold chain, value 140*l.*—a very large sum in those days.[3] Both sir Thomas and his lady were frequent residents in the court; but the child who was destined hereafter to share the throne of their royal master, first saw the light at Kendal-castle, in Westmoreland, the time-honoured fortress which had been the hereditary seat of her ancestors from the days of its Norman founder, Ivo de Tallebois.

A crumbling relic of this stronghold of feudal greatness is still in existence, rising like a grey crown over the green hills of Kendal. It is situated on a lofty eminence, which commands a panoramic view of the town and the picturesque and ever-verdant vale of the Kent, that clear and rapid stream which, night and day, sings an unwearied song as it rushes over its rocky bed at the foot of the castle-hill. The circular tower of the castle is the most considerable portion of the ruins, but there is a large enclosure of ivy-mantled walls remaining, with a few broken arches. These are now crowned with wild flowers, whose peaceful blossoms wave unnoted where the red-cross banner of St. George once flaunted on tower and parapet of the sternly-guarded fortress, that for centuries was regarded as the most important defence of the town of Kendal and the adjacent country.

[1] Baker's Northamptonshire, corrected from Dugdale.

[2] Hopkinson's MSS. Whittaker's Richmondshire.

[3] See sir Thomas Parr's will, in Testamenta Vetusta.

The warlike progenitors of Katharine had stern duties to perform at the period when the kings of Scotland held Cumberland of the English crown, and were perpetually harassing the northern counties with predatory expeditions. Before the auspicious era when the realms of England and Scotland were united under one sovereign, the lord of Kendal-castle and his feudal neighbour of Sizergh were compelled to furnish a numerous quota of men-at-arms, for the service of the crown and the protection of the border. The contingent consisted of horse and foot, and above all, of those bowmen so renowned in border history and song, the Kendal archers. They are thus noted by the metrical chronicler of the battle of Flodden,—

> "These are the bows of Kentdale bold,
> Who fierce will fight and never flee."

Dame Maud Parr evinced a courageous disposition in venturing to choose Kendal-castle for the place of her accouchement, at a time when the northern counties were menaced with an invasion from the puissance and flower of Scotland, headed by their king in person. Sir Thomas Parr was, however, obliged to be on duty there with his warlike *meiné*, in readiness either to attend the summons of the lord warden of the marches, or to hold the fortress for the defence of the town and neighbourhood; and his lady, instead of remaining in the metropolis, or seeking a safer abiding-place at Green's Norton, her own patrimonial domain, decided on sharing her husband's perils in the north, and there gave birth to Katharine. They had two other children, William, their son and heir, afterwards created earl of Essex and marquess of Northampton, and Anne, the wife of William Herbert, the natural son of the earl of Pembroke, to which dignity he was himself raised by Edward VI. Sir Thomas Parr died in the year 1517, leaving his three infant children to the guardianship of his faithful widow, who is said to have been a lady of great prudence and wisdom, with a discreet care for the main chance.

The will of sir Thomas Parr is dated November 7th, the 9th of Henry VIII. He bequeathed his body to be interred

in Blackfriars' church, London. All his manors, lands, and tenements he gave to his wife, dame Maud, during her life. He willed his daughters, Katharine and Anne, to have eight hundred pounds between them, as marriage-portions, except they proved to be his heirs or his son's heirs; in which case that sum was to be laid out in copes and vestments, and given to the monks of Clairveaux, with a hundred pounds to the chantry of Kendal. He willed his son William "to have his great chain, worth one hundred and forty pounds, which the king's grace gave him." He made Maud, his wife, and Dr. Tunstall, master of the rolls, his executors. Four hundred pounds, Katharine's moiety of the sum provided by her father for the nuptial portions of herself and her sister, would be scarcely equal to two thousand pounds in these days, and seems but an inadequate dowry for the daughters of parents so richly endowed with the gifts of fortune as sir Thomas and lady Parr. It was, however, all that was accorded to her who was hereafter to contract matrimony with the sovereign of the realm. Sir Thomas Parr died in London on the 11th of November, four days after the date of his will, in the parish of the Blackfriars, and was probably interred in that church, according to his own request; yet, as lately as the year 1628, there is record of a tomb, bearing his effigies, name, and arms, in the chapel or family burying-place of the Parrs,[1] in the south choir of Kendal church.

It has generally been said, that Katharine Parr received a learned education from her father; but, as she was only in her fifth year when he died, it must have been to the

[1] This monument is thus described in Dr. Whittaker's History of Richmondshire:—"On a tomb a man in armour, kneeling, on his breast two bars, argent, within a bordure, sable, for Parr; on his wife's breast, quartering Green and Mapleloft, and about it was written, 'Pray for the soul of Thomas Parr, knight, squire of the king's body, Henry 8th, master of his wards, who deceased the 11th day of Nov., in the 9th year of our said sovereign lord, at London, ... in the . . . . Fryers, as his tomb doth record.' In the window over this tomb was emblazoned the arms of Katharine's ancestor, sir William Parr, who married the heiress of Roos. The large black marble tomb still remaining in the Parr chapel is supposed to cover the remains of her grandfather, sir William Parr, K.G., for it bears the paternal shield of Parr, quartered with Roos, Brus, and Fitzhugh, encircled with the garter. The ladies whose arms are engraven on this monument were all heiresses; therefore the property accumulated by these marriages in the family of Parr must have been considerable."

maternal wisdom of lady Parr that she was in debted for those mental acquirements which so eminently fitted her to adorn the exalted station to which she was afterwards raised. Katharine was gifted by nature with fine talents, and these were improved by the advantages of careful cultivation. She both read and wrote Latin with facility, possessed some knowledge of Greek, and was well versed in modern languages. How perfect a mistress she was of her own, the elegance and beauty of her devotional writings are a standing monument. "I have met with a passage concerning this queen," says Strype, "in the margin of Bale's Centuries, in possession of a late friend of mine, Dr. Sampson, which showed the greatness of her mind and the quickness of her wit while she was yet a young child. Somebody skilled in prognostication, casting her nativity, said that she was born to sit in the highest seat of imperial majesty, having all the eminent stars and planets in her house. This she heard and took such notice of, that when her mother used sometimes to call her to work, she would reply,—'My hands are ordained to touch crowns and sceptres, and not spindles and needles.'"[1]

This striking incident affords one among many instances in which the prediction of a brilliant destiny has insured its own fulfilment, by its powerful influence on an energetic mind. It is also an exemplification at how precocious an age the germ of ambition may take root in the human heart. But, however disposed the little Katharine might have been to dispense with the performance of her tasks, under the idea of queening it hereafter, lady Parr was too wise a parent to allow vain dreams of royalty to unfit her child for the duties of the station of life in which she was born; and, notwithstanding Katharine's early repugnance to touch a needle, her skill and industry in its use became so remarkable, that there are specimens of her embroidery at Sizergh-castle which could scarcely have been surpassed by the far-famed stitcheries of the sisters of king Athelstan. The friend and companion of Katharine's childhood and early youth was her young

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. ii. part 1, p. 206.

kinswoman Elizabeth Bellingham, daughter and co-heiress of sir Robert Bellingham, of Burneside, a beautiful village near Kendal. This young lady, who was nearly related to Katharine, both through the Parrs and Stricklands, was brought up at Kendal-castle under the maternal auspices of dame Maud Parr, and shared the studies of the future queen of England, who formed so tender a regard for her, that when the wild dreams of childhood touching her royal destiny were strangely realized, one of her first exercises of queenly influence was to send for her cousin Elizabeth Bellingham to court, and bestow an appointment in her royal household upon her.[1]

Though dame Maud Parr had scarcely completed her twenty-second year at the time of her husband's death, she never entered into a second marriage, but devoted herself entirely to the superintendence of her children's education. In the year 1524 she entered into a negotiation with her kinsman, lord Dacre, for a marriage between his grandson the heir of lord Scrope, and her daughter Katharine, of which the particulars may be learned from some very curious letters preserved among the Scrope MSS.[2] The first is from dame Maud Parr to lord Dacre, and refers to a personal conference she had had with his lordship at Greenwich on the subject of this alliance :—

"MOST HONOURABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"I heartily commend me to you. Whereas it pleased you at your last being here to take pains in the matter in consideration of marriage between the lord Scroop's son and my daughter Katharine, for the which I heartily thank you, at which time I thought the matter in good furtherance. Howbeit, I perceive that my lord Scroop is not agreeable to that consideration. The jointure is little for 1100 marks, which I will not pass, and my said lord will not repay after marriage had; and 200 marks must needs be repaid if my daughter Katharine dies before the age of sixteen, or else I should break master Parr's will, [meaning the will of her husband sir Thomas,] which I should be loath to do; and there can be no marriage until my lord's son [lord Scroop] comes to the age of thirteen, *and my daughter to the age of twelve*, before which time, if the marriage should take none effect, or be dissolved either by death, wardship, disagreement, or otherwise, which may be before that time notwithstanding marriage solemnized, repayment must needs be had of the whole, or else I might fortune to pay my money for nothing. The conversation I had with you at Greenwich was, that I was to pay at desire 1100 marks, 100 on hand—and 100 every year, which is as much as I can spare, as you know; and for that my daughter Katharine is to

[1] Burns' Westmoreland and Cumberland, vol. iv. p. 366.

[2] Quoted in Whittaker's History of Richmondshire.

have 100 marks jointure, whereof I am to have 50 marks for her finding till they live together, and then they are to have the whole 100 marks, and repayment to be had if the marriage took not effect. My lord, it might please you to take so much pain as to help to conclude this matter, if it will be; and if you see any defect on my part, it shall be ordered as ye deem good, as knoweth Jesu, who preserve your good lordship.

"Your cousin,

"Written at the Rye, the 13 day of July. MAUD PARR."

Lord Scrope, of Bolton-castle, did not choose to submit to the refunding part of the clause, and was unwilling to allow more than forty marks per annum for the board or *finding* of the young lady till the heir of Scrope came to the age of eighteen. Lord Dacre, after some inconsequential letters between him and dame Maud, proved his sincerity in the promotion of the wedlock by the following pithy arguments, contained in an epistle to lord Scrope, his son-in-law.

"MY LORD,

"Your son and heir is the greatest jewel that ye can have, seeing he must represent your own person after your death, unto whom I pray God grant many long years. And if ye be disposed to marry him, I cannot see, without you marry him to an heir of land, (which would be right costly,[1]) that ye can marry him to so good a stock as my lady Parr, for divers considerations: first, in remembering the wisdom of my said lady, and the good, wise stock of the Greens, whereof she is coming, and also of the wise stock of the Parrs of Kendale, for all wise men do look, when they do marry their child, to the wisdom of the blood they do marry with. I speak not of the possibility of the lady Parr's daughter Katharine, who has but one child[2] between her and 800 marks yearly to inherit thereof.

"My lord, the demands you have and my lady's demands are so far asunder, that it is impossible ye can ever agree. I think it is not convenient nor profitable that so large a sum as 100 marks should go yearly out of your land to so young a person as my lady's eldest daughter Katharine, if it fortune, as God defend, that your said son and mine die. Also, I think it good (but I would not have it comprised in the covenant) that, during the time of three years that he should be with my said lady Parr, if she keep her widowhood, and ye to find him clothing and a servant to wait upon him, and she to find him meat and drink; for I assure you he might learn with her as well as in any place—that I know, as well nurture, as French and other languages, which *me seems* were a commodious thing for him.

"At Morpeth, 17 day of December, 15 year Henry 8th."

These letters certify us that Katharine Parr was under twelve years of age in the year 1524; she could not, therefore, have been born *before* 1513. We also learn that lord Dacre was anxious that his youthful grandson should partici-

[1] For the consent of parents or guardians had to be bought.

[2] Her brother, afterwards marquess of Northampton. In fact, the youngest sister, Anne Parr, inherited the Parr estate.

pate in the advantages of the liberal education lady Parr was bestowing on her children, and that he placed due importance on the fact that the lady came of a family celebrated for sound sense and good conduct, a point little regarded now in the marriages of the heirs of an illustrious line. Lady Parr and all her lineage had a great reputation for wisdom, it seems; but the wisdom of this world formed so prominent a feature in the matrimonial bargain which the sagacious widow and the wary lord Scrope were attempting to drive in behalf of their children, that the affair came to nothing.

Lord Dacre tells lady Parr "that lord Scrope must needs have money, and he has nothing whereof to make it but the marriage of his said son;"[1] and dame Maud, in a letter from the court of Greenwich, dated the 15th of the following March, laments to my lord Dacre that the custom of her country and the advice of her friends will not permit her to submit to lord Scrope's way of driving a bargain. Lord Dacre, who seems some degrees less acquisitive than Scrope and the lady Parr, replies,—

"MADAM,

"For my part, I am sorry that ye be thus converted in this matter, seeing the labour I have had in it, which was most for the strength of my friendship for my cousin Katharine, your daughter, assuring you that ye shall not marry Katharine in any place that be so good and comfortable to my said cousin your daughter. And concerning my lord Scroop's demands, he *demandit* nothing but that ye were content to give, which was 1100 marks. And concerning his offer, which was 100 marks jointure, it is not far from the custom of the country; for, from the highest to the lowest, it is the custom to give for every 100 marks of dower ten marks jointure.

"But finally, madame, seeing ye are thus minded, (whereat I am sorry, as nature constraineth me to be,) as it doth please you in this business, so it shall please me. And thus heartily fare ye well.

"At Morpeth, 25th day of May, 16 anno."

Thus ended the abortive matrimonial treaty for the union of Katharine Parr and the heir of Scrope, who was her kinsman by the maternal connexion of both with the great northern family of Dacre. Katharine must have been still

[1] One of the very worst abuses of feudality was the sale of the marriages of wards by their guardians in their childhood. To such a pitch of corruption had this custom arrived, that fathers and mothers bought and sold their consents for the marriages of their infants, if such children were heirs to any kind of property.

of very tender age when she was given in marriage to her first husband, Edward lord Borough of Gainsborough,[1] a mature widower, with children who had arrived at man's estate. Henry, the second of these sons, after his father's marriage with Katharine Parr, espoused her friend and kinswoman, Katharine Neville, the widow of sir Walter Strickland of Sizergh;[2] and this lady, though only twenty-nine at the time of their union, was fourteen years older than her husband's step-mother. The principal family seat of Katharine's first husband was his manor-house of Gainsborough, situated about seventeen miles from Lincoln, and here, no doubt, he resided with his young bride. His father had expended considerable sums in enlarging and improving this mansion, which was sold a century afterwards, by one of his descendants, to a wealthy London citizen. Lord Borough had a fine mansion at Catterick in Yorkshire, and probably at Newark likewise, where his arms, impaled with those of his first wife, Alice Cobham, were painted on a window which his father presented to the parish church.

In Gainsborough church, on the tomb of the first lord Borough, father to Katharine Parr's husband, the arms of Borough were quartered with Tallebois, Marmion, and Fitz-

[1] This nobleman was the second peer of the family of Borough, anciently written De Burgh. He was of the same lineage as the famous Hubert de Burgh, earl of Kent and justiciary of England, the favourite of Henry III. His father, sir Thomas Borough, was made knight of the Garter at the coronation of Henry VII. He was afterwards called to the peerage by the title of lord Borough of Gainsborough; and Edward, the husband of Katharine, succeeded his father in the year 1495-6. He had married Anne, the daughter and heiress of sir Thomas Cobham, of Sterborough, Kent, by whom he had a family before he succeeded to his father's honours, for his eldest son is mentioned in the first lord Borough's will. That son was probably as old as the mother of Katharine Parr. By his mother, Alianor, the daughter of lord Roos of Hamlake, by his marriage with the daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, he was distantly related to the family of Parr; and, by the second marriage of his grandmother, Alice Beauchamp, with Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerset, he was allied to the royal family.

[2] Katharine Neville was the co-heiress of sir Ralph Neville, of Thornton Briggs in Yorkshire. She married sir Walter Strickland, who died 19th year of Henry VIII., January 1527; and lady Strickland married, the *year after*, 1528, Henry Borough, entailing her inheritance of Thornton Briggs on her only son, Walter Strickland. She afterwards married William Knyvet. She was twenty-two years old in 1521, when Katharine Parr was about eight.—Plumpton Papers, 260. Strickland Family Papers, third folio, Sizergh-castle.

hugh,[1] which afford sufficient proof of the ancestral connexion of this nobleman with the Parrs: he appears to have been related to Katharine somewhere about the fourth degree. He died in 1528-9;[2] Katharine, therefore, could not have exceeded her fifteenth year at the period of her first widowhood. She had no children by lord Borough. Soon after the death of her husband, Katharine was bereaved of her last surviving parent. From a passage in the will of lady Parr, it appears as if that lady had sacrificed the interests of her daughter, in order to purchase a marriage with a kinswoman of the sovereign for her son, sir William Parr. This strange document, which is utterly devoid of perspicuity and common sense, commences thus:—

"Dame Maud Parr, widow, late wife of sir Thomas Parr, deceased 20th of May, 21st Henry VIII., 1529. My body to be buried in the church of the Blackfriars, London. Whereas, I have indebted myself for the preferment of my son and heir, William Parr, as well to the king for the marriage of my said son, as to my lord of Essex for the marriage of my lady Bourchier, daughter and heir-apparent to the said earl, Anne, my daughter, sir William Parr, knt., my brother, Katharine Borough, my daughter, Thomas Pickering, esq., my cousin, and steward of my house."[3]

Great difficulties were probably encountered by the executors of lady Parr's will, as it was not proved till December 14th, 1531, more than two years after her death. From the latter involved sentence we infer that lady Parr had persuaded her daughter to join her in the security for the large sums which she had engaged to give to the king and the earl of Essex, to obtain leave for her son to espouse the daughter of the latter. Like many of the marriages based on parental pride and avarice, this union of Katharine's brother with the heiress of the royally descended and wealthy house of Bourchier proved a source of guilt and misery to both parties. The young lady Parr was the sole descendant of Isabel Plantagenet, sister to the king's great-grandfather, Richard duke of York.

This alliance increased the previous family connexion of the Parrs with the sovereign's lineage, on the female side.

[1] Haile's MSS., British Museum.

[2] His son and heir, Thomas third lord Borough, received summons to attend parliament 3rd Nov., 21 Henry VIII.

[3] Testamenta Vetusta.

Some degree of friendly intercourse appears to have been kept up between the king and his cousin, the young lady Parr; and we observe that, in the year 1530, she sent him a present of a coat of Kendal cloth.[1] Both the brother and the uncle of Katharine were now attached to the royal household; but there is reason to suppose that Katharine became an inmate of Sizergh-castle about this period. She was a lovely, noble, and wealthy widow, in her sixteenth year, when deprived of the protection of her last surviving parent. Her only near female relations were an unmarried sister younger than herself, and her aunt, lady Throckmorton, who resided in a distant county. As heiress-presumptive to her brother William, it was desirable to remain in the vicinity of Kendal-castle, and the family estates in that neighbourhood; therefore the most prudent and natural thing she could do, was to take up her abode with her kinswoman and friend, lady Strickland. That lady, though she had, by her marriage with Katharine's step-son Henry Borough, become her daughter-in-law, was quite old enough to afford matronly countenance to the youthful widow of lord Borough, whom, according to the quaint custom of the time, she called "her good mother." Katharine Parr and lady Strickland were alike descended from the Nevilles of Raby, and sir Walter Strickland, the deceased husband of the latter, was also a relative of the Parrs; and as lady Strickland held of the crown the wardship of her son, young Walter Strickland's person and estates, she remained mistress of Sizergh-castle, even after her marriage with Henry Borough.[2]

At no other period of her life than the interval between her mother's death and her own marriage with Neville lord Latimer, could Katharine Parr have found leisure to embroider the magnificent counterpane and toilette-cover, which are proudly exhibited at Sizergh-castle as trophies of her industry, having been worked by her own hands during a visit to her kinsfolk there. As the ornamental labours of the needle have become once more a source of domestic recreation

[1] Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII.
[2] Strickland Papers at Sizergh-castle, folio 3.

to the ladies of England, and even the lords of creation appear to derive some pleasure, as lookers on, in tracing the progress of their fair friends at the embroidering-frame, a brief description of these beautiful and well-preserved specimens of Katharine Parr's proficiency in that accomplishment, may not be displeasing.

The material on which both counterpane and toilette-cover are worked is the richest white satin, of a fabric with which the production of no modern loom can vie. The centre of the pattern is a medallion, surrounded with a wreath of natural flowers, wrought in twisted silks and bullion. A spread eagle, in bold relief, gorged with the imperial crown, forms the middle. At each corner is a lively heraldic monster of the dragon class, glowing with purple, crimson, and gold. The field is gaily beset with large flowers in gorgeous colours, highly embossed and enriched with threads of gold. The toilette is *en suite*, but of a smaller pattern. The lapse of three centuries has scarcely diminished the brilliancy of the colours, or tarnished the bullion; nor is the purity of the satin sullied, though both these queenly relics have been used, on state occasions, by the family in whose possession they have remained as precious heirlooms and memorials of their ancestral connexion with queen Katharine Parr. The apartment which Katharine occupied in Sizergh-castle is still called 'the queen's room.' It is a fine state chamber, in that ancient portion of the castle the D'Eyncourt tower. It opens through the drawing-room, and is panelled with richly carved black oak, which is covered with tapestry of great beauty. The designs represent hunting in all its gradations, from a fox-chase up to a lion-hunt; varied with delineations of trees and flowers, and surrounded with a very unique border, in which young tigers are fighting and brandishing their claws at each other, in the manner of enraged kittens. The most splendid patterns for modern needlework might be taken from these spirited devices. Over the lofty carved chimney-piece are the arms of England and France, supported between the lion and the Tudor dragon, with the motto VIVAT REGINA. The date, 1569, proves they were put up some years after

the death of Katharine Parr, though doubtless intended to commemorate the fact that this apartment was once honoured by her use.[1] The bed, with its hangings of costly crimson damask, is shown as the veritable one in which she reposed; but the fashion of the bedstead is too modern to favour the tradition, which, we think, more probably belongs to one of the elaborately carved and canopied open bedsteads, coeval with the days of the Plantagenets, which are to be seen in other chambers of this venerable mansion.

How long Katharine continued the widow of lord Borough is uncertain; but she was probably under twenty years of age when she became, for the second time, the wife of a mature widower, and again undertook the office of a step-mother. It is not unlikely that her residence at Sizergh-castle might have led to her marriage with John Neville, lord Latimer, as lady Strickland was a Neville, of Thornton-Briggs, and would naturally afford her kinsman every facility for his courtship to their fair cousin. Lord Latimer was related to Katharine in about the same degree as her first husband, lord Borough.[2] The date of her marriage with this nobleman is not known. He had been previously married twice; first, to Elizabeth daughter of sir Richard Musgrave, who died without issue;[3] secondly, to Dorothy daughter of sir George de Vere, and sister and co-heiress to John de Vere, fourteenth earl of Oxford, by whom he had two

[1] The arms of D'Eyncourt, quartering Strickland, Roos, and Parr, are painted in the upper part of the antique window of the apartment in Sizergh-castle called 'the inlaid chamber,' which, from that circumstance, has been mistaken for 'the queen's room' by Mr. Allom, in his Beauties of Westmoreland.

[2] The maternal ancestors of Katharine's second husband were the Latimers, lords of Corby and Shenstone, afterwards of Braybrooke and Danby. The heiress of this family, marrying John lord Neville, of Raby and Middleham, became the mother of Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, whose fifth son, by Joanna Beaufort, daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, took the title of lord Latimer, and married the third daughter and co-heiress of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. From this pair John Neville, lord Latimer, Katharine's husband, was the fourth in descent. He was the eldest son of a family of thirteen children.—Hopkinson's MSS.

[3] Lord Latimer was united to this lady July 20th, 1518, in the chapel of his manor of Snape during his father's life, being then only a knight.—Wolsey's Register, p. 94. Unpublished History of the Family of Neville, by Daniel Rowland, esq.

children, John and Margaret.[1] The second lady Latimer died in 1526-7.

After Katharine became the wife of lord Latimer, she chiefly resided with him and his family at his stately mansion of Snape-hall, in Yorkshire, which is thus described by Leland: "Snape, a goodly castel in a valley belonging to the lord Latimer, with two or three good parks well wooded about it. It is his chief house, and standeth about two miles from Great-Tanfield." The manors of Cumberton, Wadborough, and several other estates in Worcestershire, which he inherited from Elizabeth Beauchamp, were settled on Katharine Parr, at her marriage with this wealthy noble. The ancestors of Katharine Parr, the Marmions, had formerly held sway at Tanfield; and through the marriage of her grandfather, sir William Parr, with Elizabeth Fitzhugh, the grand-daughter of the heiress of sir Robert Marmion, the castle and manor of Tanfield descended to the father of Katharine, and was now the property of her brother, young William Parr. He was at that time childless; and as Katharine was his heiress-presumptive, there was a contingency, by no means remote, of this demesne, which was so desirably contiguous to her husband's estates, falling to her. It would be too much to say that lord Latimer had an eye to this contingency when he sought the hand of Katharine Parr, for she was young, lovely, accomplished, learned, and virtuous; and, to a man who had enjoyed the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the perfections of a mind like hers, the worldly advantages that might accrue from a matrimonial alliance with her must have been considerations of a very secondary nature. Fortunate indeed must lord Latimer have felt himself in being able to obtain so charming a companion for his latter days, and at the same time one so well qualified to direct the studies and form the minds of his children. The amiable temper and sound sense of Katharine taught her to perform the difficult duties that devolved upon her, in the character of a step-mother, with such conscientious and endearing gentleness, that she ensured the love and esteem of

[1] Rev. T. Nash, Archæologia, vol. ix. p. 6.

all the families with whom she was connected in that capacity. During the first years of her marriage with lord Latimer, she pursued the noiseless tenour of her way in the peaceful routine and privacy of domestic life, to which those talents and acquirements, which afterwards rendered her the admiration of the most learned men in Europe, and the intellectual model of the ladies of England, were calculated to lend a charm.

Lord Latimer was so strenuous a Roman-catholic, that he became one of the leaders of the northern insurrection on account of the suppression of the monasteries and the sequestration of the church property by Cromwell, in 1536. This revolt, though chiefly proceeding from the miseries of a starving population, who found themselves suddenly deprived of the relief of conventual alms in seasons of distress, assumed the tone of a domestic crusade against the supporters of the Reformation, and was called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace.' Forty thousand rustics, in Yorkshire alone, appeared in arms, bearing white banners, with the image of the Saviour on the cross, and the chalice and Host depicted thereon. Their nominal general was Robert Aske, a gentleman of mean condition, and a mysterious personage entitled 'the earl of Poverty;' but an enthusiastic junta of nobles, knights, and ecclesiastics, at the head of whom was the archbishop of York, lord Neville, lord d'Arcy, and the husband of Katharine Parr, were allied with these adventurers.[1] They were knit together with oaths of compact, and they compelled the inhabitants of every village or town to take this oath, and to join 'the pilgrimage.' They became so formidable in a short time, that the duke of Norfolk, who was empowered by the king to put down the rebellion, considered it more desirable to negotiate than to fight; and a peaceable conference was appointed, between the royal commissioners and a chosen number of the leading men among the insurgents, at Doncaster. Lord Latimer was one of the delegates nominated by the pilgrims, for the perilous service of laying their grievances before the sovereign, and stating their demands.[2] Four pledges were

[1] Speed. [2] Speed. Lord Herbert.

given by the duke for the safe return of the delegates.[1] They demanded, among other things, the restoration of the monastic establishments and the papal supremacy; the suppression of heretical books, especially the writings of Wickliffe, Luther, Melancthon, and others whom they specified; and that the heretical bishops might be condemned to the flames, or else compelled to do battle in single combat with certain valiantly disposed pilgrims, who would take upon themselves the office of champions for the church-militant. There were also many legal and statistical reforms required; but the most extraordinary demand of the northern democracy was, "that the king should expel from his council all men of *vileyn* blood, especially Cromwell, Rich, and others, who had risen from a humble station in society."[2] In every era of our history it may be noted, that the lower classes have disliked the elevation of persons of their own degree to the exercise of authority in the state. Such is the inconsistency of popular pride.

The king was much offended at the manifesto of the pilgrims, and took upon himself the task of compounding a reply, in which he expressed his astonishment "that ignorant people should go about to instruct him in matters of theology, who somewhat had been noted to be learned in what the true faith should be."[3] In this his majesty, with all the pride of authorship, evidently designed to recall to the memory of the more polite members of the confederacy his own book against Luther, which had procured for him from the pope the title of "defender of the faith." He also angrily complains "of their presumption in wanting to mend his laws, as if, after being their king eight-and-twenty years, he did not know how to govern the realm. He rejected all their petitions, but offered to pardon them for appearing in arms against him if they would give up their ringleaders, and concluded by bidding them admire the benignity of their sovereign." The pilgrims declined the royal grace under such conditions, recalled their delegates, and made them ready for battle. The wise and conciliating policy of the duke of Norfolk prevented the collision which appeared almost inevitable: he

[1] Speed. Lord Herbert. [2] Ibid. [3] Speed. Herbert. Lingard.

prevailed upon the insurgents to lay down their arms, on condition of receiving free pardon from the king, with a promise that their grievances should be discussed in parliament. With some difficulty he induced the king, who was very peevish with him about it, to publish the amnesty without exceptions. The general pardon was dated December 9th, 1536. In February the insurrection broke out again, but lord Latimer did not join it. The prudent counsels of Katharine possibly deterred her lord from involving himself a second time in so rash an enterprise. It is certain that by remaining quiescent he escaped the tragic fate of his northern neighbours and late confederates, the lord D'Arcy, sir Robert Constable, sir Stephen Hamerton, and upwards of seventy others, on whom the royal vengeance inflicted the extreme penalty of the law.

The only daughter of sir Stephen Hamerton was betrothed to Katharine's youthful kinsman, Walter Strickland; and not only this family connexion, but the execution of several of the Nevilles after the second rising, must have rendered this period a season of fearful anxiety to lord and lady Latimer. It was probably about this time that sir John Russell, the lord privy-seal, took the opportunity of requesting a very inconvenient favour, for one of his friends, of lord Latimer; namely, that his lordship should oblige this person with the loan of his fine mansion in the churchyard of the Chartreuse, now called the Charter-house. Latimer did not venture to refuse, but his extreme reluctance to comply with the request may be seen in the following letter written in reply:[1]—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MY ESPECIAL GOOD LORD.

"After my most hearty recommendations had to your good lordship. Whereas your lordship doth desire .... of your friends my house within Chartreux churchyard, beside so .... I assure your lordship the getting of a lease of it cost me 100 marcs, besides other *pleasures* [improvements] that I did to the house; for it was much my desire to have it, because it stands in good air, out of press of the city. And I do alway lie there when I come to London, and I have no other house to lie at. And, also, I have granted it to farm to Mr. Nudygate [Newdigate], son and heir to serjeant Nudygate, to lie in the said house in my

[1] Vespasian, F xiii. 183, folio 131; an original document in the same volume of the Cottonian MSS. containing letters of Katharine Parr and other persons of her era.

absence; and he to void whensoever I come up to London. Nevertheless, I am contented, if it can do your lordship any pleasure for your friend, that he lie there forthwith. I seek my lodgings at this Michaelmas term myself. And as touching my lease, I assure your lordship it is not here; but I shall bring it right to your lordship at my coming up at this said term, and then and alway I shall be at your lordship's commandment, as knows our Lord, who preserve your lordship in much honour to his pleasure. From Wyke,[1] in Worcestershire, the last day of September.

"Your lordship's assuredly to command,

"JOHN LATIMER.

"To the right honourable and very especial good lord, my Lord Privy-seal."

From this letter we may gather, that the household arrangements of the second husband of Katharine Parr were of the same prudential character which induces many of the nobles of the present age to let their mansions, ready furnished, to wealthy commoners, when they retire to their country-seats,—with this difference: lord Latimer's arrangement with the heir of serjeant Newdigate was a perennial engagement, by which the tenant was to vacate the house when his duties in parliament, or other business, called his lordship to town. It must have been a serious annoyance to all parties for the friend of my lord privy-seal to take the impertinent fancy of occupying lord Latimer's town-house under these circumstances; and yet, because the minister prefers the suit, the noble owner of the mansion is compelled to break his agreement with his tenant, and to seek other lodgings for himself against the ensuing session of parliament, in order to accommodate a person who has evidently no claim on his courtesy. But a man who had been once in arms against the sovereign would, in that reign, be careful how he afforded cause for offence to one of the satellites of the crown. After his name had been connected with the 'Pilgrimage of Grace,' lord Latimer had a delicate game to play; and it was well for him that his wife was related to the king, and the niece of a favoured member of the royal household,—sir William Parr. Katharine's sister, lady Herbert, had an

[1] The Latimers were lords of Wyke Burnell, near Pershore in Worcestershire, which was derived from the alliance of the Nevilles with the Beauchamps, earls of Warwick. Lord Latimer was evidently staying there when he wrote that letter.

appointment in Jane Seymour's court, and assisted at the christening of Edward VI.

That Katharine Parr was not only acquainted with Henry VIII., but possessed a considerable influence over his mind some years before there was the slightest probability of her ever becoming the sharer of his throne, is certified by the history of the Throckmorton family, to which we are principally indebted for the following details. Sir George Throckmorton, the husband of Katharine Parr's aunt, having incurred the ill-will of lord Cromwell, in consequence of some disputes arising from the contiguity of their manors of Coughton-Court and Oursley, Cromwell endeavoured to compass the ruin of his aristocratic neighbour by accusing him of having denied the king's supremacy.[1] The charge was peculiarly alarming to Throckmorton, because his brother Michael was in the service of cardinal Pole, and had taken an active part in opposing the king's divorce from Katharine of Arragon, as we are told by his kinsman in the following lines from a metrical chronicle of the life of sir Nicholas Throckmorton :—

> "For after that resolved stood the king
> To take a new, and leave his wedded wife,
> My uncle was the means to work the thing
> By Reynold Poole, who brewed all the strife;
> And then at Rome did work the contrary,
> Which drave the king at home to tyranny."—*Throckmorton* MS.[2]

The subject of sir George Throckmorton's imprisonment,

[1] MS. Throckmorton, collated by Brown Willis. Among the incipient proofs of Cromwell's seizure of the Throckmorton property, is his possession of a house in Throgmorton-street, where his oppression of his poor neighbours is commemorated by Stowe, whose father was a sufferer. That the Throckmortons had a city-house there is proved by the MS. quoted above, where it mentions that, after the death of Edward VI., the four sons of that family met there for a consultation—

> "In London, in a house that bore our name."

Throgmorton-house was evidently one of Cromwell's spoils, seized for a time from that family.

[2] This curious literary treasure belongs to the Throckmorton MS., and contains some of the most remarkable passages in the life of sir Nicholas Throckmorton, (the son of sir George and Katharine Parr's aunt,) arranged in verse by his nephew, sir Thomas Throckmorton: the poem consists of 229 stanzas, of six lines each. The near relationship between queen Katharine Parr and the Throckmorton family renders it a valuable addition to the scanty records of this period of her life.

and the distress of his family, is introduced in these quaint lines :—

"My father's foes clapt him, through cankered hate,
In Tower fast, and gaped to joint his neck.
They were in hope for to obtain a *mate*,
Who heretofore had laboured for a *check*;
Yea, Grevills grieved him ill without a cause,
Who hurt not them, nor yet the prince's laws.

Thus every thing did run against the *hair*;[1]
Our name disgraced, and we but witless boys,
Did deem it hard such crosses then to bear,—
Our minds more fit to deal with childish toys;
But troubles are of perfect wit the schools,
When life at will feeds men as fat as fools."

After drawing rather a ludicrous picture of their tribulations, and comparing lady Throckmorton in her tears to a drowned mouse, he introduces the family of Parr on the scene :—

"While flocking foes to work our bane were bent,
While thunder-claps of angry Jove did last,
Then to lord Parr my mother[2] saw me sent,
So with her brother I was safely placed;
Of alms he kept me in extremity,
Who did misdoubt a worse calamity.

Oh, lucky looks that fawned on Katharine Parr!
A woman rare like her but seldom seen,
To Borough first, and then to Latimer
She widow was, and then became a queen.
My mother prayed her niece with watery eyes,
To rid both her and hers from endless cries.

She, willing of herself to do us good,
Sought out the means her uncle's life to save,
And when the king was in his pleasing mood,
She humbly then her suit began to crave;
With wooing times denials disagree,
She spake and sped,—my father was set free."

In his rapturous allusion to the good offices of Katharine Parr, the poet, by mentioning her subsequent marriage with

[1] Similar to the proverbial saying, 'against the grain.'

[2] This lady was the daughter of Katharine's grandmother, widow of sir William Parr, K.G., by a second marriage with sir Nicholas Vaux; consequently, lady Throckmorton was sister, by the half-blood, to Katharine Parr's father and uncle. Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the younger brother of lady Throckmorton, married Elizabeth Green, sister to lady Parr, and both these ladies were the grand-daughters of Matilda Throckmorton, whose stately monument is to be seen in the church of Green's Norton. Thus we see that Katharine Parr was bound in a triple cord of alliance with the family of Throckmorton.—Baker's Northamptonshire. Throckmorton Papers.

the king, a little confuses the time when her intercession was successfully employed for the deliverance of sir George Throckmorton. The date of this event is clearly defined, in the prose documents of the Throckmorton family, to have taken place in the year 1540, by the statement "that sir George was released through the influence of his kinswoman, the lady Katharine Parr, and advised with by the king, at her suggestion, about Cromwell, immediately before the arrest of that minister," which was in the June of that year.[1] This fact throws a new light on the fall of Cromwell, and leads us to infer that his ruin was caused, not, as Burnet and his copyists assert, by the enmity of Katharine Howard, but of her unsuspected successor Katharine Parr, at that time the wife of a zealous Catholic peer, and herself a member of the church of Rome. It was probably from the eloquent lips of this strong-minded and intrepid lady, when pleading for the life of her uncle, that Henry learned the extent of Cromwell's rapacity, and the real state of the public mind as to his administration; and thus we may, perhaps, account for the otherwise mysterious change in the royal mind, when the monarch, after loading his favourite with honours and immunities, suddenly resolved to sacrifice him to popular indignation as a scape-goat, on whose shoulders the political sins of both king and council might be conveniently laid. Sir George Throckmorton took an active part in bringing his former persecutor to the block, and instead of being stripped by him of his fair domain of Coughton-Court, was enabled to purchase Cromwell's manor of Oursley, on advantageous terms, of the crown, and to transmit it to his descendants, in whose possession it remains at the present day.[2]

[1] This important incident is recorded in Brown Willis's history of the ancient family of Throckmorton, drawn up from the archives of that house in the year 1730. By the courtesy of the late venerable and lamented sir Charles Throckmorton, bart., I have been favoured with some interesting and valuable extracts connected with the history of Katharine Parr from that work, and other family documents, which were kindly transcribed by our mutual friend Miss Jane Porter, the accomplished author of Thaddeus of Warsaw, and many other works illustrative of the *beau idéal* of heroism and virtue.

[2] MS. Throckmorton. This statement is confirmed by Pollino, who says that Henry had secret consultations with a noble cavalier, called *Roberto Trogmorton*, in order to bring about the fall of Cromwell.

Few things, perhaps, tend more importantly to the elucidation of historical mysteries than the study of genealogies. It is by obtaining an acquaintance with the family connexions of the leading actors in any memorable era that we gain a clue to the secret springs of their actions, and perceive the wheel within a wheel which impelled to deeds otherwise unaccountable. The brother of Katharine Parr was the husband of the heiress of the last earl of Essex, of the ancient line of Bourchier; but on the demise of that nobleman, those honours, which in equity ought to have been vested in his descendants, were, to the indignation of all the connexions of the Bourchiers and Parrs, bestowed on Cromwell.[1] The death of that rapacious minister smoothed the way for the summons of William Parr to the house of lords as earl of Essex, in the right of his wife. Katharine herself came in for a share of the spoils of the enemy of her house, for his manor of Wimbledon was settled on her. Tradition says that she resided at the mansion at some period of her life. A portion of this ancient edifice was in existence within a few years.[2] Cromwell was the third great statesman of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, within the brief period of ten years, whose fall is attributable to female influence. Wolsey and More were the victims of Anne Boleyn's undisguised animosity, and the influence of Katharine Parr appears to have been equally fatal to Cromwell, although her consummate prudence in avoiding any demonstration of hostility has prevented her from being recognised as the author of his ruin, save in the records of the house of Throckmorton.

The execution of the unfortunate queen, Katharine Howard, in February 1542, preceded the death of Katharine Parr's second husband, lord Latimer, about twelve months. The will of lord Latimer is dated September 12, 1542, but as it

[1] The presumption of the blacksmith-secretary in aspiring to the title of earl of Essex was the more offensive to the legal claimants of the honours of that high family, because the second title of the Bourchiers was lord Cromwell, they being the sole descendants and representatives of the extinct line of barons of that name; and the mushroom minister of Henry VIII. certainly meant to assume that, because he bore the name, he was the rightful heir of that extinct family.

[2] Manning's History of Surrey

was not proved till the 11th of the following March,[1] it is probable that he died early in 1543. In this document, lord Latimer bequeaths to the lady Katharine, his wife, the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. He bequeaths his body "to be buried on the south side of the church of Well, where his ancestors were buried, if he should die in Yorkshire; appointing that the master of the hospital and vicar of the church of Well should take and receive all the rents and profits of the parsonage of Askham Richard, in the county of the city of York, as also of the parsonage of St. George's church in York, for the time of forty years, wherewith to endow a grammar-school at Well, and to pray for him the founder."[2] The latter clause affords evidence that lord Latimer died, as he had lived, a member of the church of Rome. There is, however, neither monument nor memorial of him in the church of Well, for he died, not in Yorkshire, but in London, and was interred in St. Paul's cathedral.[3]

The conversion of Katharine to the principles of the reformed religion did not, in all probability, take place till after the decease of lord Latimer, when, unbiassed by the influence of that zealous supporter of the ancient system, she found herself at liberty to listen to the impassioned eloquence of the apostles of the Reformation,—men who were daily called upon to testify the sincerity of their profession through tortures and a fiery death. The house of the noble and learned widow soon became the resort of such men as Coverdale, Latimer, and Parkhurst; and sermons were daily preached in her chamber of state by those who were desirous of restoring the practice of the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity.[4]

Katharine was not only pious, learned, and passing fair, but possessed of great wealth as the mistress of two ample jointures, both unencumbered. With these advantages, and connected as she was, either by descent or marriage, with some of the noblest families in England, even with royalty

[1] Testamenta Vetusta; sir H. Nicolas.
[2] Testamenta Vetusta. Whittaker's Richmondshire.
[3] History of the House of Neville. [4] Echard.

itself in no very remote degree, it is not to be supposed that she was left unwooed. At an early stage of her widowhood she was sought in marriage by sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late queen Jane, and uncle to the infant heir of England. Sir Thomas Seymour enjoyed the favour of his royal brother-in-law in a high degree, and was the handsomest and most admired bachelor of the court. He was gay, magnificent, and brave, excelling in all the manly exercises of that age, and much distinguished by the richness of his dress and ornaments, in which his fashions were implicitly followed by the other courtiers; and with the ladies he was considered irresistible. How it happened that the learned and devout lady Latimer should be the one to fix the wandering heart of this gay and reckless gallant, for whom the sprightliest beauties of the court had sighed in vain, has never been explained, nor is it always possible to account for the inconsistencies of love. As the Seymours were among the political leaders of the anti-papal party, it is probable that sir Thomas might be induced to attend the religious assemblies that were held at the house of this distinguished lady from motives of curiosity in the first instance, till a more powerful interest was excited in his mind by her charms and winning deportment. Be this as it may, it is certain that Katharine fully returned his passion, as she herself subsequently acknowledges, "and had determined to become his wife at that time, if her will had not, for wise purposes, been overruled by a higher power." [1]

A more important destiny was reserved for her, and while she delayed her union with the man of her heart till a proper interval from the death of her husband should have elapsed, her hand was demanded by a third widower, in the decline of life, and the father of three children by three different wives. This widower was no other than her sovereign, who had remained in a disconsolate state of gloomy celibacy since the execution of his fifth queen, apparently wearied out by the frequent disappointments and mistakes that had attended his ventures in the matrimonial lottery. His desire

[1] Letters of queen Katharine Parr to the lord admiral, sir Thomas Seymour.

for conjugal companionship was, however, unabated; and rendered, perhaps, wiser by experience, he determined, in his selection of a sixth wife, not to be guided by externals only. The circumstances that led to Henry's marriage with Katharine Parr, are quaintly glanced at by her poet-cousin, sir Thomas Throckmorton, who dates the advancement of his family from that event:—

> "But when the king's fifth wife had lost her head,
> Yet he mislikes the life to live alone,
> And, once resolved the sixth time for to wed,
> He sought outright to make his choice of one:
> That choice was chance right happy for us all,
> It brewed our bliss, and rid us quite from thrall."
>
> *Throckmorton* MS.

When the celebrated act of parliament was passed which rendered it a capital offence for any lady who had ever made a lapse from virtue to contract matrimony with her sovereign without first apprising him of her fault, it had been shrewdly observed that his majesty had now no other alternative than to marry a widow. No spinster, however pure her conduct might have been, it was presumed, would venture to place herself within the peril of a penalty, which might be inflicted on the most innocent woman in the world the moment she ceased to charm the unprincipled tyrant, whose fickleness was only equalled by his malice and cruelty. When Henry first made known to lady Latimer that she was the lady whom he intended to honour with the sixth reversion of his hand, she was struck with dismay, and, in the terror with which his cruel treatment of his matrimonial victims inspired her, frankly told him "that it was better to be his mistress than his wife."[1] A few months after marriage, such a sarcasm on his conduct as a husband might have cost Henry's best-loved queen her head; as it was, this cutting observation from the lips of a matron of Katharine's well-known virtue, though it must have afforded him a mortifying idea of the estimation in which the dignity of queen-consort was regarded by the ladies of his court, had no other effect than to increase the eagerness of his suit to the reluctant widow. Fear was not, however, her only objection to become the wife

[1] Leti.

of Henry; love was, for awhile, victorious over ambition in the heart of Katharine. Her affection for Seymour rendered her very listless about the royal match at first,[1] but her favoured lover presumed not to contest the prize with his all-powerful brother-in-law and sovereign. A rival of Henry's temper, who held the heads of wives, kinsmen, and favourites as cheaply as tennis-balls, was not to be withstood. The Adonis of the court vanished from the scene, and the bride-elect, accommodating her mind as she best might to the change of bridegroom, prepared to assume, with a good grace, the glittering fetters of a queenly slave.

The arrangements for the royal nuptials were made with a celerity truly astonishing; barely three months intervened between the proving of lord Latimer's will, and the day on which Cranmer grants a licence "for the marriage of his sovereign lord, king Henry, with Katharine Latymer, late the wife of the lord de Latymer, deceased, in whatever church, chapel, or oratory he may please, without publication of banns, dispensing with all ordinances to the contrary for reasons concerning the honour and advancement of the whole realm."[2] Dated July 10th, 1543. Two days afterwards Katharine exchanged her briefly worn weeds of widowhood for the bridal robes of a queen of England,—robes that had proved fatal trappings to four of her five predecessors in the perilous dignity to which it was the pleasure of her enamoured sovereign to advance her. The nuptials of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr, instead of being hurried over secretly in some obscure corner, like some unhallowed mystery, (as was the case in his previous marriages with Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard,) were solemnized much in the same way as royal marriages are in the present times, without pageantry, but with all suitable observances. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner bishop of Winchester in the queen's closet at Hampton-Court, and the high respect of the monarch for his bride was proved by his permitting the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, his daughters, and his

[1] Strype's Memorials, vol. ii., part 1, p. 206.

[2] Chronological Catalogue of Papers for New Rymer, p. 238.

niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, to assist at these nuptials.[1] The queen was also supported by her sister Mrs. Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke; her beloved friend Katharine Willoughby, duchess of Suffolk; Anne countess of Hertford,[2] and Jane lady Dudley. The king was attended by his brother-in-law the earl of Hertford, lord John Russell (privy-seal), sir Anthony Browne (master of the pensioners), Henry Howard, Richard Long, Thomas d'Arcy, Edward Baynton (the husband of the late queen's sister), Anthony Denny and Thomas Speke, knights, and William Herbert, the brother-in-law of his bride.[3]

It is scarcely possible but the cheek of Katharine must have blanched, when the nuptial ring was placed on her finger by the ruthless hand that had signed the death-warrant of two of his consorts within the last seven years. If a parallel might be permitted between the grave facts of history and the creations of romance, we should say that the situation of Henry's sixth queen greatly resembled that of the fair Scheherazade in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, who voluntarily contracted matrimony with sultan Schriar, though aware that it was his custom to marry a fresh wife every day, and cut off her head the next morning. The sound principles, excellent judgment, and endearing qualities of Katharine Parr, and, above all, her superlative skill as a nurse, by rendering her necessary to the comfort of the selfish and irritable tyrant who had chosen her as a help-meet for him in the season of premature old age and increasing disease, afforded her best security from the fate of her predecessors. But of this hereafter.

Among the unpublished MSS. in the State-Paper office, we find the following paragraph, in a letter from sir Thomas Wriothesley, relating to the recent bridal of the sovereign: "I doubt not of your grace knowing, by the fame and otherwise, that the king's majesty was married on Thursday last to my lady Latimer, a woman, in my judgment, for certain

[1] Notarial certificate in the Chapter-house, No. 400; date, July 1543.

[2] Afterwards the duchess of Somerset, wife to the protector, and Katharine Parr's bitterest enemy.

[3] Notarial certificate.

wisdom and gentleness most meet for his highness; and sure I am his majesty had never a wife more agreeable to his heart than she is. The Lord grant them long life, and much joy together!"[1] On the day of her marriage, queen Katharine presented her royal step-daughter and bridemaid, the princess Mary, with a magnificent pair of gold bracelets set with rubies, and the yet more acceptable gift in money of 25*l.*[2] Of course the princess Elizabeth, who also assisted at the bridal, was not forgotten. The pecuniary present to Mary was repeated on the 26th of September.[3]

Katharine Parr had now for the third time undertaken the office of a step-mother,—an office at all times of much difficulty and responsibility, but peculiarly so with regard to the children of Henry VIII., who were the offspring of queens so fatally opposed as Katharine of Arragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour had successively been. How well the sound sense and endearing manners of Katharine Parr fitted her to reconcile the rival interests, and to render herself a bond of union between the disjointed links of the royal family, is proved by the affection and respect of her step-children, and also by their letters after king Henry's death. Whether a man who had so glaringly violated the duties of a father to his daughters as Henry had done, deserves any credit for paternal care in his choice of his sixth queen, it would be difficult to say; but it was scarcely possible for him to have selected a lady better qualified to conduce to the happiness of his children, to improve their minds, and to fit them, by the inculcation of virtuous and noble sentiments, to adorn the high station to which they were born.

The union of the sovereign with the pious and learned lady Latimer was the cause of great joy to the university of Cambridge, where the doctrines of the Reformation had already taken deep root. The opinions of this erudite body on the subject, are eloquently expressed in their congratulatory address to Henry on his marriage. Katharine Parr, while

[1] This letter seems to be written to the duke of Norfolk.
[2] Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary; edited by sir F. Madden.
[3] Ibid.

queen-consort of England, continued to correspond with the university of Cambridge, in the name of which the celebrated Roger Ascham thanks her for her royal benefactions and the suavity of her letters. "Write to us oftener," says the enthusiastic scholar, "*eruditissima regina,* and do not despise the term erudition, most noble lady: it is the praise of your industry, and a greater one to your talents than all the ornaments of your fortune. We rejoice vehemently in your happiness, most happy princess! because you are learning more amidst the occupations of your dignity, than many with us do in all our leisure and quiet."[1]

The dignity of the scholar and the queen are beautifully blended with the tenderness of the woman and the devotedness of the Christian, in the line of conduct adopted by Katharine Parr after her elevation to a throne. Her situation at this period is not unlike that of Esther in the house of Ahasuerus. Her attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation naturally rendered her an object of jealous ill-will to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the leader of the anti-papal Henrican party;[2] and as early as the second week after her marriage, this daring ecclesiastic ventured to measure his power against that of the royal bride, by an attack on an humble society of reformers at Windsor. Anthony Persons, a priest, John Marbeck, a chorister, Robert Testwood, and Henry Filmer were the leading persons attached to this community, but it was suspected that they received encouragement from members of the royal household. Dr. London, one of the most unprincipled agents of Cromwell in the spoliation of the abbeys, had, since the fall of his patron, changed his tack, and was employed by the triumphant faction in preparing a book of informations, denouncing every person in Windsor who was suspected of holding opinions at variance

[1] Ascham's Epistles, 303.

[2] It is difficult to find any other name by which to describe persons who upheld the ceremonies of the Romish church and rejected the supremacy of the pope, unless we style them Henricans, from their royal founder, Henry VIII. It is the most vulgar of mistakes to call Gardiner and his colleagues *papists*, they having adopted Henry VIII. for the head of their church in opposition to the pope, from whom they were *then* in a state of separation.

with the six articles. This book was presented to Gardiner, who moved the king in council that a commission should be granted for searching all the houses in Windsor for books written in favour of the new learning.[1] Henry acceded to this measure as regarded the town, but excepted the castle, his own royal residence, having doubtless shrewd reason to suspect that more works of the kind objected to would be found in the closets and chambers of those nearest and dearest to him, than among the poor and unlearned inhabitants of Windsor.

A few MS. notes on the Bible, and a Latin Concordance in progress of arrangement, which were found in the house of Marbeck, furnished an excuse for the arrest, trial, and condemnation of himself and his three friends. Nothing could induce them to betray any person in the royal household, to save themselves from the fiery death with which they were menaced. Marbeck found an intercessor sufficiently powerful and courageous to represent his case to the king. Henry was shown the Latin Concordance, of which several hundred pages were completed. "Poor Marbeck!" exclaimed he, with an unwonted burst of sympathy, "it would be well for thine accusers if they had employed their time no worse."[2] A reprieve was granted to Marbeck; but Persons, Testwood, and Filmer were sent to the stake, July 26th, two days after their condemnation. Though the flames of their martyrdom were kindled almost in the sight of Henry's protestant queen, she was unable to avert the fate of the victims; and well aware was she that the blow which produced this fell sacrifice of human life was aimed at herself, and would be followed by an attack on persons in her immediate confidence. The murder of these humble reformers was, indeed, but the preliminary move in the bold yet subtle game which Gardiner was playing against the more elevated individuals professing the same religion with the queen.

Dr. Haines, the dean of Exeter and a prebendary of Windsor, sir Philip Hoby and his lady, sir Thomas Carden, and other members of the royal household, were denounced

[1] Burnet. [2] Soame's History of the Reformation.

by Dr. London and his coadjutor Symonds, as persons encouraging the new learning, and were placed under arrest.[1] The only evidence against them that could be produced, was contained in certain inferences and false statements which Dr. London had suborned Ockham, the clerk of the court, to introduce into the notes he had taken at the trials of the recent victims.[2] The queen, having obtained full information of these proceedings, sent one of her most trusty and courageous servants into court to expose the iniquity of this plot. Ockham was arrested and his papers seized, which afforded full proof of the base conspiracy into which he had entered, and the whole transaction was laid before the king. The tables were now completely turned. London and Symonds were sent for and examined on oath, and, not being aware that their letters were intercepted, fully committed themselves, were found guilty of perjury, and sentenced to be placed on horseback with their faces to the horses' tails, with papers on their foreheads setting forth their perjury, and set in the pillory at Windsor. Katharine sought no further vengeance, and the mortification caused by this disgraceful punishment is supposed to have caused Dr. London's death.[3]

Such were the scenes that marked the bridal month of Katharine Parr as queen of England,—that month which is generally styled the honeymoon. Her elevation to the perilous dignity of queen-consort afforded her, however, the satisfaction of advancing the fortunes of various members of her own family. She bestowed the office of lord chamberlain on her uncle, lord Parr of Horton; she made her sister, lady Herbert, one of her ladies of the bedchamber; and her stepdaughter, Margaret Neville, the daughter of her deceased husband lord Latimer, one of her maids of honour. Her brother, William Parr, was created earl of Essex,[4] in right of his wife, having been previously made baron Parr of Kendal.

[1] Burnet. [2] Ibid., Hist. Ref., vol. i. p. 312. Rapin. Hall. [3] Burnet, vol. i.

[4] This gentleman enjoyed, not only the favour, but the esteem of king Henry, who honoured him with the name of "his Integrity." The young prince, afterwards Edward VI., always called him "his honest uncle." He was finally advanced to the title of marquess of Northampton. Like his sister, queen

The preferment which queen Katharine's cousins of the house of Throckmorton obtained, through her powerful patronage, is thus quaintly described by the poetical chronicler of that family:—

"Lo, then! my brethren, Clement, George, and I,
Did seek, as youth doth still, in court to be;
Each other state as base we did defy
Compared with court, the nurse of dignity.
'Tis truly said, no fishing to the seas—
No serving but a king—if you can please.
* * * * *
First in the court my brother Clement served,
A fee he had the queen her cup to bring;
And some supposed that I right well deserved,
When sewer they saw me chosen to the king:
My brother George, by valour in youth rare,
A pension got, and gallant halbert bare."

One of the first fruits of queen Katharine's virtuous influence over the mind of the king was, the restoration of his daughters, the persecuted Mary and the young neglected Elizabeth, to their proper rank in the court, and recognition in the order of succession to the crown. The privy-purse expenses of the princess Mary bear evidence of many little traits of kindness and friendly attentions which she, from time to time, received from her amiable step-mother. When Mary was taken ill, on her journey between Grafton and Woodstock, the queen sent her own litter to convey her to Ampthill, where she was herself residing with the king. On the New-year's day after her marriage,[1] queen Katharine sent her footman Jacob with the present of a cheese for the princess Mary, who guerdoned the bearer with seven and sixpence. A rich night-gown, or evening-dress, is on another occasion sent by queen Katharine to Mary by Fitton, the keeper of the royal robes. Mary's reward to Fitton was fifteen shillings. Mary embroidered a cushion with her own hands as an offering for the queen, and paid seven and sixpence to John Hayes for devising the pattern.[2] Katharine,

Katharine, he possessed an elegant and cultivated mind, and delighted in poetry and music. His marriage with the heiress of Essex was a miserable one, and was dissolved in consequence of the incontinence of the lady. The portrait of the marquess, among the Holbein heads in her majesty's collection, represents him as a model of manly beauty.

[1] Privy-purse Expenses of princess Mary, by sir F. Madden. [2] Ibid.

on her marriage, received into her household one Mrs. Barbara, undoubtedly at the request of the princess Mary, who had kindly supplied this person with money, clothes, food, and medical attendance during a long illness. An item occurs, at the time of Katharine Parr's marriage, in the accounts of the princess, of money presented to Mrs. Barbara when she was sworn queen's woman; and being thus honourably provided for, her name no longer occurs on the list of Mary's pensioners.

Notwithstanding the great difference in their religious tenets, a firm friendship ever subsisted between Katharine Parr and Mary. They were near enough in age to have been sisters, they excelled in the same accomplishments, and the great learning and studious pursuits of these royal ladies rendered them suitable companions for each other. The more brilliant talents of the young Elizabeth were drawn forth and fostered under the auspices of her highly gifted step-mother. Katharine Parr took also an active part in directing the studies of the heir of England, and her approbation appears to have been the greatest encouragement the prince could receive. In a letter, written in French, to queen Katharine, Edward notices the beauty of her penmanship. "I thank you," says he, "most noble and excellent queen, for the letters you have lately sent me, not only for their beauty, but for their imagination; for when I see your *belle écriture* [fair writing] and the excellence of your genius, greatly surpassing my invention, I am sick of writing. But then I think how kind your nature is, and that whatever proceeds from a good mind and intention will be acceptable; and so I write you this letter."[1] A modern author has noticed the great similarity between the hand-writing of Edward VI. and Katharine Parr, and from this circumstance it has been conjectured that Katharine superintended the education of one or other of the juvenile members of the royal family, previous to her marriage with king Henry. No official evidence of her appointment to any office of the kind has been discovered, but her great reputation for wisdom and learning

[1] Ellis, p. 132.

renders the tradition not improbable. Certain it is, that after she became queen she took great delight in directing the studies of her royal step-children. It is evident that Edward VI., queen Elizabeth, and their youthful cousins, lady Jane and lady Katharine Gray, all imbibed her taste for classic literature, and her attachment to the principles of the Reformation. She induced not only Elizabeth, but Mary, to translate passages from the Scriptures. Each of these princesses compiled a little manual of devotions in Latin, French, and English, dedicated to their accomplished step-mother.[1]

Katharine Parr's celebrity as a scholar and a theologian, did not render her neglectful of the feminine accomplishment of needlework, in which, notwithstanding her early resistance to its practice, she much delighted. Like Henry's first excellent queen, Katharine of Arragon, she employed her hours of retirement in embroidering among her ladies. It is said that a portion of the hangings which ornamented the royal apartments of the Tower, before they were dismantled or destroyed, were the work of this queen; the only specimens however, that are now to be found of her skill and industry in this pleasing art, are those preserved at Sizergh-castle. Her taste in dress appears to have been excellent, uniting magnificence of material with a simplicity of form. In fact, the costume of Katharine Parr, as shown in the celebrated miniature belonging to the Strawberry-hill collection, might be worn with perfect propriety in any courtly circle of the present age.

Katharine Parr enacted the queen with as much royal state and splendour as the loftiest of her predecessors. She granted an interview to the Spanish duke de Nejara at Westminster-palace, Feb. 17th, 1544. This Spanish grandee visited England on his return from the army of Charles V., and was admitted to pay his respects to the queen, and her daughter-in-law the princess Mary. The queen permitted him to kiss her hand. Pedro de Gante, secretary to the

[1] For a description of these books, see the succeeding biographies of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth.

grandee, has described her dress with the zeal of a man-milliner. She wore a kirtle of brocade, and an open robe of cloth of gold; the sleeves lined with crimson satin, and trimmed with three-piled crimson velvet; the train more than two yards long. Suspended from the neck were two crosses, and a jewel of very rich diamonds; in her head-dress, also, were many rich and beautiful ones. Her girdle was of gold, with very large pendants.

The original miniature of this queen, from which the engraving of her likeness for this biography is taken, was found in the collection of Horace Walpole. It is a small oval, on a deep smalt-blue back-ground. Her age is stated, in gilt figures in front of the picture, to be XXXII; so that the likeness must have been taken in the year 1545, about two years after her marriage with Henry VIII. Katharine is there represented with very small and delicately marked features, hazel eyes, and golden hair, folded in simple Madonna bands. Her forehead is lofty and serene, indicative of talent and sprightly wit. She wears a round crimson velvet hood or cap of state, edged with pearls, and surmounted with a jewelled band of goldsmiths' work set with rubies and pearls, which confines a long black veil, that flows from the back of the head-dress over the shoulders. The boddice and sleeves of the dress are made of rich gold brocade, and set tight to the shape: the boddice is cut plain across the bust, like the corsage of a modern dress, and is edged with a row of pearls between pipes of black and crimson velvet. She wears a double row of large pearls about her neck, from which depends a ruby cross, finished with one fair pendant pearl. Her boddice is ornamented with a large ruby brooch, set in filigree gold. This miniature excited much interest at the sale of Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry-hill, where it was purchased by the present possessor of Sudely-castle, Mr. Dent, through whose courtesy I enjoyed last summer, 1848, the opportunity of a second inspection through a powerful magnifying glass, which enabled me, to my own surprise as well as that of every one else, to unfold an unsuspected mystery connected with the brooch that decorates the front of the

boddice. That ornament, in actual measurement not much bigger than a large spangle, contains the miniature portrait of king Henry, crowned and royally robed, seated on his throne under a canopy of state supported by pillars, holding an orb in one hand, a sceptre in the other, having his foot on an ornamented stool: the whole is richly and elaborately decorated with burnished gold and imitations of coloured gems, principally rubies, sapphires, and pearls,—in fact, it is the smallest specimen of illumination ever seen. The marvel is, that eyes and fingers were ever formed to execute so diminutive a work of art. Perhaps this was the veritable miniature which the admiral, sir Thomas Seymour, obtained from Katharine, when he subsequently entreated her "to send him one of her little pictures, if she had not given them all away,"—a proof that several original miniatures of this queen were painted, although they are now almost as rare and difficult to identify as those of Katharine Howard. The engraving usually stated to be from an original painting of Katharine Parr,[1] possesses none of her characteristics. It is a shrewd, sordid-looking female, of rather large proportions, with dark complexion and hair. Katharine Parr was *petite* in form, with remarkably small and delicately cut features, and her complexion was that of a genuine Westmoreland beauty,—brilliantly fair and blooming, with hazel eyes, and hair of a golden auburn, realizing the *beau idéal* of Petrarca, when he exclaims,—

> "Love! from what precious mine of gold didst thou
> Bring the rich glories of her shining hair?
> Where plucked the opening roses, fresh and fair,
> Which on her cheeks in tender blushes glow?"

Katharine Parr's celebrated work, The Lamentations of a Sinner, was written after her marriage with the king. This little volume, next to the writings of sir Thomas More, affords one of the finest specimens of English composition of that era. It is a brief but eloquent treatise on the imperfection of human nature in its unassisted state, and the utter

[1] In Lodge.

vanity of all earthly grandeur and distinction. Within the limited compass of about 120 miniature pages it comprises the elements of almost all the sermons that have been levelled against papal supremacy. The royal writer does not forget to compliment king Henry for having emancipated England from this domination :—

"Thanks be given to the Lord that he hath now sent us such a godly and learned king, in these latter days to reign over us, that, with the force of God's word, hath taken away the veils and mists of errors, and brought us to the knowledge of the truth by the light of God's word, which was so long hid and kept under, that the people were well-nigh famished and hungered for lack of spiritual food,—such was the charity of the spiritual curates and shepherds. But our Moses, and most godly wise governor and king, hath delivered us out of the captivity and spiritual bondage of Pharaoh: I mean by this Moses king Henry VIII., my most sovereign favourable lord and husband, one, (if Moses had figured any more than Christ,) through the excellent grace of God, meet to be another expressed verity of Moses' conquest over Pharaoh, (and I mean by this Pharaoh the bishop of Rome,) who hath been, and is, a greater persecutor of all true Christians than ever was Pharaoh of the children of Israel."

The gross flattery offered up to her husband in this passage, is somewhat atoned for by the pure morality and Christian holiness which generally pervades the precepts of this little treatise. The zeal with which it is written is extremely ardent, her aspiration for martyrdom frequent: the tenets inculcated are, simply, that all good works arise from the inspiration of the spirit of God, vouchsafed through belief in Christ, derived from prayer and diligent perusal of the Scriptures. She is nearly as severe on those who call themselves 'gospellers,' and separate faith and works, as she is on the pope, and she evidently considers them in equal or greater error. Here are her words, and it must be owned that, if she considered her two last husbands, Henry VIII. and Thomas Seymour, exceptions from her description, conjugal partiality must have strangely blinded her :—

"Now I will speak with great dolour and heaviness of heart of a sort of people which be in the world that be called professors of the gospel, and by their words do declare and show that they be much affected to the same. But I am afraid some of them do build on the sand, as Simon Magus did, making a weak foundation: I mean, they make not Christ their chiefest foundation. But either they would be called *gospellers*, and procure some credit and good opinion of the true and very favourers of Christ's doctrines, either to find out some carnal liberty, either to be contentious disputers, finders, or reprovers of other

men's faults, or else, finally, to please and flatter the world. Such gospellers be an offence and slander to the word of God, and make the wicked to rejoice and laugh, saying, 'Behold, I pray you, their fair fruits.' What charity, what discretion, what goodness, holiness, and purity of life is amongst them? Be they not great avengers, foul gluttons, backbiters, adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers? yea, do they not wallow and tumble in all manner of sins? These be the fruits of their doctrine; and yet the word of God is all holy, sincere, and godly, being the doctrine and occasion of all pure living."

She then, with great earnestness, applies the parable of the sower and his seed, and that of the barren fig-tree. Her precepts to her own sex are as follow:—

"If they be women married, they learn of St. Paul to be obedient to their husbands, and to keep silence in the congregation, and to learn of their husbands at home. Also that they wear such apparel as becometh holiness and comely usage with soberness, not being accusers or detractors, not given to much eating of delicate meats and drinking of wine; but that they teach honest things,—to make the young women sober-minded, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, housewifely, and good, that the word of God may not be evil spoken of."

Katharine evidently approved of clerical celibacy. The passage in her work from which this inference is drawn is curious, because it shows that she still professed the church established by her husband, which insisted on this point of discipline:—

"The true followers of Christ's doctrine *hath* always a respect and an eye to their vocation. If they be called to the ministry of God's word, they preach and teach it sincerely, to the edifying of others, and show *themselves* in their living followers of the same. If they be *married men*,[1] having children and family, they nourish and bring them up, without all bitterness and fierceness, in the doctrine of the Lord, in all godliness and virtue, committing [that is, the married men] the instruction of others, *which appertaineth not to their charge*, to the reformation of God and his ministers."[2]

The most remarkable passage in the book is, perhaps, that in which Katharine deplores her former attachment to the ceremonials of the church of Rome, some of her biographers having erroneously asserted that she was brought up in the principles of the Reformation. Those principles were abhorrent to the king, for it was the government, not the essentials

[1] *Laymen* is the marginal word appended to the sentence, "If they be married men."

[2] The black-letter copy from which we draw these extracts was printed at London, "at the long shop adjoining St. Michael's church, Poultry, 1563, at the instant desire of that right gracious lady, Katharine duchess of Suffolk, and the earnest request of lord William Parr, marquess of Northampton, brother to queen Katharine Parr."

of the Roman-catholic church that he was labouring to overthrow. In such low esteem, indeed, was Henry held by the fathers of the Reformation, that, on his rupture with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, Luther publicly returned thanks to God "for having delivered the Protestant church from that offensive king of England. The king," says he, on another occasion, "is still the same *old Hintz*[1] as in my first book I pictured him. He will surely find his judge."[2]

The adulation of a woman of superior intellect was necessary to Henry's happiness. Katharine presently discovered his weak point, and, by condescending to adapt herself to his humour, acquired considerable influence over his mind. Early in the year 1544, king Henry gave indubitable tokens of the favour with which he regarded queen Katharine, by causing his obedient parliament to settle the royal succession on any children he might have by her, in case of the decease of prince Edward without issue. The wording of the first clause of this act[3] is very curious, inasmuch as Henry treats four of his marriages as absolute nullities, and out of his six queens only condescends to acknowledge two; namely, Jane Seymour and Katharine Parr. "Forasmuch," says the record, "as his majesty, sithence the death of the late queen Jane, hath taken to wife Katharine, late wife to sir John Neville, knight, lord Latimer, deceased, by whom as yet his majesty hath none issue, but may full well when it shall please God," &c. &c. In failure of heirs by his most entirely beloved wife queen Katharine, or any other his lawful wife, Henry, by the same act,[4] entails the succession on his daughter Mary, and in failure of her line, to his daughter Elizabeth; but who their mothers were he does not think proper to notice, lest he should, by word as well as by deed, contradict his previous decisions as to the unlawfulness of his marriages with Katharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn. It was, however, too late for Henry VIII. to think of making sacrifices to consistency in his old age, after having followed

[1] A German abbreviation, meaning the same as "old Harry."

[2] Luther's Familiar Discourses; sect. On the Princes of Europe.

[3] Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII.; Herbert's Hist. Henry VIII. [4] Ibid.

no other guide than passion or caprice for nearly a quarter of a century.

The record further explains, that this act for settling the succession was made preparatory to the sovereign "undertaking a voyage-royal, in his most royal person, into the realm of France against the French king."[1] Previous to his departure on this expedition, king Henry testified his confidence in Katharine's wisdom and integrity by appointing her to govern the realm in his absence, by the style and title of queen-regent of England and Ireland.[2] "The queen," observes lord Herbert, "was constituted general-regent of the realm, yet not so much that her soft sex was thought less capable of ambition, as that the Roman-catholics, of whom the king was mistrustful, would take no dependence from her, she being observed to incline a little to the reformed." The reformers certainly had the ascendancy in the council appointed by Henry to assist his consort with their advice. Among the minutes of council of July 7, 36 Henry VIII., we have the following entry, connected with Katharine Parr's appointment to this important trust:—

"First, touching the queen's highness and my lord prince. The king's majesty hath resolved that the queen's highness shall be regent in his grace's absence; and that his highness's process shall pass and bear test in her name, as in like cases heretofore hath been accustomed."

The earl of Hertford was ordered to be ever attendant on the person of Katharine, and resident in her court; but if he could not conveniently be there, then Cranmer was for the time to remain with her grace, and with them sir William Petre, and lord Parr[3] of Horton, were to sit in council. Wriothesley and the bishop of Winchester were in this junta. In the queen's commission of regency, Hertford was to be her lieutenant, if she needed such assistance.

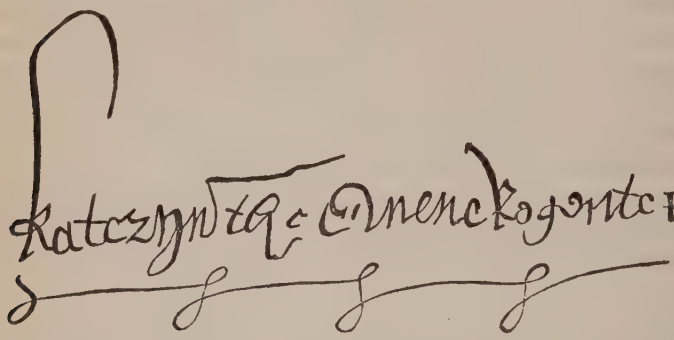
Several of the queen-consorts of England have exercised vice-regal power, either by usurpation, or by the consent of the sovereign; but Katharine Parr was the first and only one

[1] Royal Acts, 37th Henry VIII.; Herbert.

[2] State-Paper MSS. Acts of Privy Council.

[3] Queen Katharine's uncle, and lord chamberlain.

on whom the style and title of queen-regent was solemnly conferred, and who signed herself as such, as the fac-simile from her official autograph witnesses:—



The initials K-P., for Katharine Parr, which are attached to all her regal signatures, prove that neither her elevation to a throne, nor the distinction of the highest title of honour that had ever been borne by a female in England, had rendered her unwilling to remember her simple patronymic.

In the true spirit of a Christian, queen Katharine entered upon her high office by imploring the Divine protection for her royal husband and his realm in the following prayer, which she composed for their use:[1]—

"O Almighty King and Lord of Hosts! which by thy angels thereunto appointed dost minister both war and peace, who didst give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unversed and inexpert in feats of war, with his sling to set upon and overthrow the great huge Goliath, our cause now being just, and being enforced to enter into war and battail, we most humbly beseech thee, O Lord God of Hosts, so to turn the hearts of our enemies to the desire of peace, that no Christian blood be spilt. Or else grant, O Lord, that, with small effusion of blood and little damage of innocents, we may to thy glory obtain victory; and that the wars being soon ended, we may all, with one heart and mind, knit together in concord and amity, laud and praise Thee, who livest and reignest world without end. Amen."

King Henry crossed the seas from Dover to Calais in a

[1] This beautiful aspiration for the restoration of peace is taken from a little volume, entitled "Prayers or Meditations, wherein the Mind is stirred patiently to suffer all Afflictions here, to set at nought the vaine Prosperite of this World, and always to long for the everlasting Felicity: collected out of certaine holy workes by the most vertuous and gracious princesse Katharine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland." Printed by J Wayland: 12mo, 1545.

ship with sails of cloth of gold,[1] July 14. The next day he took the field in person, armed at all points, mounted on a great courser, and so rode out of Calais with a princely train, attended by sir William Herbert, the queen's brother-in-law, who bore his head-piece and spear, and followed by the henchmen, bravely horsed and appointed. Katharine's brother the earl of Essex, was chief captain of the men-at-arms in this expedition. On the 26th Henry appeared before Boulogne, and took the command of his puissance there. The duke of Albuquerque, the general of the allied Spanish forces, encamped on the other side the town, and acted in conformity to the directions of the English monarch, who was the leader of the siege.[2]

Queen Katharine's correspondence with her absent consort is of a very simple business-like character, giving him an account of the proceedings of the lords of the council in sending him supplies of money and men. In a letter, dated the last day of July, she informs him of the capture of a Scotch ship by certain fishermen of Rye, having on board divers Frenchmen and Scots, with letters to the French king and others in France, which, having examined, she had sent the most important to him, promising him further particulars, if any should be elicited from the bearers of these missives. She concludes in these words,—

"My lord prince, and the rest of your majesty's children, are all, thanks be to God, in very good health; and thus, with my most humble commendations to your majesty, I pray Almighty God have the same in his most blessed keeping. From your majesty's honour of Hampton-Court, the last day of July, the 36th year of your majesty's most noble reign.

"Your grace's most humble loving wife and servant,

"KATHERINE THE QUEEN, K-P."[3]

Humility, even to the lowest degree of prostration, pervades Katharine Parr's letters to her formidable consort. She writes to him again, August 6 and August 25, more matters of business, and again certifies him that my lord prince and the rest of his children are in good health. The queen was at Hampton-Court at that time, where she appears chiefly to

[1] Herbert. Hall. [2] Ibid.
[3] Wood's Letters of Illustrious Ladies.

have resided during Henry's absence, though she was not always stationary there. One of her most interesting letters, that to the princess Mary on the subject of her translations of Erasmus's paraphrases, is dated from Hanworth.[1] In the same letter she acknowledges the present of a purse, which her learned step-daughter had made for her. "The queen's grace," writes the countess of Rutland,[2] "will be at Enfield on Friday come se'nnight, and remove to the prince's on Saturday next after, and come again on Monday. Wherefore, if you conveniently can, send me some fishes out of your parts against the same. It would come in good time," continues her ladyship to her correspondent, "for here is small store." This letter is written at Hallywell on Shrove-Tuesday; so the fishes which the noble lady was anxious to obtain, were indispensable to furnish forth Lenten fare for the queen's entertainment. Her ladyship adds, "that the court is merry." There is no date to the following very loving and dutiful letter from Katharine to Henry:[3]—

"Although the distance of time and account of days neither is long nor many of your majesty's absence, yet the want of your presence, so much desired and beloved by me, maketh me that I cannot quietly pleasure in any thing until I hear from your majesty. The time, therefore, seemeth to me very long, with a great desire to know how your highness hath done since your departing hence, whose prosperity and health I prefer and desire more than mine own. And whereas I know your majesty's absence is never without great need, yet love and affection compel me to desire your presence.

"Again, the same zeal and affection forceth me to be best content with that which is your will and pleasure. Thus love maketh me in all things to set apart mine own convenience and pleasure, and to embrace most joyfully his will and pleasure whom I love. God, the knower of secrets, can judge these words not to be written only with *ynke*, but most truly impressed on the heart. Much more I omit, lest it be thought I go about to praise myself, or crave a thank; which thing to do I mind nothing less, but a plain, simple relation of the love and zeal I bear your majesty, proceeding from the abundance of the heart. Wherein I must confess I desire no commendation, having such just occasion to do the same.

"I make like account with your majesty as I do with God for his benefits and gifts heaped upon me daily, [*somewhat idolatrous this,*] acknowledging myself a great debtor to him, not being able to recompense the least of his benefits; in which state I am certain and sure to die, yet I hope in his gracious acceptation of my good will. Even such confidence have I in your majesty's gentleness,

[1] See the memoir of queen Mary I.
[2] To sir William Paston, her father: Wood's Letters.
[3] Strype's Mems., vol. ii. pp. 331, 332.

knowing myself never to have done my duty as were requisite and meet for such a noble prince, at whose hands I have found and received so much love and goodness, that with words I cannot express it.

"Lest I should be too tedious to your majesty, I finish this my scribbled letter, committing you to the governance of the Lord with long and prosperous life here, and after this life to enjoy the kingdom of his elect.

"From Greenwich, by your majesty's humble and obedient wife and servant,

"KATERYN THE QUEEN, K-P."

A grateful and a loyal spirit pervades this letter. That the queen had both felt and expressed much anxiety for the safety of her royal husband as well as for the success of his expedition, may be gathered from the following hypocritical passage in one of Wriothesley's letters to her majesty: "God is able to strength his own against the devil, and therefore let not the queen's majesty in any wise trouble herself, for God shall turn all to the best; and sure we be that the king's majesty's person is out of all danger."[1]

King Henry left England in anger with his young daughter the princess Elizabeth, who had incurred his displeasure so deeply, that for a whole year he had neither permitted her to enter his presence, nor to write to him.[2] The cause of offence, whatever it was, occurred very soon after his marriage with queen Katharine Parr, who appears to have taken a very friendly part towards her royal step-daughter. During the first month of her regency, Katharine succeeded in restoring Elizabeth to her absent sire's good graces by her epistolary intercessions in her behalf. Elizabeth wrote an eloquent letter, July 31, 1544, expressing her grateful sense of the queen's goodness in having shown much solicitude about her health, and also for having conveyed her dutiful messages to the king in all her letters, to whom she had not herself, at that time, ventured to write.[3] Henry VIII., in his letter, dated September 8, sends his blessing to all his children, which indicates that he had forgiven Elizabeth. He details with soldierlike plainness, to his fair regent at home, the auspicious progress of his campaign on the hostile shores of France. The manner in which he names his family

[1] State-Paper MSS.

[2] Letter from the princess Elizabeth to queen Katharine Parr; Cotton. MSS.

[3] Ibid.

to Katharine is very interesting, considering their relative positions, and implies much for the amiable conduct of the royal step-mother. Henry VIII., with all his faults, wrote very pleasant letters, and this is one of his best :—

"At the closing up of these our letters this day, the castle before named, with the dyke, is at our command, and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again, (as we trust); not doubting, with God's grace, but that the castle and town shall shortly follow the same trade, for as this day, which is the eighth of September, we begin three batteries, and have three more going, beside one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you at this time, sweetheart, but for lack of time and great occupation of business, saving, we pray you, to give in our name our hearty blessings to all our children, and recommendations to our cousin Marget,[1] and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our council also.

"Written with the hand of your loving husband,

"HENRY R."

During the absence of the king in France, queen Katharine and her royal step-children appear to have resided together as one family. In September, the young Edward and his sisters were under her careful guardianship at Oking, whence, in consequence of the pestilence then raging, she issued her mandate to the mayor and sheriffs—

"To make proclamation, that since, on account of the plague, great danger might arise to her, the prince, and the king's other children, no person in whose house the plague had been, or who may have been with any infected person, or may have lived near any place where the infection had been, should go to court, or suffer any attendants on the court to enter his house where the infection is, under the queen's indignation, and further punishment at her pleasure. From Okinge."[2]

If aught but good had befallen the dearly prized heir of England during the absence of the king, a fearful reckoning would have awaited queen Katharine from her jealous and unreasonable lord on his return. No wonder that her anxiety for the safety of this precious trust impelled her to the use of arbitrary measures to preserve the royal household from the danger of infection.

Among the few existing documents connected with the regency of Katharine Parr, there is in the Cottonian collection an inedited letter to her council, headed "Katharine, queen-regente, K-P.," in favour of her trusty and well-beloved

[1] His niece, the lady Margaret Douglas.

[2] See MS. Harl., 442, fol. 207.

servant Henry Webbe, gentleman-usher of her privy-chamber, requesting that the king's grant of the nunnery and demesne of Holywell, which had been given to him at the surrender of the said nunnery, but only in part fulfilled, might be carried into effect, on the modified terms of allowing him to purchase that portion of the demesne which had been withheld from him. Her majesty concludes in the following persuasive strain :—

"We shall heartily desire and pray you to be favourable to him at this our earnest request; . . . and in declaring whereof, your kind and loving friendship towards him effectually at the contemplation of these our letters, we shall gratefully accept it, and also thankfully remember it whensoever occasion shall serve us to do you pleasure.[1]

"Given under our signet, at my lord the king's majesty's Honour of Hampton-Court, the 23rd of July, and the thirty-sixth of his highness's most noble reign."

Boulogne surrendered to the arms of Henry VIII. after a fierce siege: he made his triumphant entry into the town September 18. His council in England, by command of the queen-regent, issued a general order, September 19, "that a public thanksgiving should be offered up to Almighty God in all the towns and villages throughout England, for the taking of Boulogne."[2] This was one of the last acts of queen Katharine's Parr's regency, for the king returned to England October 1st, finding it impossible to follow up his victorious career in France, because his Spanish allies had made a separate peace with Francis I. Katharine had governed with such prudence during the brief period in which the sovereign power of the crown had been confided to her administration, as to leave no cause of complaint to either party.

It was, in all probability, after Henry's return from his victorious campaign in France, that the interesting family group in her majesty's collection at Hampton-Court, which forms the subject of the vignette to this volume, was painted by Hans Holbein. In this splendid picture, the design of which appears to have been intended to introduce all the members of the royal house of Tudor as a united family, Henry is enthroned beneath his canopy of state, with his consort at his left hand; but instead of Katharine Parr, a

[1] MS. Cott., Vespas. F iii. fol. 17. [2] Lingard.

pale spectral resemblance of Jane Seymour occupies the queenly place at Henry's side. The attitude and expression of the dead queen's face and figure are as rigid and inanimate as if it had been the intention of the painter to represent her as a corpse newly taken from the grave, clad in royal robes, and seated in jewelled pomp among the living. There is little doubt but that the delineation was made from the wax effigy[1] which was carried at her funeral. She bears a mournful and almost startling likeness to her son prince Edward, a beautiful boy of eight years old, who leans on his father in a caressing attitude. With his right arm the king embraces his son, and his hand rests on his shoulder. The princesses Mary and Elizabeth are entering on opposite sides, as if to offer filial homage to the royal pair. The scene appears to be on the daïs of Wolsey's hall, with a view of one of the turrets through a side-window.

The picture is richly emblazoned with gold, and the costumes are peculiarly gorgeous and characteristic of the time. Henry's gown, of scarlet and gold brocade, is girded to his waist with a white satin sash, in which the hilt of his jewelled dagger is seen. The skirts of the gown are short, very full, and edged with gold. It is slashed on the breast, in five or six longitudinal rows, with puffs of white satin, confined with gold clasps. Over this he wears a magnificent collar of twisted pearls, with ruby medallions: a dalmatica with hanging sleeves, lined with sables, and edged with pearls, is thrown on his shoulder. His hat is of black velvet, adorned with pearls, and edged with the drooping white feather which is always characteristic of the costume of this monarch, and also of his son. Henry's hose and shoes are of white satin, and he wears on his breast a large medallion jewel, having the appearance of a watch. The prince wears a crimson velvet cap, jewelled and plumed, but his hair is so arranged as to have the unpicturesque effect of a brown silk skull-cap, or a little bob-wig. He has a gold chain about his neck, and is dressed in a gown of dark red damask, striped with gold, and arranged in heavy plaits from the throat to the waist;

[1] See its description in the biography of Jane Seymour.

where it is confined by a narrow belt. The skirt is full, and descends below the knees; his garment is much padded and stiffened; it has hanging sleeves, open to the shoulders, beneath which are very full sleeves of white satin, fantastically slashed with scarlet velvet. His hose and shoes are of scarlet. The faded, statue-like representation of his dead mother appears in the pointed cloth-of-gold hood, edged with pearls, precisely like that worn by Jane Seymour in life, but which had been superseded by the pretty low French hood introduced by Katharine Howard, and adopted by Katharine Parr and her ladies. The two princesses are each represented in the same picture in the round hood, according to the prevailing fashion of their royal step-mother's court, of crimson velvet, edged with pearls, similar to that worn by queen Katharine Parr in the Strawberry-hill miniature, only not surmounted with so rich a coronal band of jewels. This peculiarity of the costume marks the miniature of Katharine to have been painted at the same period as the Holbein family group, if not by the same artist. The hair of Jane Seymour and of the two princesses in this picture, as well as that of Katharine Parr in the Strawberry-hill miniature, are all of the golden tint, which appears the universal colour in all the Holbein portraits of the last three years of Henry VIII.'s reign,—a singular freak of nature, we should say, were it not well known that an imitation of the envied *chiome d'oro* was produced by the use of a bright yellow powder then in vogue. In some instances, folds of amber-coloured velvet were worn by the elder ladies of Henry VIII.'s court, arranged like crossed bands of hair, so as to give a great appearance of breadth to the forehead under the low French hood.

In Holbein's family group, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth are dressed precisely alike, in kirtles or close-fitting gowns of rich crimson velvet, with long sleeves, finished at the hands with ruffles, and slashed with puffs of white satin from the wrists to the elbows. Over these they wear flowing robes of gold brocade, with hanging sleeves and sweeping trains. Their boddices fit tightly to the shape, and are cut

rather low and square across the bust; they are edged with pearls. Both sisters wear double rows of pearls about their necks, supporting small ruby crosses. Elizabeth is a tall, full-proportioned, lovely girl, of womanly appearance. Mary is much smaller, and more delicate in form and features; she has the melancholy cast of countenance which sickness and early sorrow had rendered natural to her. In this painting, contemporary portraits of four Tudor sovereigns—Henry VIII. Edward VI., queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, with the posthumous portrait of Henry's favourite queen, Jane Seymour—are assembled together. The circumstance of Katharine Parr permitting her deceased predecessor to take her place in the royal tableau, is very remarkable. Few ladies, indeed, there are, who would not have regarded the proposal of being thus superseded as a decided affront; but Katharine Parr was too generous to be jealous of a compliment offered to the dead queen, and far too prudent to oppose her royal spouse in any of his whims, however unreasonable.

That Katharine Parr was in the full enjoyment of Henry's favour at this period, may be inferred from the consideration with which her kindred were treated, although she was herself cautious of giving cause of disgust to the old nobility or envy to the climbing courtiers, by obtaining lavish grants of money and lands or a plurality of offices for her own family. Just such a meed of patronage was bestowed on her brother, her uncle, and her sister's husband as evinced her affection and the respect of the king for her relatives, but no more. Three of her young kinsmen, the Throckmortons, followed the banner of the sovereign in the French campaign. George was made prisoner, and a thousand pounds were demanded by the captor for his ransom, on account of his consanguinity to her majesty. After he had remained a year in captivity, the queen exerted herself for his redemption. The scene of his return, and the preferment that followed at court, is thus pleasantly described by his nephew in the Throckmorton MS.:—

"When first in presence-chamber he was come,
The king said to him, 'Welcome to our grace!
I know thou lovest the alarum of a drum,
I see the marks of manhood in thy face.'

He, humbly kneeling, thanked his majesty,
That he did see him set at liberty.

And often, after that, the king would jest,
And call him 'cousin' in his merry mood,
Because therefor the Frenchmen had assest
His fine so high, which turned him to good.
His foes did say, in serving he was free,
And for reward the prince gave land in fee.

Then none of us did unrewarded go:
I had a gift yearly worth fifty pound,
Which I record because thou shouldest know
I hate received benefits to drown;
Besides, I had a stipend for my life,
Who shortly left the court and took a wife.

And now, because the king and queen did use
By friendly signs their liking to display,
What men our company would then refuse?
Our betters, then, with us did seek to stay.
For lo! it is a path to dignity,
With Cæsar's friend to be in amity,

Then Pembroke and his wife, who sister was
Unto the queen, their kinsfolk friended much;
And Parr, their brother, did them both surpass,
Who for to pleasure us did never grutch.
When these did call us 'cousin,' at each word
The other peers would friendly speech afford."

Soon after the king's return from France, the queen's uncle, Parr of Horton, resigned his office of lord chamberlain and his place in the council; and though greatly urged by Henry and Katharine to continue to assist them with his experience and advice, he sighed for the quiet of private life, preferring, he said, to the honours that beset him in his niece's court, "the pious, peaceable, hospitable way of the country, where popularity affected him more than he sought it,"—no man being more beloved by the commonalty.[1] On the last day of the year 1544, the princess Elizabeth wrote from Ashridge to her royal step-mother a long complimentary letter, accompanying a most interesting New-year's gift, which is still in existence; viz., an autograph translation from the Italian, beautifully written on vellum, in the form of a small quarto, entitled, The Glasse of the Synnefull Soule, and addressed to

[1] Fuller. In Horton church, Northampton, is a fine monument to William lord Parr, 1546, a recumbent statue in armour, in alabaster, with another of his lady, Mary Salusbury. He obtained this manor by his marriage.

oure Moste Noble and Vertuous Queene Katerin, Elizabeth, her humble daughter, wisheth perpetuall felicitye and everlasting joye. It is in the religious style of the time, and has occasional strains of true eloquence. The cover, embroidered with blue and silver threads by the hands of the learned young princess, has the queen's initial letters K. R. gracefully introduced. Elizabeth in her epistle apologizes for all defects, and says that "she trusts its imperfections will all be smoothed and polished by the file of her highness's excellent wit and godly learning in the reading of it; and after it shall have passed through her hands, it will come forth as it were in a new form." Thus it appears that Katharine Parr was an Italian as well as a classic scholar and an accomplished mistress of her own language, and that she still continued to perform the office of preceptress *con amore* to Elizabeth.

KATHARINE PARR,

SIXTH QUEEN OF HENRY VIII.

CHAPTER II.

Difficult position of queen Katharine—Her zeal for the Scriptures—Patronage of Coverdale—Preserves the university of Cambridge from sequestration—Her attentions to the king—Prince Edward's letter to her—Wriothesley and Gardiner's jealousy of the queen's influence—Her patronage of Anne Askew denounced—Plot against the queen—Henry takes umbrage at Katharine's sincerity—Complains of her to Gardiner—Articles of impeachment framed—Katharine discovers the plot—Her terror and dangerous illness—Henry visits her—Her prudent conduct—Reconciliation with the king—His anger against her enemies—King's illness and death—Katharine prayed for as queen-dowager—King Edward's letter of condolence—King Henry's funeral—Queen Katharine's residence at Chelsea—Sir Thomas Seymour renews his suit—Their correspondence and meetings—Privately married—Katharine's jewels detained by Somerset—Seymour's freedom with the princess Elizabeth—Katharine's displeasure—Birth of a daughter—Her dangerous illness—Her death and funeral—Lady Jane Gray chief mourner—Her epitaph—Seymour's attainder and execution—Destitution of queen Katharine's infant—Sent to the duchess of Suffolk—Her letters—Traditions—Relics of queen Katharine Parr—Exhumation of her remains—Present state of her grave.

One great trial—we may add peril, of Katharine Parr's queenly life, was the frequent presence of her former lover, sir Thomas Seymour, who was one of the gentlemen of the king's privy-chamber. The contrast between him and her royal lord must have been painfully apparent, at times, to Katharine. She was surrounded with invidious spies, withal, who would have been only too happy to be able to report a word, a look, or even a sigh, to the king, as evidence of her preference for the handsome Seymour; but the high principles and consummate prudence of the queen carried her triumphantly through an ordeal which some princesses might not have passed without loss of life and fame. The conduct of Seymour was rash, inconsistent, and selfish. He was the most restless, and at the same time the most blundering, of

intriguers. He had shared in the spoils of the sequestered abbeys, though in a lesser degree than his brother the earl of Hertford, and was one of those who would have tempted the king to appropriate the revenues of the bishops. It was, however, necessary to find some cause of complaint with that body; and, according to Fox, he began at the fountain-head.

"Sir Thomas Seymour," says our author, "who waited on the king, not much favouring Cranmer, accused him of wasting his revenues, and retrenching all hospitality, in order to gather riches for his wife and children."[1] One day, when sir Thomas Seymour was holding the basin for the king to wash before going to dinner, his majesty said to him, "Go you out of hand to my lord of Canterbury, and bid him be with me at two o'clock, and fail not." When Seymour went to Lambeth, he found the great hall set out for dinner, and the usual hospitality going forward; and being invited by Cranmer to dine, at which meal all proceeded with the usual state of the former archbishops, he perceived that he had been sent on purpose, and after delivering his message, went back to the king in great haste. "Ho!" said Henry, when he saw him, "dined you not with my lord of Canterbury?" Sir Thomas Seymour spied a portentous cloud on the royal brow, as he replied, "That I did, your majesty, and he will be with your highness forthwith;" then, falling on his knees, he added, "I beseech your majesty to pardon me, for I have of late told you an untruth concerning my lord of Canterbury's housekeeping. But I will never henceforth believe the knave which did put that vain tale in my head, for never did I see in my life so honourable a hall set in the realm, except your majesty's, or so well furnished, according to each degree, and himself also most honourably served."—"Ah! sir," quoth the king, "have you now spied the truth? But I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you whom I have liberally given of suppressed monasteries, which, as you have lightly gotten, so you have unthriftily spent,—some at dice,[2]

[1] Fox; folio ed., book ii. 524, 525.

[2] The king himself lost 300*l.* at a sitting with Edward Seymour, elder brother to this man. The Seymours seem the greatest gamblers at court.—See Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., many items.

other some in gay apparel, and otherways worse, I fear; and now all is gone, you would fain have me make another *chevisance* [gratuity] of the bishop's lands to satisfy your greedy appetites."

Far different from this worldly, self-seeking spirit was the disinterested devotion of the queen to the cause of the Reformation. With nothing to gain, and every thing to lose by her religion, she courageously maintained the opinions to which she had become a convert; and, in her zeal for the translation of the holy Scriptures, left no means untried for the accomplishment of that good work. She appointed Miles Coverdale to the office of her almoner,[1] and rendered him every assistance in his labour of love. The learned Nicholas Udall, master of Eton school, was employed by Katharine Parr to edit the translations of Erasmus's Paraphrases on the four Gospels; in the labour of which the princess Mary was induced, by her royal step-mother, to take an active share. The queen thus addresses the princess Mary, on the expediency of appending her name to her translation :—

"I beseech you to send me this beautiful and *useful* work, when corrected by Mallet, or some other of your household; and at the same time let me know whether it shall be published under your own name, or anonymously? In my own opinion, you will not do justice to a work in which you have taken such infinite pains for the public, (and would have still continued to do so, as is well known, had your health permitted it,) if you refuse to let it descend to posterity under the sanction of your name. For, since every body is aware what fatigue you have undergone in its accomplishment, I do not see why you should refuse the praise that all will deservedly offer you in return."[2]

The first edition of these paraphrases (of which so important a use was afterwards made by Cranmer and Somerset) was published, according to Strype, in 1545, at the sole ex-

[1] Miles Coverdale was an Augustinian monk, of Danish family, converted to the Protestant faith. He was patronised by Cromwell, and appointed by Katharine Parr as her almoner, and he was such when she died. He was bishop of Exeter, but ejected from his see by queen Mary, who, by an act of council in 1554, allowed him to pass to Denmark, with two servants and bag and baggage. He returned to England during Elizabeth's reign, but refused to assume his bishopric, and died peaceably at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in St. Bartholomew's church. A search for his bones took place August 1840; his coffin was found, and transferred to St. Magnus's church, London-bridge, his original cure.

[2] Translated by sir F. Madden from the original Latin. Katharine Parr's letter is dated from Hanworth, September 20th, 1544. The original is in MS. Cottonian, Faustina, F 111.

pense of queen Katharine Parr. In his dedication to his royal patroness, Udall remarks "on the great number of noble women at that time in England given to the study of devout science and of strange tongues. It was a common thing," he quaintly adds, "to see young virgins so nouzled and trained in the study of letters, that they willingly set all other pastimes at nought for learning's sake. It was now no news at all to see queens and ladies of most high estate and progeny, instead of courtly dalliance, to embrace virtuous exercises, reading, and writing, and with most earnest study, early and late, to apply themselves to the acquiring of knowledge." Fortunately for Katharine Parr, and those fair and gentle students who were encouraged by the example of that learned queen to seek the paths of knowledge, they flourished in days when the acquirements of ladies were regarded as their glory, not their reproach. Learning in women was then considered next unto holiness; and the cultivation of the female mind was hailed by the wise, the good, the noble of England as a proof of the increasing refinement of the land. In later centuries, invidious ignorance has succeeded in flinging the brand of vulgar opprobrium on such women as sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Udall, and Ascham all but deified. Margaret Roper, Katharine Parr, and the divine lady Jane Gray, would inevitably have been stigmatized as *blue-stockings*, if they had lived in the nineteenth instead of the sixteenth century.

Queen Katharine and her royal step-daughter, the lady Mary, honoured sir William and lady Petre by answering at the baptismal font for their infant daughter, to whom the queen gave her own name Katharine.[1] Wriothesley, the then lord chancellor, was the godfather. This man was the queen's deadly but undeclared foe, and a few months later made an attempt to poison the king's mind against her.

When Katharine Parr was first called to the unenviable distinction of sharing the throne of Henry VIII., the poverty of the crown precluded the king from indulging his love of pomp and pageantry in any of the public fêtes and rejoicings

[1] April, 1545. Old family register, in possession of the lord Petre.

which had been so frequent in the first thirty years of his reign. The expense of a coronation for the new queen was out of the question; and, though she was dowered in the same proportion as her predecessors had been, it must have been a source of comfort to Katharine that she enjoyed a fine income as the widow of lord Borough and lord Latimer, independently of her royal allowance as queen-consort of England. The expenses of the queen's breakfast, on an average calculation, amounted only to 70*l.* per annum. It was commanded by the lord great-master at Westminster, in the month of June, 35th Henry VIII., that the queen's maids should daily have a chine of beef served to them for their breakfast.[1]

Henry's pecuniary distresses had led him to the fallacious expedient of raising the nominal value of the currency of the realm, and afterwards of issuing a fresh coinage, in which the proportion of alloy exceeded that of the silver. This purblind proceeding gave the death-blow to trade by ruining the national credit, and involved himself, his subjects, and successors in tenfold difficulties.[2] In the autumn of 1545 Henry claimed the assistance of parliament; but the subsidy granted not satisfying the rapacious and needy sovereign, the revenues of all the hospitals and colleges in England were placed at his disposal by the time-serving and venal legislators of whom it was composed.[3] The university of Cambridge, dreading the spoliation with which it was threatened, implored the protection of their learned queen.[4] Katharine, who was not forgetful of the affection and respect which had been ever manifested for her person and character by this erudite body, exerted her utmost influence with her royal husband to avert the storm that impended over that ancient nursery of learning and piety. The letter in which her majesty informs the members of the university of the success of her intercession with the king in their behalf, is exceedingly curious; and the advice she offers, as to the nature of their studies, is equally creditable to her head and heart:—

[1] Ordinances for the king's household, p. 375. Additions to the ordinances of Eltham, p. 208. [2] Herbert. Stowe. [3] Herbert. Hall. [4] Strype.

Letter from Queen Katharine Parr.[1]

"*To our right trusty, dear, and well-beloved the Chancellor and Vice-chancellor of my lord the King's majesty's University of Cambridge, and to the whole said university there.*

"Your letters I have received, presented on all your behalfs by Mr. Dr. Smythe, your discreet and learned advocate.[2] And as they be *Latinly* written, which is *singnyfyed* unto me by those that be learned in the Latin tongue, so [I know] you could have uttered your desires and opinions familiarly in your vulgar tongue, aptest for my intelligence, albeit you seem to have conceived, rather partially than truly, a favourable estimation both of my going forward and dedication to learning, which to advance, or at least conserve, your letters move me."

This passage must not be considered by the reader as any contradiction of her attainments as a Latin scholar, because, notwithstanding her denial of learning, the queen meant not to be taken at her word as ignorant of the language in which the university had addressed her, for she uses, in the course of the letter, a very apt Latin quotation.

"You show me how agreeable it is to me, being in this worldly estate, not only for mine own part to be studious, but also a maintainer and cherisher of the learned state, bearing me in hand [insisting] that I am endowed and perfected with those qualities which *ought to be in a person of my station.*

"Truly this your discreet and politic document I as thankfully accept as you desire that I should embrace it. And forasmuch (as I do hear) all kind of learning doth flourish among you in this age as it did amongst the Greeks at Athens long ago, I desire you all not so to hunger for the exquisite knowledge of profane learning, that it may be thought that the Greek university was but transposed or now in England revived, *forgetting our Christianity*, since their excellency did only attain to moral and natural things; but rather, I gently exhort you to study and apply those doctrines as means and apt degrees to the attaining and setting forth Christ's reverent and sacred doctrine, that it may not be laid against you in evidence, at the tribunal of God, how you were ashamed of Christ's doctrine; for this *Latin lesson*[3] I am taught to say of St. Paul, *Non me pudet evangelii*, to the sincere setting forth whereof (I trust) universally in all your vocations and ministries you will apply, and conform your sundry gifts, arts, and studies in such end and sort, that Cambridge may be accounted rather an university of divine philosophy than of natural and moral, as Athens was. Upon the confidence of which your accomplishment of my expectation, zeal, and request, I (according to your desires) have *attempted* my lord the king for the establishment of your livelihood and possessions, in which (notwithstanding his majesty's property and interest, through the consent of the

[1] Quoted by Strype: to be found at length in Statutes of Cambridge, by H. J. Heywood, F.R.S., vol. i. p. 211.

[2] The university of Cambridge addressed their letters to queen Katharine Parr by Dr. Smith, afterwards sir Thomas Smith, the learned secretary to Edward VI.

[3] Here the queen displays, much in the style of her daughter-in-law Elizabeth, the learning she has so elaborately disclaimed.

high court of parliament,) his highness being such a patron to good learning doth tender you so much, that he would rather advance learning and erect new occasion thereof, than confound your ancient and godly institutions; so that such learning may hereafter ascribe her very original whole conversation to our sovereign lord the king, her only defence and worthy ornament, the prosperous estate and princely government of whom long to preserve, I doubt not but every one of you will in the daily invocation call upon Him, who alone and only can dispose to every creature.

"Scribbled with the rude hand of her, that prayeth to the Lord and immortal God to send you all prosperous success in godly learning and knowledge. From my lord the king's majesty's manor of Greenwich, the 26 Feb.

"KATHARINE THE QUEEN, K-P."[1]

The triumph which Katharine Parr's virtuous influence obtained, in this instance, over the sordid passions of Henry and his greedy ministers, ought to endear the name of the royal patroness of learning to every mind capable of appreciating her magnanimity and moral courage. The beauty, the talents, and rare acquirements of Katharine Parr, together with the delicate tact which taught her how to make the most of these advantages, enabled her to retain her empire over the fickle heart of Henry for a longer period than the fairest and most brilliant of her predecessors. But these charms were not the most powerful talismans with which the queen won her influence. It was her domestic virtues, her patience, her endearing manners, that rendered her indispensable to the irritable and diseased voluptuary, who was now paying the severe penalty of bodily tortures and mental disquiet for the excesses of his former life. Henry had grown so corpulent and unwieldy in person, that he was incapable of taking the slightest exercise, much less of recreating himself with the invigorating field-sports and boisterous pastimes in which he had formerly delighted. The days had come unexpectedly upon him in which he had no pleasure. His body was so swollen and enfeebled by dropsy, that he could not be moved to an upper chamber without the aid of machinery. Hitherto, the excitement of playing the leading part in the public drama of royal pomp and pageantry had been one of the principal objects of his life; deprived of this, and with the records of an evil conscience to dwell upon in the weary hours of pain,

[1] MS. Corpus-Christi college, Cambridge, 206. This letter is quoted by Strype.

his irascibility and impatience would have goaded him to frenzy, but for the soothing gentleness and tender attentions of his amiable consort. Katharine was the most skilful and patient of nurses, and shrank not from any office, however humble, whereby she could afford mitigation to the sufferings of her royal husband. It is recorded of her, that she would remain for hours on her knees beside him, applying fomentations and other palliatives to his ulcerated leg, which he would not permit any one to dress but her. She had already served an apprenticeship to the infirmities of sickness, in her attendance on the death-beds of her two previous husbands, and had doubtless acquired the art of adapting herself to the humours of male invalids. A royally born lady might have been of little comfort to Henry in the days of his infirmity, but Katharine Parr had been educated in the school of domestic life, and was perfect in the practice of its virtues and its duties. She sought to charm the *ennui* which oppressed the once magnificent and active sovereign in the unwelcome quiet of his sick chamber, by inducing him to unite with her in directing the studies and watching the hopeful promise of his beloved heir, prince Edward. The following letter, addressed to Katharine by her royal step-son, bears witness to the maternal kindness of the queen, and the affection of the precocious student:—

PRINCE EDWARD TO KATHARINE PARR.

"MOST HONOURABLE AND ENTIRELY BELOVED MOTHER,

"I have me most humbly recommended to your grace with like thanks, both for that your grace did accept so gently my simple and rude letters, and also that it pleased your grace so gently to vouchsafe to direct unto me your loving and tender letters, which do give me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such things, wherein your grace beareth me on hand, that I am already entered. I pray God I may be able to satisfy the good expectation of the king's majesty, my father, and of your grace, whom God have ever in his most blessed keeping!

"Your loving son,

"E. *Prince.*"

There is extant a Latin and a French letter, addressed to the queen in the same filial style.

The arrival of the plenipotentiaries to negotiate a peace between England and France in the commencement of the year 1546, caused the last gleam of royal festivity and splen-

dour that was ever to enliven the court of Henry VIII. Claude d'Annebaut, the admiral who had a few months previously attempted a hostile descent on the Isle of Wight, and attacked the English fleet, was the ambassador-extraordinary on this occasion. He was received with great pomp at Greenwich, where he landed, and on Hounslow-Heath he was met by a numerous cavalcade of nobles, knights, and gentlemen in king Henry's service, headed by the young heir of England, prince Edward, who, though only in his ninth year, was mounted on a charger, and performed his part in the pageant by welcoming the admiral and his suite in the most graceful and engaging manner. Annebaut embraced and kissed the princely boy, and all the French nobles were loud in their commendations of the beauty and gallant bearing of this child of early promise. Prince Edward then conducted the embassy to Hampton-Court, where, for ten days, they were feasted and entertained with great magnificence by the king and queen. Henry, on this occasion, presented Katharine Parr with many jewels, of great value, that she might appear with suitable *éclat*, as his consort, to the plenipotentiaries of France. He also provided new and costly hangings and furniture for her apartments, as well as plate, which she naturally regarded as her own property; but a long and vexatious litigation was instituted with regard to these gifts after the death of the king, as will be shown in its proper place.

The increasing influence of Katharine with king Henry, and the ascendancy she was acquiring over the opening mind of the future sovereign, were watched with jealous alarm by the party most inimical to the doctrines of the Reformation. Wriothesley, the lord chancellor, who had been the base suggester to Henry VIII. of a breach of faith to Anne of Cleves, and afterwards pursued that monarch's fifth unhappy queen with the zest of a bloodhound[1] till her young head was laid upon the block, waited but for a suitable opportunity for effecting the fall of Katharine Parr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was his confederate in this intention, but so

[1] See the biographies of Anne of Cleves and Katharine Howard.

blameless was the conduct, so irreproachable the manners, of the queen, that, as in the case of Daniel, it was impossible for her deadliest foe to find an occasion against her, except in the matter of her religious opinions. In these she was opposed to Henry's arbitrary notions, who was endeavouring to erect the dogma of his own infallibility on the ruins of papacy. Every dissent from his decisions in points of faith had been visited with the most terrible penalties. In his last speech to parliament he had bitterly complained of the divisions in religion that distracted his realm, for which he "partly blamed the priests, some of whom," he sarcastically observed, "were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*,[1] and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*, that, instead of preaching the word of God, they were employed in railing at each other;[2] and partly the fault of the laity, whose delight it was to censure the proceedings of their bishops, priests, and preachers. If you know," continued the royal polemic, "that any preach perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God authority to reform and order such cases and behaviours, and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions. And, although you be permitted to read holy Scriptures, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do only to inform your conscience, your children, and families, and not to dispute, and to make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel the word of God is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same."[3]

This speech was a prelude to the rigorous enforcement of the six articles. The most interesting victim of the fiery

[1] The origin of this expression seems to have arisen in the following circumstance: An old priest always read in his portass (breviary) *mumpsimus, Domine*, for *sumpsimus;* whereof, when he was admonished, he said "*that he now had used* mumpsimus *for thirty years, and would not leave his old* 'mumpsimus' *for their new* 'sumpsimus.'—Master Pace, de Fructu Doctrinæ, quoted by Camden.—See his Remains, p. 243.

[2] Hall. [3] Journals of Parliament.

persecution that ensued, in the spring and summer of 1546, was the young, beautiful, and learned Anne Askew. She was a lady of honourable birth and ancient lineage, and having become a convert to the new faith, was for that cause violently driven from her home by her husband, Mr. Kyme, of Lincolnshire. She then resumed her maiden name, and devoted herself to the promulgation of the religious opinions she had embraced. It was soon known that the queen's sister, lady Herbert, the duchess of Suffolk, and other great ladies of the court, countenanced the fair gospeller,—nay, more: that the queen herself had received books from her, in the presence of lady Herbert, lady Tyrwhitt, and the youthful lady Jane Gray, which might bring her majesty under the penalty of the statute against reading heretical works. The religious opinions of a young and beautiful woman might, perhaps, have been overlooked by men with whom religion was a matter of party, not conscience; but the supposed connexion of Anne Askew with the queen, caused her to be singled out for the purpose of terrifying or torturing her into confessions that might furnish a charge of heresy or treason against her royal mistress. The unexpected firmness of the Christian heroine baffled this design; she endured the utmost inflictions of Wriothesley's vindictive fury without permitting a syllable to pass her lips that might be rendered subservient to this purpose.

Anne Askew had been supported in prison by money which had been conveyed to her, from time to time, by persons supposed to be in the service of the ladies of the queen's bedchamber; and the lord chancellor's inquisitorial cruelty was especially exercised in his attempts to extort from the hapless recipient of this charity the names of her secret friends.[1] It is well known that when sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant of the Tower, endeavoured by his directions to the gaoler to modify the ferocious, and it seems illegal, requisition of chancellor Wriothesley to inflict severer agonies on the tender, but unshrinking victim, his lordship threw off his gown, and, with the assistance of his pitiless accomplice

[1] Fox's Martyrology.

Rich, worked the rack till, to use Anne's own words, they well-nigh plucked her joints asunder. When the lieutenant of the Tower found his authority thus superseded, he promptly took boat, and, proceeding to the king, indignantly related to him the disgusting scene he had just witnessed. Henry affected to express great displeasure that a female should have been exposed to such barbarity, but he neither punished the perpetrators of the outrage, nor interposed his authority to preserve Anne Askew from a fiery death. Indeed, if the contemporary author quoted by Speed is to be credited, "Henry had himself ordered Anne Askew to be stretched on the rack, being exasperated against her for having brought prohibited books into his palace, and imbued his queen and his nieces, Suffolk's daughters, with her doctrine."

The terrible sentence, which consigned the dislocated frame of the young and lovely Anne Askew a living prey to the flames, shook not the lofty self-devotion of the victim.[1] Several persons professing the reformed doctrine were condemned to die at the same time, among whom were two gentlemen of the royal household, William Morice, the king's gentleman usher, and sir George Blagge, of the privy-chamber. The following touching particulars of their last meeting have been recorded by a survivor:—"I, being alive," narrates John Loud, (tutor to sir Robert Southwell, and a gentleman of Lincoln's-inn,) "must needs confess of her departed to the Lord." There was a sad party of victims and their undaunted friends gathered in the little parlour by Newgate. Sir George Blagge was with Lascells (a gentleman of a right worshipful house in Nottinghamshire, at Gatford, near Worksop) the day before his execution, and that of Anne Askew, "who had," says the narrator, "an angel's countenance and a smiling face." Lascells was in the little parlour by Newgate; "he mounted up in the window-seat, and there sat. He was merry and cheerful in the Lord, and sir George Blagge sat by his side: one Belenian, a priest, likewise burnt, was there.

[1] In the letter of Otwell Johnson, a merchant of London, dated July 2, 1546, the writer notices the report that Anne Askew was racked after her condemnation.—Ellis's Letters, second Series, vol. ii. p. 177.

Three of the Throckmortons were present, sir Nicholas being one of them. By the same token, a person unknown to me said, 'Ye are all marked men that come to them. Take heed to your lives.'"[1]

The Throckmortons were, be it remembered, the near kinsmen of the queen, and confidential members of her household. They were her *élèves*, and converts withal, to the faith of which she was the nursing-mother. Undismayed by the warning they had received when they came to comfort Anne Askew and her fellow-captives in prison, these heroic brethren ventured to approach her, when she was borne to her funeral pile in Smithfield, for the purpose of offering her sympathy and encouragement; but they were again warned "that they were marked men," and compelled to withdraw.[2] In a far different spirit came Wriothesley, Russell, and others of the ruthless clique, to witness the last act of the tragedy,[3] and to tempt the weakness of woman's nature by offering her the king's pardon on condition of her recanting. She treated the proposal with the scorn it merited, and her fearless demeanour encouraged and strengthened the resolution of the three men who shared with her the crown of martyrdom. The male victims were not subjected to torture. They appear to have suffered on matters of faith, unconnected with politics. Anne Askew may be regarded as a sacrifice to the malignity of the party who failed in making her an instrument in their machinations against the queen.

The terror and anguish which must have oppressed the heart of the queen at this dreadful period may be imagined. Not only was she unable to avert the fate of the generous Anne Askew and the other Protestant martyrs, but she was herself, with some of her nearest and dearest connexions, on the verge of the like peril. Sir George Blagge, who was involved in the same condemnation with Anne Askew, and those who suffered with her, was a great favourite with the

[1] Strype, Mems., p. 599. [2] Aikin's Elizabeth.

[3] This amiable junta were seated on a bench by St. Bartholomew's church, and expressed some alarm lest their persons should be endangered by the gunpowder among the fagots exploding. Russell reassured his colleagues, by informing them that it was only intended for the condemned prisoners.

king, who was wont to honour him, in moments of familiarity with the endearing appellation of his 'pig.' Henry does not appear to have been aware of Blagge's arrest till informed of his condemnation. He then sent for Wriothesley, and rated him "for coming so near him, even to his privy-chamber," and commanded him to draw out a pardon. Blagge, on his release, flew to thank his master, who, seeing him, cried out, "Ah! my pig, are you here safe again?"—"Yes, sire," said he, "and if your majesty had not been better than your bishops, your pig had been *roasted* ere this time."[1] Notwithstanding this rebuff, Wriothesley and his coadjutors presumed to come somewhat nearer to the king than an attack on members of his household, for they struck at the wife of his bosom.

It was shrewdly observed by a contemporary, "that Gardiner had bent his bow to bring down some of the head deer." Victims of less distinguished note were destined first to fall, but it was for the purpose of compassing the disgrace and death of the queen that the fires of persecution had been rekindled, Wriothesley and Gardiner having masked an iniquitous political intrigue under the name of religion. The queen's sister, lady Herbert, had been secretly denounced to Henry as an active instrument in controverting his edict touching heretical works. This was a subtle prelude for an attack upon the queen herself; for when Henry had reason to suppose she received and read books forbidden by his royal statutes, he was prepared to take every difference in opinion, expressed or insinuated by her, in the light not only of heresy, but treason.

Henry's anger was always the most deadly and dangerous when he brooded over an offence in silence. Queen Katharine had been accustomed, in their hours of domestic privacy, to converse with him on theological subjects, in which he took great delight. The points of difference in their opinions, and the ready wit and eloquence with which the queen maintained her side of the question, gave piquancy to these discussions. Henry was, at first, amused and interested; but controversies

[1] Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley. Tytler.

between husband and wife are dangerous pastimes to the weaker vessel, especially if she chance to have the best of the argument. On subjects of less importance to his eternal welfare, Katharine might possibly have had tact enough to leave the victory to her lord; but, labouring as she saw him under a complication of incurable maladies, and loaded with a yet more fearful weight of unrepented crimes, she must have been anxious to awaken him to a sense of his accountability to that Almighty Judge, at whose tribunal it was evident he must soon appear.

With the exception of his murdered tutor, Fisher, Henry's spiritual advisers, whether Catholics or Reformers, had all been false to their trust. They had flattered his worst passions, and lulled his guilty conscience by crying "Peace, peace! when there was no peace." Katharine Parr was, perhaps, the only person, for the last ten years, who had had the moral courage to speak, even in a modified manner, the language of truth in his presence. Henry, who was neither Catholic nor Protestant, had a '*sumpsimus*' of his own, which he wished to render the national rule of faith, and was, at last, exceedingly displeased that his queen should presume to doubt the infallibility of his opinions. One day she ventured, in the presence of Gardiner, to remonstrate with him on the proclamation he had recently put forth forbidding the use of a translation of the Scriptures, which he had previously licensed. This was at a time when his constitutional irascibility was aggravated by a painful inflammation of his ulcerated leg, which confined him to his chamber. Perhaps Katharine, in her zeal for the diffusion of the truths of holy writ, pressed the matter too closely, for the king showed tokens of mislike, and cut the matter short. The queen made a few pleasant observations on other subjects, and withdrew. Henry's suppressed choler broke out as soon as she had left the room. "A good hearing it is," said he, "when women become such clerks; and much to my comfort to come, in mine old age, to be taught by my wife!"[1]

Gardiner, who was present, availed himself of this scornful

[1] Fox. Herbert. Lingard.

sally to insinuate things against her majesty, which a few days before he durst not, for his life, have breathed to the king. "For," says a contemporary author, "never handmaid sought more to please her mistress than she to please his humour; and she was of singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, wherein the king was greatly delighted. But Gardiner bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor Wriothesley, and others of the king's privy-chamber, practised her death, that they might the better stop the passage of the gospel; yet they durst not speak to the king touching her, because they saw he loved her so well."[1] But now that an offence had been given to the royal egotist's self-idolatry, he was ready to listen to any thing that could be said in disparagement of his dutiful and conscientious wife: her tender nursing, her unremitting attentions to his comfort, together with her amiable and affectionate conduct to his children, were all forgotten. Gardiner flattered him, to the top of his bent, on his theological knowledge and judgment, in which he declared "that his majesty excelled the princes of that and every other age, as well as all the professed doctors of divinity, insomuch, that it was unseemly for any of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly as the queen had just done. That it was grievous for any of his counsellors to hear it done, since those who were so bold in words, would not scruple to proceed to acts of disobedience;" adding, "that he could make great discoveries, if he were not deterred by the queen's powerful faction. In short, he crept so far into the king at that time," says Fox, "and he, and his fellows, so filled Henry's mistrustful mind with fears, that he gave them warrant to consult together about drawing of articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched. They thought it best to begin with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to all her doing,—as the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, her sister; the lady Jane, who was her first cousin; and the lady Tyrwhitt,[2] all of her privy-chamber; and to accuse them of the six articles, and to search their closets and coffers, that they might find somewhat to charge the queen; who, if

[1] Fox. [2] Her stepdaughter.

that were the case, should be taken and carried by night in a barge to the Tower, of which advice the king was made privy by Gardiner. This purpose was so finely handled, that it grew within few days of the time appointed, and the poor queen suspected nothing, but, after her accustomed manner, visited the king, still to deal with him touching religion as before."

At this momentous crisis, when the life of the queen might be said to hang on a balance so fearfully poised that the descent of a feather would have given it a fatal turn, the bill of articles that had been framed against her, together with the mandate for her arrest, were dropped by Wriothesley from his bosom in the gallery at Whitehall, after the royal signature of the king had been affixed. Fortunately it happened that it was picked up by one of the attendants of the queen, and instantly conveyed to her majesty,[1] whose sweetness of temper and gracious demeanour had endeared her to all her household. It is impossible but that shuddering recollections of the fell decree which doomed Henry's second consort, Anne Boleyn, to be either burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure, and of the summary proceedings by which his last queen, Katharine, was hurried to the block, without even the ceremony of a trial, must have pressed upon her mind, as she glanced at these appalling documents. Her virtue, it is true, could not be impugned as theirs had been, but she had disappointed the expectation, so confidently stated by the king in the act for settling the succession to the crown, "that their union might be blessed with offspring." In that very act there was an ominous clause, (in case of failure of issue by her,) which secured a precedency over his daughters "to the children he *might* have by any *other* queens." She had been Henry's wife three years, and was still childless; and as she had not brought a family to either of her former husbands, the reproach of barrenness might, not unreasonably, be ascribed to her by the king. It was doubtless to the full as great a crime, in his sight, as her heresy, and it is not improbable that it was even cited in the list of her misdemean-

[1] Fox's Acts and Monuments. Speed. Tytler.

ours, as the untimely death of Katharine of Arragon's sons had been impiously construed into evidences that the marriage was displeasing in the sight of God, when Henry was desirous of another wife.

When Katharine Parr became aware, from the perusal of the paper so providentially brought to her, that a bill for her attainder was prepared, and saw that the king had treacherously given his sanction to the machinations of her foes, she concluded that she was to be added to the list of his conjugal decapitations, and fell into an hysterical agony.[1] She occupied an apartment contiguous to that of the sick and froward monarch, and, as she fell from one fit into another, her shrieks and cries reached his ears. Finding they continued for many hours, either moved with pity, or, as Dr. Lingard shrewdly suggests, "incommoded by the noise," he sent to inquire what was the matter. Katharine's physician, Dr. Wendy, having penetrated the cause of her majesty's indisposition, informed the royal messenger "that the queen was dangerously ill, and that it appeared that her sickness was caused by distress of mind."[2] When the king heard this, he was either moved with unwonted feelings of compunction, or reminded, by his own increasing infirmities, which had confined him for the last two days to his bed, of her unrivalled skill as a nurse; and feeling, perhaps for the first time, how much he should miss her in that capacity if death deprived him of her services, he determined to pay her a visit. This act of royal condescension was the more remarkable, because it was attended with great personal inconvenience to himself, for he was carried in a chair into queen Katharine's apartment, being at that time unable to walk.[3] He found her heavy and melancholy, and apparently at the point of death, at which he evinced much sympathy, as if really alarmed at the idea of losing her. Perhaps he had not, till then, discovered that she was dearer to him than her fairer and more passionately but briefly loved predecessors, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard. The hysterical agonies of those unhappy ladies had produced no such relentings in his

[1] Fox. Speed. Herbert. ard. [2] Tytler. [3] Fox.

vindictive breast, though they had been duly reported to him; but then, to be sure, he was out of hearing of their cries. Katharine Parr had, besides, been twice married before, and, being a woman of great sense and observation, had acquired more experience in adapting herself to the humour of a froward lord, than either the gay, reckless coquette Anne Boleyn, or the young, unlettered Howard. On this occasion she testified a proper degree of gratitude for the honour of his visit, "which," she assured him, "had greatly revived and rejoiced her." She also adroitly offered an opening for an explanation of the cause of Henry's displeasure, by expressing herself much distressed at having seen so little of his majesty of late, adding, that her uneasiness at this was increased by her apprehensions of having been so unhappy as to have given him some unintentional offence.[1] Henry replied only with gracious and encouraging expressions of his good-will. During the rest of this critical interview, Katharine behaved in so humble and endearing a manner, and so completely adapted herself to the humour of her imperious lord, that, in the excitement caused by the reaction of his feelings, he betrayed to her physician the secret of the plot against her life. The physician being both a good and a prudent person, acted as a mediator with his sovereign in the first instance, and is said to have suggested to the queen the proper means of effecting a reconciliation.[2]

The next evening the queen found herself well enough to return the king's visit in his bedchamber. She came attended by her sister lady Herbert, and the king's young niece, lady Jane Gray,[3] who carried the candles before her majesty. Henry welcomed her very courteously, and appeared to take her attention in good part, but presently turned the conversation to the old subject of controversy, for the purpose of beguiling her into an argument. Katharine adroitly avoided the snare, by observing "that she was but a woman, accom-

[1] Fox. Herbert. Speed. [2] Soames' Hist. Tytler.

[3] Lady Jane Gray, though only nine years old at that time, held some office of state in the chamber of queen Katharine Parr. The fact is from Speed's Chronicle.

panied with all the imperfections natural to the weakness of her sex; therefore, in all matters of doubt and difficulty she must refer herself to his majesty's better judgment, as to her lord and head; for so God hath appointed you," continued she, "as the supreme head of us all, and of you, next unto God, will I ever learn."—"Not so, by St. Mary!" said the king. "Ye are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, and not to be instructed of us, as oftentime we have seen."—"Indeed," replied the queen, "if your majesty have so conceived, my meaning has been mistaken, for I have always held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her lord; and if I have ever presumed to differ with your highness on religion, it was partly to obtain information for my own comfort, regarding certain nice points on which I stood in doubt, and sometimes because I perceived that, in talking, you were better able to pass away the pain and weariness of your present infirmity, which encouraged me to this boldness, in the hope of profiting withal by your majesty's learned discourse."—"And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends." He then kissed her with much tenderness, and gave her leave to depart.

On the day appointed for her arrest, the king, being convalescent, sent for the queen to take the air with him in the garden. Katharine came, attended, as before, by her sister lady Herbert, lady Jane Gray, and lady Tyrwhitt. Presently the lord chancellor Wriothesley, with forty of the guard, entered the garden, with the expectation of carrying off the queen to the Tower, for not the slightest intimation had reached him of the change in the royal caprice. The king received him with a burst of indignation, saluted him with the unexpected address of "Beast! fool! and knave!" and, sternly withdrawing him from the vicinity of the queen, he bade him "avaunt from his presence." Katharine, when she saw the king so greatly incensed with the chancellor, had the magnanimity to intercede for her foe, saying, "She would become a humble suitor for him, as she deemed his fault was occasioned by mistake."—"Ah, poor soul!" said the king.

"Thou little knowest, Kate, how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!"[1]

Katharine Parr treated the authors of the cruel conspiracy against her life with the magnanimity of a great mind, and the forbearance of a true Christian. She sought no vengeance, although the reaction of the king's uxorious fondness would undoubtedly have given her the power of destroying them if she had been of a vindictive temper; but though Henry was induced, through the intercession of Katharine, to overlook the offence of Wriothesley, he never forgave Gardiner the part he had taken in this affair, which proved no less a political blunder than a moral crime. It was the death-blow of his credit with the king, who not only struck his name out of his council-book, but forbade him his presence. Gardiner, notwithstanding this prohibition, had the boldness to present himself before the sovereign on the terrace at Windsor among his former colleagues. When Henry observed him, he turned fiercely to his chancellor, and said, "Did I not command you that *he* should come no more among you?"—"My lord of Winchester," replied Wriothesley, "has come to wait upon your highness with the offer of a benevolence from his clergy."[2] This was touching the right chord, for money never came amiss to the rapacious and needy monarch from any quarter. Henry condescended to receive the address and to accept the bribe, but took no further notice of the bishop than to strike his name out of the list of his executors. Henry cancelled that of Thirlby bishop of Westminster also, "because," he said, "the latter was schooled by Gardiner,"[3]—so careful was the king to leave neither power nor influence in the council of his successor to the man who had tempted him to close his reign with the murder of his innocent wife.

Henry is said to have exhibited many public marks of coarse, but confiding fondness for queen Katharine Parr in his latter days. He was accustomed to call her "sweetheart,"

[1] Speed. Herbert. Fox. Rapin.

[2] By the testification as well of master Denny as of sir Henry Neville, who were present.—Fox.

[3] Lingard. Soames.

and to lay his sore leg on her lap before the lords and ladies in waiting; and sometimes, it is said, he so far forgot the restraints of royalty, as to do so in the presence of the whole court. The queen, who was still a very pretty little woman, and quite young enough to have been his daughter, was careful to receive these rude endearments as flattering marks of the favour of her royal lord, yet, after the fearful warning she had received of the capricious nature of his love, and the treachery of his disposition, she must have regarded herself as a "poor pensioner on the bounties of an hour." How, indeed, could the sixth wife of Henry pillow her head on his cruel bosom without dreaming of axes and flames? or fearing to see the curtains withdrawn by the pale spectres of his former matrimonial victims? Her wifely probation, as queen-consort of England, was, however, near its close, for Henry's own tragedy was rapidly drawing to a termination. Its last act was to be stained with the blood of the most accomplished nobleman in his dominions, the gallant Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the cousin of his two beheaded queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, and the friend and brother-in-law of his passionately loved son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond. Surrey has generally been regarded as the victim of the Seymour party, who had obtained a great ascendancy in the council since Gardiner had committed the false step of practising against the life of the queen.

Katharine Parr, though she had laboured, at the peril of being sent to the scaffold, to obtain toleration and liberty of conscience for those of her own religion, had hitherto carefully abstained from implicating herself with the intrigues of either party. Now she naturally threw the weight of her quiet influence into the scale of those who supported the doctrine of the Reformation. With this party, which was headed by the Seymours, her only brother the earl of Essex, and her sister's husband lord Herbert, were allied. A mortal hatred subsisted between the newly aggrandized family of Seymour and the house of Howard. The high-spirited heir of Norfolk, in whose veins flowed the proud blood of Charlemagne and the Plantagenets, was known to look with con-

tempt on the new nobility, and had rashly expressed his intention of avenging the insolence with which he had been treated by the earl of Hertford when a convenient season should arrive. The precarious state of the sovereign's health warned the Seymours to make the most of the power which they had got into their own hands. Among the absurd charges that were brought against Surrey, one must have been artfully framed to cause disquiet to queen Katharine; which was, that he had conceived the monstrous project of marrying his beautiful sister, the duchess-dowager of Richmond, to the king, although she was the widow of that monarch's reputed son, Henry duke of Richmond. Stranger still, the young lady herself, out of revenge, as it is supposed, to her noble brother, for having prevented her father from bestowing her in marriage on the admiral sir Thomas Seymour, of whom she was deeply enamoured, came forward as a witness against him, and deposed "that he had instructed her how to behave herself that she might obtain private interviews with the king, and so endear herself in his favour that she might rule as others had done." As Henry had already married two fair ladies of the Howard lineage,[1] the foes of Surrey and his father calculated that this odious accusation might possibly obtain sufficient credit to excite the indignation of the people and the jealousy of the queen,—so far, at any rate, as to deter her from interceding in behalf of the victims of their murderous policy.

The unmerited fate of the accomplished Surrey has been ever considered as one of the darkest blots of the crime-stained annals of Henry VIII. It is somewhat remarkable, that this monarch, who had received a learned education, made pretensions to authorship, and affected to be a patron of the *belles lettres,* sent the three most distinguished literary characters of his court—sir Thomas More, lord Rochford, and Surrey—to the block from feelings of private and personal malice, and in so illegal a manner, that the executions of all three deserve no gentler a name than murder. Surrey was beheaded on the 19th of January, 1546-7. Henry then lay on

[1] Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard.

his death-bed; and his swollen and enfeebled hands having been long unequal to the task of guiding a pen, a stamp, with the fac-simile of the initials "H. R.," was affixed to the death-warrant in his presence.[1] In like manner was that for the execution of the duke of Norfolk signed. This nobleman claimed a three-fold relationship to the king,—as the husband of his maternal aunt, the princess Anne Plantagenet, and as the uncle of two of Henry's queens, Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard: according to the custom of those times, he had no doubt been occasionally called by the king 'his uncle Norfolk.' The last act of Henry's life was to despatch a messenger to the lieutenant of the Tower, with an order for the execution of the unfortunate duke early on the following morning. This was on the evening of the 26th of January. A more irrevocable fiat had, however, gone forth against the relentless tyrant, and ere that morning dawned which was to have seen the hoary head of Norfolk fall on the scaffold, he was himself a corpse.[2]

When the physicians announced to those in attendance on the sovereign that the hour of his departure was at hand, they shrunk from the peril of incurring the last ebullition of his vindictive temper by warning him of the awful change that awaited him.[3] The queen, worn out with days and nights of fatiguing personal attendance on her wayward lord, during the burning fever which had preyed upon him for more than two months, was in all probability unequal to the trial of witnessing the last fearful scene, for she is not mentioned as having been present on that occasion. Sir Anthony Denny was the only person who had the courage to

[1] On August 31st, 1546, Henry appointed A. Denny, J. Gate, and W. Clere to sign all instruments requiring his signature, from that day to the 10th of May, 1547, in the following manner: Two of them were to impress a dry stamp upon the instrument, and the third to fill up the impression with pen and ink.—Rymer.

[2] The duke was reprieved from the execution of his sentence by the providential death of the king. It is therefore evident that it was from Henry himself that sentence proceeded, since the Seymours might easily have had the warrant executed, if they had chosen, before the death of the sovereign was made public. It was his last order, and it must have cost some trouble to prevent it from being carried into effect.

[3] Burnet. Tytler. Lingard.

inform the king of his real state. He approached the bed, and leaning over it, told him "that all human aid was now vain; and that it was meet for him to review his past life, and seek for God's mercy through Christ." Henry, who was uttering loud cries of pain and impatience, regarded him with a stern look, and asked, "What judge had sent him to pass this sentence upon him?" Denny replied, "Your physicians." When these physicians next approached the royal patient to offer him medicine, he repelled them in these words: "After the judges have once passed sentence on a criminal, they have no more to do with him; therefore begone!"[1] It was then suggested that he should confer with some of his divines. "I will see no one but Cranmer," replied the king, "and not him as yet. Let me repose a little, and as I find myself, so shall I determine."

After an hour's sleep he awoke, and becoming faint, commanded that Cranmer, who had withdrawn to Croydon, should be sent for with all haste. But the precious interval had been wasted, and before the archbishop entered Henry was speechless. Cranmer besought him to testify by some sign his hope in the saving mercy of Christ: the king regarded him steadily for a moment, wrung his hand, and expired.[2] Thévet bears testimony to the dying monarch's remorse of conscience, for the murder of Anne Boleyn in particular, and of his other crimes in general. Harpsfield describes him as affiicted with visionary horrors at the hour of his departure, for that he glanced with rolling eyes and looks of wild import towards the darker recess of his chamber, muttering to himself, "Monks—monks!" But whether this ejaculation implied that his disordered fancy had peopled vacancy with cowled figures, or that he was desirous of summoning monks to assist at his last oraisons, must for ever remain a mystery. "Warned of the moment of approaching dissolution," says another writer, "and scorched with the death-thirst, he craved a cup of white wine, and turning to one of his attendants, he exclaimed, 'All is lost!' These words were his last." The same author avers that Henry was

[1] Leti [2] Godwin.

preparing an accusation against his queen on the old charge of heresy, which was only prevented by his death. If this were indeed the case, it would sufficiently account for the silence of contemporaries touching Katharine Parr's proceedings at the time of her royal husband's death. This throws some light, too, on the general remark of the historians of that period, that Katharine's life was providentially preserved by the decease of Henry at a critical period for her, and that it was only by especial good luck that she was the survivor. The only notice of the queen which occurs at this period, is contained in a letter addressed to her on the 10th of January by prince Edward, in which he thanks her for her New-year's gift,—the pictures of herself and the king his father, "which will delight him," he says, "to contemplate in their absence." He calls her "illustrious queen, and dearest mother." The youthful heir of England was at Hertford, with his preceptors, at the time of the last illness of his royal father.

Henry VIII. expired at two o'clock in the morning of January 28th, 1546-7, at his royal palace of Westminster, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and the fifty-sixth of his age. This important event was kept secret till the earl of Hertford had obtained possession of the person of his royal nephew, the young king Edward VI., and arranged his plans for securing the government of England in his name. The parliament met on the 29th, according to an adjournment which had been moved during the life of the sovereign, and received no intimation of his demise till Monday the last day of January,[1] when Wriothesley, the chancellor, announced to the assembled peers and commons the death of their late dread lord; "which," says the deceitful record, "was unspeakably sad and sorowful to all hearers, the chancellor himself being almost disabled by his tears from uttering the words." A part of Henry's will was then read by sir William Paget, secretary of state, and the parliament was declared by the chancellor to be dissolved by the demise of the crown.

[1] Lingard. Mackintosh. Tytler. Rapin.

The queen expressed the utmost surprise on learning that she was not appointed to the regency of the realm, and the care of the person of the young king. She complained bitterly of the counsellors and executors of king Henry, and of those persons under whose influence his last testament had been made, but they paid no attention to her displeasure.[1] In this will Henry places the children he may have by his queen Katharine Parr in the order of succession immediately after his only son, prince Edward, giving them precedency of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. If, therefore, the queen had borne a posthumous daughter to Henry, a civil war would unquestionably have been the result. The words are,—

"And per default of lawful issue of our son prince Edward, we will that the said imperial crown, and other the premises, after our two deceases, shall fully remain and come to the heirs of our entirely beloved wife queen Katharyne that now is, or of any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry."[2]

The last sentence seems ominous enough to the childless queen, implying that Henry meant to survive her, and was seriously providing for the contingency of his issue by a seventh queen. The preamble to the legacy he bequeaths to Katharine Parr contains, however, a very high testimony to her virtues:—

"And for the great love, obedience, chastity of life, and wisdom being in our fore-named wife and queen, we bequeath unto her for her proper life, and as it shall please her to order it, three thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and stuff of household goods, and such apparel as it shall please her to take of such as we have already. And further, we give unto her one thousand pounds in money, and the amount of her dower and jointure according to our grant in parliament."

This legacy, when the relative value of money is considered, as well as the destitution of the exchequer at the time, will not be thought so inadequate a bequest as it appears. Katharine Parr was amply dowered by parliament, and by the king's patents; and she had two dowers besides, as the widow of the lords Borough and Latimer. She was supposed

[1] Leti.

[2] Chapter-house royal MS. This will was dated December 30th, 1546. It is generally said to have been stamped with the royal initials, not signed; but, from the tremulous appearance of the up-strokes of the initials, the author is induced to believe that they were formed by the hand of the king himself. It is difficult to imagine how a stamp could produce a tremulous stroke.

to have made great savings while she was queen-consort. After the death of the king, she received all the honours due to his acknowledged widow,—he left two, be it remembered; but *she* was prayed for as queen-dowager in the presence of the young king, by her old enemy Gardiner, in the following prayer for the royal family;—"I commend to God queen Katharine, dowager,[1] my lady Mary's grace, and my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majesty's dear sisters." February 7, 1547, Edward VI. wrote a Latin letter of condolence to his widowed step-mother, superscribed "Reginæ Katharinæ," calling her his dear mother, and concluding, "Farewell, venerated queen."

The news of Henry's death was received with exultation at Rome. The pope asked cardinal Pole "Why he did not rejoice with the rest at the death of this great enemy of the church?" Pole replied, that "Nothing would be gained by that event, for the young king Edward had been educated by preceptors of Lutheran and Zuinglian principles; that the council of regency was composed of persons of the same class; and, to complete all, his uncles and the queen-mother [Katharine Parr] were more obstinate in their heresies than all the rest."[2] While Henry's body lay in state, Gardiner held a controversy with lord Oxford's players, who were located at Southwark, preparing to act a splendid play. Gardiner said "it would be more decent to perform a solemn dirge for his master, as beseemeth, whilst he laid unburied." He applied to the justice of peace against the players, "who mean," says he, "to see which shall have most resort, them or I;" adding, that "if he could not prevent the acting of the play, he could and would prevent the people from going to see it while the king's body was above ground."[3]

A book in the college of Arms supplies the following particulars of the obsequies of Henry VIII.:—"The chest wherein the royal corpse was laid stood in the midst of the privy-chamber, with lights; and divine service was said about him, with masses, obsequies, and continual watch made by the chaplains and gentlemen of the privy-chamber, in their

[1] Fox. [2] Leti. [3] Tytler's State-Papers, pp. 20, 21.

course and order, night and day for five days, till the chapel was ready, where was a goodly hearse with eighty square tapers, every light containing two feet in length,—in the whole 1800 or 2000 weight in wax, garnished with pensils, escutcheons, banners, and bannerols of descents; and at the four corners, banners of saints, beaten in fine gold upon damask, with a majesty (*i. e.* canopy) over of rich cloth of tissue, and valance of black silk, and fringe of black silk and gold. The barriers without the hearse, and the sides and floor of the chapel, were covered with black cloth to the high altar, and the sides and ceiling set with the banners and standards of St. George and others. The 2nd of February the corpse was removed and brought into the chapel, by the lord great-master and officers of the household, and there placed within the hearse, under a pall of rich cloth of tissue garnished with scutcheons, and a rich cloth of gold set with precious stones. It continued there twelve days, with masses and *diriges* sung and said every day, Norroy each day standing at the choir-door, and beginning with these words in a loud voice,—'Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, our late sovereign lord and king, Henry VIII.'" February 14th, the corpse was removed for interment.

There is an appalling incident connected with that journey, which we copy from a contemporary document among the Sloane collection:—"The king, being carried to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion, and there the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church was wetted with Henry's blood. In the morning came plumbers to solder the coffin, under whose feet,—I tremble while I write it," says the author,—"was suddenly seen a dog creeping, and licking up the king's blood. If you ask me how I know this, I answer William Greville, who could scarcely drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also." It appears certain that the sleepy mourners and choristers had retired to rest after the midnight dirges were sung, leaving the dead king to defend himself as best he might from the assaults of his

ghostly enemies, and some people might think they made their approaches in a currish form. It is scarcely, however, to be wondered that a circumstance so frightful should have excited feelings of superstitious horror, especially at such a time and place; for this desecrated convent had been the prison of his unhappy queen, Katharine Howard, whose tragic fate was fresh in the minds of men, and, by a singular coincidence, it happened that Henry's corpse rested there the very day after the fifth anniversary of her execution. There is a class of writers who regard the accident which has just been related as a serious fulfilment of friar Peyto's denunciation against Henry from the pulpit of Greenwich church in 1553, when that daring preacher compared him to Ahab, and told him, to his face, "that the dogs would, in like manner, lick his blood." In a very different light was Henry represented by bishop Gardiner in the adulatory funeral sermon which he preached at Windsor, on the 16th of February, on the text, "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord," in which he enlarged on his virtues, and lamented the loss both high and low had sustained in the death of so good and gracious a king.

But to return to the ceremonial. "The corpse, being conveyed with great pomp to St. George's chapel, Windsor-castle, was, when interred, let down into the vault by means of a vice, with the help of sixteen tall yeomen of the guard; the same bishop [Gardiner] standing at the head of the vault, proceeded in the burial service, and about the same stood all the head officers of the household,—as the lord great-master, the lord chamberlain, lord treasurer, lord comptroller, sergeant-porter, and the four gentlemen ushers in ordinary, with their staves and rods in their hands; and when the mould was brought and cast into the grave by the officiating prelate, at the words '*pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri,*' then first the lord great-master, and after him the lord chamberlain and all the rest brake their staves in shivers upon their heads, and cast them after the corpse into the pit with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, not without grievous sighs and tears. After this, *De profundis* was said, the grave

covered over with planks, and Garter, attended by his officers, stood in the midst of the choir and proclaimed the young king's titles, and the rest of his officers repeated the same after him thrice. Then the trumpets sounded with great melody and courage, to the comfort of all them that were present,"[1] acting as a cordial to the official weepers, it may be presumed, after their hydraulic efforts were concluded. On the banners carried at Henry VIII.'s funeral, the arms of his late wife, queen Jane, were displayed, quartered with his; likewise a banner of the arms of queen Katharine Parr,[2] his widow,—these being the only wives he acknowledged out of six.

During the brief period of her royal widowhood, Katharine Parr, now queen-dowager, resided at her fine jointure-house at Chelsea, on the banks of the Thames, which, with its beautiful and extensive gardens, occupied the pleasant spot now called Cheyne Pier.[3] Some of the noble trees in Mr.

[1] MS. in college of Arms.

[2] "In the east window of the hall of Baynard's-Castle," Sandford says, "stood the escutcheon of this queen, Katharine Parr, which I delineated from the original on the 8th of November, 1664, in which she did bear quarterly of six pieces:—the 1st, argent, on a pile, gules, betwixt six roses of the first, the roses of the second, which was an augmentation given to her, being queen. 2. Argent, two bars, azure, a border engrailed, sable, Parr. 3. Or, three water-bougets, sable, Roos of Kendal. 4. Varry, argent and azure, a fess, gules, Marmion. 5. Three chevrons interlaced in base, and a chief, or, Fitzhugh. 6. Vert, three bucks, standing at gaze, or, Green. These quarterings are ensigned with a royal crown, and are between a K and a P, for Katharine Parr."–Genealogical Hist. of England, fol. ed. p. 460. One of the badges of Parr, marquess of Northampton, borne by him at a review of the gentlemen pensioners in Greenwich-park, was a maiden's head, crowned with gold.

[3] The following particulars of Katharine Parr's dowager palace may be interesting to the reader, as it is a place so frequently mentioned, both in the personal history of this queen and that of her step-daughter, queen Elizabeth:—About the year 1536, Henry VIII., being seised of the manors of Chelsea and Kensington, built a capital messuage in Chelsea, called Chelsea-hall, intending it as a nursery for his children, and made sir Francis Bryan keeper of it for life. Dr. King, in his MS. account of Chelsea, quoted by Lysons, says the "old manor-house stood near the church;" and adds, "Henry VIII.'s building stood upon that part of Cheyne-walk which adjoins to Winchester-house, and extends eastward as far as don Saltero's coffee-house." The north front of the manor-house is depicted, in a print, in Faulkner's Chelsea. The architecture of the ancient part assimilates somewhat with that of St. James's-palace. Small turrets communicate with the chimneys; the windows are long and high, and

Druce's gardens appear coeval with that epoch, and are perhaps the same under whose budding verdure queen Katharine was accustomed to hold her secret meetings with her adventurous lover, sir Thomas Seymour, ere royal etiquette would allow her to give public encouragement to his suit. Faulkner assures us that, at the time of Katharine Parr's residence at Chelsea-palace, there was but one passable road in the village, which was a private way to the royal residence across the open fields; it crossed a foot bridge, called in ancient records Blandel-bridge, afterwards the scene of many murders by highwaymen, which caused the name to be corrupted, in vulgar parlance, to Bloody-bridge. Across this dangerous track the lord admiral must have taken his nocturnal path to the queen. Seymour renewed his addresses to Katharine so immediately after king Henry's death, that she was wooed and won almost before she had assumed the widow's hood and barb, and sweeping sable pall, which marked the relict of the departed majesty of England. Seymour had opportunities of confidential communication with the widowed queen even before the funeral of the royal rival for whom she had been compelled to resign him, when lady Latimer; for he was a member of the late king's household, and had been appointed by Henry's will one of the council of regency during the minority of the young king. His person and characteristics are thus described by Hayward:—"The lord Sudely" (he had been elevated to that title by his nephew, Edward VI.) "was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter." He was still in the prime of life, and possessed of the peculiar manners calculated to charm the softer sex. Though he had made more than one attempt to secure a splendid alliance, he had the art to make the queen-dowager

one of them has the Tudor arch on the top. The battlements are crenated; the door, situated between two of the chimney turrets, is pointed gothic. There seemed little ornament, and no royal magnificence, in the structure. The walls of the royal garden were still entire when Mr. Faulkner's valuable history of Chelsea was written. A portion of them still remains in the gardens of Mr. Druce, and also of Mr. Handford, in which is the little stone basin used as a fish-pond in queen Katharine's pleasure-grounds, and marked in the ancient maps of Chelsea as part of that domain.

believe that he was still a bachelor for her sake. Katharine, after having been the wife of three mature widowers in succession, to the last of whom that joyless bauble, a crown, had tricked her into three years, six months, and fourteen days of worse than Egyptian bondage, found herself, in her thirty-fifth year, still handsome, and apparently more passionately beloved than ever by the man of her heart. Womanlike, she gave him full credit for constancy and disinterested love, and found it difficult to withstand his ardent pleadings for her to reward his tried affection, by at once giving him the hand which had been plighted to him before her marriage with the king. The postscript of the following letter, evidently not the first *billet-doux* the widowed queen had penned to Seymour, contains an interesting allusion to her feelings on the occasion of their previous separation, and the painful struggle it had caused :—

"My Lord,

"I send you my most humble and hearty commendations, being desirous to know how ye have done since I saw you. I pray you be not offended with me, in that I send sooner to you than I said I would, for my promise was but once in a fortnight. Howbeit the time is well abbreviated, by what means I know not, except weeks be shorter at Chelsea than in other places.

"My lord, your brother hath deferred answering such requests as I made to him till his coming hither, which he saith shall be immediately after the term. This is not the first promise I have received of his coming, and yet unperformed I think my lady hath taught him that lesson,[1] for it is her custom to promise many comings to her friends, and to perform none. I trust in greater matters she is more circumspect. And thus, my lord, I make my end, bidding you most heartily farewell, wishing you the good I would myself.—From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I would not have you to think that this mine honest good-will toward you to proceed of any sudden motion of passion; for, as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know. Howbeit, God withstood my will therein most vehemently for a time, and, through his grace and goodness, made that possible which seemed to me most impossible; that was, made me renounce utterly mine own will, and to follow his will most willingly. It were long to write all the process of this matter; if I live, I shall declare it to you myself. I can say nothing but as my lady of Suffolk saith, 'God is a marvellous man.'

"By her, that is yours to serve and obey during her life,

"Kateryn the Quene, K-P."

Endorsed,—"The Queen's letter from Chelsea to my Lord-admiral. The answer to the lord admiral of her former loves."[2]

[1] It has been affirmed that Sanders is the only authority for the differences between Katharine Parr and Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset; but here is an evident indication of the same, under her own hand.

[2] The original of this important document, lately in the Strawberry-hill collec-

Seymour, who was determined not to lose Katharine a second time, would brook no delays, not even those which propriety demanded. The following letter was written by queen Katharine in reply to one of his love-letters, wherein, among other matters, their immediate marriage appears to have been warmly urged by the admiral:—

"My Lord,

"As I gather, by your letter delivered to my brother Herbert, ye are in some fear how to frame my lord your brother to speak in your favour, the denial of your request shall make his folly more manifest to the world, which will more grieve me than the want of his speaking. I would not wish you to importune for his good-will if it come not frankly at the first; it shall be sufficient once to require it, and then to cease. I would desire you might obtain the king's letters in your favour, and also the aid and furtherance of the most notable of the council, such as ye shall think convenient; which thing obtained, shall be no small shame to your brother and loving sister,[1] in case they do not the like.

"My lord, whereas ye charge me with a promise, written with mine own hand, to change the two years into two months, I think ye have no such plain sentence written with my hand. I know not whether ye be a paraphraser or not. If ye be learned in that science, it is possible ye may of one word make a whole sentence, and yet not at all times alter the true meaning of the writer, as it appeareth by this your exposition upon my writing.

"When it shall be your pleasure to repair hither, ye must take some pain to come early in the morning, that ye may be gone again by seven o'clock; and so I suppose ye may come without suspect. I pray you let me have knowledge over-night at what hour ye will come, that your portress may wait at the gate[2] to the fields for you. And thus, with my most humble and hearty commendations, I take my leave of you for this time, giving you like thanks for your coming to court when I was there.—From Chelsea.

"P.S.—I will keep in store, till I speak with you, my lord's large offer for Fausterne, at which time I shall be glad to know your further pleasure therein.

"By her that is, and shall be, your humble, true, and loving wife during her life,

"Kateryn the Quene, K-P."

Although the precise date of Katharine Parr's fourth nuptials is uncertain, it is evident that the admiral's eloquence prevailed over her punctilio at a very early period of her widowhood, by persuading her to consent to a private marriage. Leti affirms, that exactly thirty-four days after king

tion of MSS., is an undoubted autograph of queen Katharine Parr, and a very fine specimen of her penmanship. A copy of it has been printed in Hearne's Sylloge, but with one or two verbal errors, and without the descriptive endorsement. The orthography has been modernised in the present copy. The autograph letter realized the enormous price of sixteen guineas at the sale at Strawberry-hill.

[1] Another ironical allusion to the enmity of the duchess of Somerset.

[2] This postern is still in existence, in the garden of Mr. Druce. The antique hinges may be seen imbedded in the old wall.

Henry's death, a written contract of marriage and rings of betrothal were exchanged between Katharine and sir Thomas Seymour, but the marriage was not celebrated till some months later. According to Edward VI.'s journal this event took place in May, but it was certainly not made public till the end of June. Great censure has been passed on queen Katharine for contracting matrimony again so soon after the death of her royal husband. But, in the first place, she owed neither love nor reverence to the memory of a consort who had held a sword suspended over her by a single hair for the last six months of their union; and, in the next, Henry himself had previously led her into a similar breach of widowly decorum, by inducing her to become his wife within almost as brief a period after the death of her second husband, lord Latimer, as her marriage with Seymour after his own. It appears evident, from the tenour of the following reverential letter, dated May 17th, from Seymour to queen Katharine, which we give verbatim, that they had then been privately married for some days; and that, at the time it was written, he was doubtful, from the cross-questioning of her sister lady Herbert, whether the queen had confided the secret to her, or circumstances had been whispered abroad which had led to unpleasant reports as to the nature of his nocturnal visits to her majesty.

SEYMOUR TO KATHARINE PARR.

"After my humble commendation unto your highness, yesternight I supped at *my* brother Herbert's,[1] of whom, for your sake besides mine own, I received good cheer; and after the same, I received from your highness, by *my* sister Herbert, your commendations, which were more welcome than they were sent. And after the same, she (lady Herbert) waded further with me touching my lodging with your highness at Chelsea, which I denied lodging with your highness, but that indeed I went by the garden as I went to the bishop of London's house, and at this point stood with her a long time; till at last she told me further tokens, which made me change colour, who, like a false wench, took me with the manner. Then remembering what she was, and knowing how well ye trusted her, examined whether those things came from your highness or were feigned; she answered, 'that they came from your highness, and he (lord Herbert) that he knew it to be true,' for the which I render unto your highness my most humble and hearty thanks, for by her company, in default of yours, I shall shorten the weeks in these parts, which heretofore were four days longer

[1] As he was then husband to Katharine Parr, he calls her brother-in-law, lord Herbert, thus.

in every one of them than they were under the plummet at Chelsea. Besides this commodity, I may also inform your highness by her, how I do proceed in my matter, although I should take my old friend, Walter Errol. I have not as yet attempted my strength, for that I would be first throughly in credit ere I would move the same; but beseeching your highness that I may not so use my said strength that they shall think, and hereafter cast in my teeth, that by their suit I sought and obtained your good-will, for hitherto I am out of all their dangers for any pleasure that they have done for me worthy of thanks, and, as I judge, your highness may say the like; wherefore by mine advice we will keep us so, nothing mistrusting the goodness of God but we shall be able to live out of their danger, as they shall out of ours; yet I mean not but to use their friendship to bring our purpose to pass, as occasion shall serve. If I knew by what mean I might gratify your highness for your goodness to me, showed at our last lodging together, it should not be slack to declare mine lady again, and to that intent that I might be more bound unto your highness, that once in three days I might receive three lines in a letter from you, and as many lines and letters more as shall seem good unto your highness. Also, I shall humbly desire your highness to give me one of your small pictures, if ye have any left, who with *his* silence shall give me occasion to think on the friendly cheer that I shall receive when my suit shall be at an end; and thus, for fear of troubling your highness with my long and rude letter, I take my leave of your highness, wishing that my hap may be one so good, that I may declare so much by mouth at the same hour that this was writing, which was twelve of the clock in the night, this Tuesday, the 17th of May, at St. James's.

"I wrote your highness a line in my last letter, that my lord of Somerset was going to that shire, who hath been sick, which by the —— thereof, and as I understand, may get thither as to-morrow.

"From him whom ye have bound to honour, love, and in all lawful things obey,

"T. Seymour," &c.

Endorsed,—"The Lord-admirall to the Queene."[1]

In this lover-like and romantic manner did the fair queen-dowager and her secretly wedded lord pass the merry month of May, which, according to king Edward's diary, was their bridal month. The oft-repeated assertion, that "Katharine wedded Seymour so immediately after the death of her royal husband, that, had she proved a mother so soon as she might have done, it would have been a doubt whether the child should have been accounted the late king's or the admiral's,"[2] rests wholly on the charge that was brought after her deccase against Seymour in his indictment. Katharine, for her own sake, would scarcely have married till full three months had elapsed since the death of the king, as her issue, whether male or female, by the tenour of Henry's VIII.'s will would have been heir-presumptive to the crown of England, and she was

[1] State-Paper MSS., Edward VI., No. 20.

[2] Art. 20 of charge against Seymour; Burnet's Hist. of Ref., p. 11. Records p. 160.

too prudent, and at the same too ambitious, to have risked the benefit and dignity she would have obtained by a contingency, that might have ultimately given her the rank and power of a queen-mother. May was certainly the earliest period in which she could, with any degree of safety, to say nothing of propriety, contract matrimony with her former lover; and even this, notwithstanding the precedent afforded by the parallel case of the precipitate marriage of Mary queen of France with Charles Brandon, was a great breach of royal etiquette.

Seymour at length became impatient of the restraints that attended his clandestine intercourse with his royal bride, and applied to the princess Mary for her advice and influence in the matter. In her dry and very characteristic reply, the princess commences with allusions to some amplification of her establishment, which the interest of lord Seymour in the council of guardianship and regency had expedited:—

"My Lord,

"After my hearty commendations, these shall be to declare to you that, according to your accustomed gentleness, I have received six warrants from you by your servant *this bearer*, [the bearer of this,] for the which I do give you my hearty thanks; by whom, also, I received your letter, wherein, as methinketh, I perceive strange news concerning a suit you have in hand to the queen for marriage, for the sooner obtaining whereof you seem to think that my letters might do you a favour.

"My lord, in this case I trust your wisdom doth consider, that if it were for my nearest kinsman and dearest friend *on lyve*, [alive,] of all other creatures in the world it standeth least with my poor honour to be a meddler in this matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late; and besides that, if she be minded to grant your suit, my letters shall do you but small pleasure. On the other side, if the remembrance of the king's majesty my father (whose soul God pardon!) will not suffer her to graunt your suit, I am nothing able to persuade her to forget the loss of him who is, as yet, very rife in mine own remembrance. Wherefore I shall most earnestly require you (the premises considered) to think none unkindness in me though I refuse to be a meddler any ways in this matter, assuring you that, *wooing matters set apart, wherein, being a maid, I am nothing cunning*, if otherways it shall lie in my power to do you pleasure, I shall be as glad to do it as you to require it, both for his blood's sake that you be of,[1] and also for the gentleness which I have always found in you, as knoweth Almighty God, to whose tuition I commit you. From Wanstead, this Saturday, at night, being the 4th of June.

"Your assured friend, to my power,

"Maryе."

[1] Being uncle to her brother, Edward VI., to whom she here alludes.

The princess Elizabeth was at that time residing at Chelsea with queen Katharine, to whose maternal care she had been consigned by the council of the young king. It is very likely that she was very well acquainted with the whole affair, for even if the queen had not made her a confidante, her acute powers of observation and natural talent for intrigue would undoubtedly have enabled her to penetrate the cause of the handsome Seymour's mysterious visits and admissions through the postern gate of the gardens at Chelsea.

In the latter end of May, queen Katharine was sojourning at St. James's-palace for a few days, and while there, she wrote the young king a Latin letter on the subject of her great love for his late father Henry VIII. This was rather an extraordinary subject for the royal widow to dilate upon, since she was at the very time married to Seymour. She added to her letter many quotations from Scripture, and expressed an earnest desire that the young monarch would answer the epistle, which he did, in the same learned language. The following is a translation of Edward's letter; that of Katharine Parr is lost, but the answer gives a clear idea of its contents:—

"As I was so near to you, and saw you or expected to see you every day, I wrote no letter to you, since letters are tokens of remembrance and kindness between those who are at a great distance. But being urged by your request, I would not abstain longer from writing,—first, that I may do what is acceptable to you, and then to answer the letter you wrote to me when you were at St. James's, in which, first, you set before my eyes the great love you bear my father the king, of most noble memory; then your good-will towards me; and lastly, your godliness, and knowledge and learning in the Scriptures. Proceed, therefore, in your good course; continue to love my father, and to show the same great kindness to me which I have ever perceived in you. Cease not to love and read the Scriptures, but persevere in always reading them; for in the first you show the duty of a good wife and a good subject, and in the second, the warmth of your friendship, and in the third, your piety to God. Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but much esteem you; since you love me, I cannot but love you in return; and since you love the word of God, I do love and admire you with my whole heart. Wherefore, if there be any thing wherein I may do you a kindness, either in word or deed, I will do it willingly. Farewell, this 30th of May."[1]

The artless young sovereign was, in the end, not only induced to recommend his wily uncle to his widowed stepmother for a husband, but led to believe that it was actually

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. ii. part 1, p. 59, from archbishop Parker's coll. MSS.

a match of his own making. In the innocence of his heart Edward wrote the following letter with his own hand to queen Katharine, in which he expresses himself highly obliged to her for acceding to his wish by marrying his uncle. The dignity with which the monarch, in his tenth year, offers his royal protection to the mature bride and bridegroom is truly amusing:—

TO THE QUEEN'S GRACE.

"We thank you heartily, not only for the gentle acceptation of our suit moved unto you, but also for the loving accomplishing of the same, wherein you have declared, not only a desire to gratify us, but to declare the good-will, likewise, that we bear to you in all your requests. Wherefore ye shall not need to *fear any grief to come, or to suspect lack of aid in need*, seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature that he will not be troublesome any means unto you, and I of such mind, that for divers just causes I must favour you. But even as without cause you merely require help against him whom you have put in trust with the carriage of these letters, so may I merely return the same request unto you, to provide that he may live with you also without grief, which hath given him wholly unto you; and I will so provide for you both, that if hereafter any grief befall, I shall be a sufficient succour in your godly or praiseable enterprises.

"Fare ye well, with much increase of honour and virtue in Christ. From St. James's, the five-and-twenty day of June.

"EDWARD."

Endorsed, in an antique hand,—"The King's majesty's letter to the Queen *after marriage*, June 25, 1548."

The manner in which king Edward was persuaded to move his council for a marriage between his uncle the admiral and queen Katharine, was subsequently deposed by the royal minor in these words: "Lord admiral Seymour came to me in the last parliament at Westminster, and desired me 'to write a thing for him.' I asked him 'what?' He said 'It is no ill thing; it is for the queen's majesty,' [Katharine Parr]. I said, 'If it were good, the lords would allow it; if it were ill, I would not write it.' Then he [Seymour] said, 'They would take it in better part if I would write.' I desired him to let me alone in that matter.' Cheke [the tutor of Edward] said to me afterwards, 'Ye were best not to write.'"[1]

Young Edward, in his journal, notices the anger of the lord protector at the marriage of the admiral with the queen-dowager. Somerset and his council loudly condemned the

[1] Printed in a collection of documents, called Recollections of Royalty, by C. Jones, of the Temple.

presumption of the audacious Seymour, in daring to contract this lofty alliance without leave or licence of those who exercised the authority of the crown. They did what they could to testify their hostility, by withholding from queen Katharine all the jewels that had been presented to her by the late king, under the pretext that they were not personal property, but heir-looms to the crown. This was touching the lady on a very tender point. "Can a bride forget her ornaments?" is a scriptural query, founded on the characteristic attachment of females for these glittering toys. Neither the equanimity nor the philosophy of this learned queen was proof against such a provocation as the detention of the costly endowments which had formed a portion of her conjugal wages during the perilous term of her servitude to her royal husband's caprices. Her indignant remonstrances were unavailing,—her jewels were never restored; and that their detention was no less illegal than vexatious, may be gathered from the following observation of the lord admiral: "My brother is wondrous hot in helping every man to his right, save me. He maketh a great matter to let me have the queen's jewels, which you see by the whole opinion of the lawyers ought to belong to me, and all under pretence that he would not the king should lose so much, as if it were a loss to the king to let me have mine own!" [1]

The loss of her jewels was neither the only affront nor the only wrong to which the queen-dowager was subjected from her powerful brother-in-law. Somerset had fixed his mind on obtaining a lease of her favourite manor of Fausterne for a person of the name of Long, and we have seen with what scorn Katharine, in her first letter to the admiral, speaks of his brother's "large offer for Fausterne." The protector, however, strong in the authority of his office, actually caused Long to be admitted as a tenant of her majesty's demesne, in defiance of her wish to retain the property in her own hands. Katharine gives a lively account of her wrath at this outrage in the following letter to her husband.[2] She says,—

[1] State-Papers.

[2] Haynes's Burleigh Papers.

"My Lord,

"This shall be to advertise you, that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant, for I suppose else I should have bitten him. What cause have they to fear [she adds playfully] having such a wife? To-morrow, or else upon Saturday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I will see the king, when I intend to utter all my choler to my lord your brother, if you shall not give me advice to the contrary, for I would be loath to do any thing to hinder your matter. I will declare to you how my lord hath used me concerning Fausterne; and after, I shall most humbly desire you to direct mine answer to him in that behalf. It liked him to-day to send my chancellor to me, willing him to declare to me that he had brought master Long's lease, and that he doubted not but I would let him enjoy the same to his commodity, wherein I should do to his succession no small pleasure, nothing considering his honour, which this matter toucheth not a little; for so much as I at sundry times declared unto him that only cause of my repair into those parts was for the commodity of the park, which else I would not have done, he, notwithstanding, hath so used the matter with giving master Long such courage, that he refuseth to receive such cattle as are brought here for the provision of my house; and so, in the mean time, I am forced to commit them to farmers. My lord, I beseech you send me word with speed how I shall order myself to my new brother. And thus I take my leave, with my most humble and hearty commendations, wishing you all your godly desires, and so well to do as I would myself, and better. From Chelsea, in great haste.

"By your humble, true, and loving wife in her heart,

"Kateryn the Queen, K.P."[1]

Whether Katharine enjoyed the satisfaction of telling the protector her mind in the presence of his royal nephew, does not appear, but she was probably frustrated in her intention of obtaining an interview with the young king by the party most interested in keeping them apart. A scene such as that she meditated, would have been recorded if it had ever taken place. Somerset is supposed to have been excited to injurious treatment of the widow of his royal master and benefactor, Henry VIII., by the malice of his duchess, who had always borne envious ill-will against Katharine Parr. Many and various are the accounts given by historians of the cause of the fatal animosity borne by these ladies towards each other. Open hostility between them broke out after the marriage of Katharine with the admiral, in consequence of the duchess of Somerset refusing any longer to fulfil her office of bearing up the train of the queen-dowager, alleging, "that it was unsuitable for her to submit to perform that service for the wife of her husband's younger brother."[2] According to Lloyd,

[1] Haynes's State-Papers, p. 61.

[2] Camden's Elizabeth.

"the duchess not only refused to bear up the queen's train, but actually jostled with her for precedence; so that," continues he, quaintly, "what between the train of the queen, and the long gown of the duchess, they raised so much dust at court, as at last put out the eyes of both their husbands, and caused their executions."

The pretence on which the duchess of Somerset founded her presumptuous dispute for precedency with the queen-dowager in the court of Edward VI. was, that as the wife of the protector and guardian of the realm, she had a right to take place of every lady in England. It is possible that, with the exception of the ladies of the royal family, she might; but the act of Henry VIII., whereby it was provided that Anne of Cleves should take precedence after his queen, and the princesses his daughters of every other lady in the realm, settled the matter of Katharine Parr's precedency beyond contravention; and the arrogant duchess was compelled to yield, but never forgave the mortification. According to Heylin, the duchess of Somerset was accustomed to inveigh, in the bitterest manner, against queen Katharine, and actually expressed herself concerning her in the following coarse and detracting language:—"Did not Henry VIII. marry Katharine Parr in his doting days, when he had brought himself so low by his lust and cruelty that no lady that stood on her honour would venture on him? And shall I now give place to her who in her former estate was but Latimer's widow, and is now fain to cast herself for support on a younger brother? If master admiral teach his wife no better manners, I am she that will."[1]

The tender affection which the young king lavished on the queen-dowager, and his reverence for her talents, virtue, and piety, excited, of course, the jealousy and ill-will, not only of the duchess of Somerset, but of her husband also, and the

[1] Hayward, in his Life of Edward VI., speaks of Anne Stanhope, duchess of Somerset, "as a woman for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous. She was both exceeding violent and subtle in accomplishing her ends, for which she spurned all respects of conscience and shame. This woman did bear such invincible hate to the queen-dowager, first for light causes and woman's quarrels, and especially because she (queen Katharine) had precedency over her, being the wife of the greatest peer in the land."

vulgar insolence of the former was systematically exerted to keep so powerful a rival from the court. The king was certainly far more attached to his uncle Thomas Seymour than to the protector, and Katharine Parr had always been to him in the place of the mother whom he had never known. Edward's practice of coming by the private entrance unattended into queen Katharine's apartments, where no official spies could intrude to witness and report what passed between him and the admiral, caused great uneasiness to the protector and his party. Edward's best-loved sister, Elizabeth, and his accomplished cousin, lady Jane Gray, were in the interest of the admiral, both being pupils of queen Katharine, and residing under her roof.

The project of uniting lady Jane Gray with Edward VI. originated with Katharine Parr, who had directed her education in such a manner as to render her a suitable companion for the royal scholar. The aspiring protector desired to match king Edward with his own daughter, the learned lady Jane Seymour,[1] and to obtain lady Jane Gray for his son. His plans were, however, frustrated by a private arrangement between the admiral and the marquess of Dorset, the preliminaries of which were thus arranged. Soon after the death of king Henry, one Harrington, a confidential officer of sir Thomas Seymour, came to the marquess of Dorset's house, at Westminster, and proposed to him to enter into a close friendship and alliance with his master, who was like to come to very great authority. He advised Dorset to permit his daughter, lady Jane Gray, to reside with sir Thomas Seymour, because he would have the means of matching her much to his comfort. "With whom will he match her?" asked Dorset. "Marry!" quoth Harrington, "I doubt not you shall see him marry her to the king."[2] Upon these persuasions,

[1] The boy king, with more pride than has generally been attributed to him, revolted at the idea of forming an alliance with a kinswoman and a subject. He notes, with dignified displeasure, in that depository of his private thoughts, his journal, the presumptuous project of his uncle Somerset to marry him to his cousin, the lady Jane Seymour, observing, that it was his intention to choose for his queen "a foreign princess, well *stuffed and jewelled*," meaning that his royal bride should be endowed with a suitable dower, and a right royal wardrobe.

[2] Those who compare this conversation with the document published by that

Dorset visited the admiral that day week at Seymour-place who gave such explanations of his prospects that Dorset struck a bargain[1] with him, sent for his daughter, and consigned her to him as an inmate of his house, in which she remained during the life of Katharine Parr.

Queen Katharine's cup-bearer, Nicholas Throckmorton, continued to follow her fortunes from the time of king Henry's decease. The Throckmorton MS. furnishes the following details connected with Katharine's fourth marriage:—

"My sovereign lost, the queen I did attend
The time when, widow, mourning she did rest;
And while she married was unto her end,
I willingly obeyed her highness's hest,
Who me esteemed and thought my service good,
Whereas, in truth, to small effect it stood.

Her husband, fourth, was uncle to the king,
Lord Seymour, high by office admiral,
In praise of whom loud peals I ought to ring,
For he was hardy, wise, and liberal;
His climbing high, disdained by his peers,
Was thought the cause he lived not out his years.

Her house was deemed a second court, of right,
Because there flocked still nobility;
He spared no cost his lady to delight,
Or to maintain her princely royalty."

After queen Katharine had been the wife of her beloved Seymour some months, there was a prospect of her becoming a mother. Her raptures at the anticipation of a blessing which had been denied to all her other marriages, carried her beyond the bounds of discretion; her husband was no less transported than herself: the feelings of paternity with them amounted to passion. During a brief separation, while Seymour was at court vainly soliciting of his brother the restoration of queen Katharine's property, among which not only the late king's gifts but those of her mother were unjustly detained, he writes in a very confidential and loving strain to his teeming consort,—

great historical antiquary, sir Harris Nicolas, in his Memorials of Lady Jane Gray, whereby we learn that the marquess of Dorset sold, for five hundred pounds, the wardship of his daughter Jane to lord Thomas, will be convinced that this bargain (which was by no means a strange one in those detestable times) was struck at this interview.

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. i. p. 138.

"After my humble commendations and thanks for your letter. As I was perplexed heretofore with unkindness, apprehending I should not have justice in all my causes from those that I thought would have been partial to me, even so the receiving of your letter revived my spirits; partly for that I do perceive you be armed with patience, howsoever the matter may fall, but chiefest——"

Here he proceeds to exult in fierce hopes that his expected son, "should God give him life to live as long as his father,[1] will revenge his wrongs." He then adverts to other matters in these words:—

"Now, to put you in some hope again. This day, a little before the receiving your letter, I have spoken to my lord [Somerset], whom I have so well handled that he is somewhat qualified; and although I am in no hopes thereof, yet I am in no despair. I have also broken to him for your mother's gift; he makes answer, 'that at the finishing of the matter you shall either have your own again, or else some recompense as ye shall be content withal.' I spake to him of your going down into the country on Wednesday, who was sorry thereof, trusting that I would be here all to-morrow, to hear what the Frenchmen will do; but on Monday, at dinner, I trust to be with you. As for the Frenchmen, I have no mistrust that they shall be any *let* [hindrance] of my going with you this journey, or any of my continuing there with your highness. Thus, till that time, I bid your highness most heartily well to fare, and thank you for your news, which were right heartily welcome to me."

He expresses his earnest desire that both the queen and his expected progeny, which he insists is to be a boy, may be kept in health "with good diet and walking," and concludes in these words,—

"And so I bid my most dear and well-beloved wife most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, this Saturday, the 9th of June.

"Your highness's most faithful loving husband,

"T. Seymour."

The queen was then at Hanworth, one of the royal manors belonging to her dower, from whence Seymour escorted her to his principal baronial residence, Sudely-castle.

The jealousy with which the duke of Somerset regarded his brother the admiral operated to prevent, as far as he could, the slightest intercourse between him and their royal nephew, the young king. The admiral, however, who was bent on superseding Somerset in the office of protector, contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Edward, and to supply him with money, of which he was kept almost destitute.[2] One of the agents of this correspondence was John Fowler, a

[1] Tytler's State-Papers, entitled "England under Edward VI. and Mary," pp. 104–106.

[2] Haynes's State-Papers. Lingard. Tytler.

gentleman of Edward's privy-chamber. The following letter shows how vigilantly the young king was beset, and the jealous care taken by Somerset and his satellites to prevent his writing to that beloved step-mother, to whom his heart yearned with not less than filial tenderness:—

"JOHN FOWLER TO MY LORD-ADMIRAL.

"I most humbly thank your lordship for your letter, dated the 15th of this present, which letter I showed to the king's majesty. And whereas, in my last letter to your lordship, I wrote unto you if his grace could get any spare time his grace would write a letter to the queen's grace and to you, his highness desires your lordship to pardon him, for his grace is not *half a quarter of an hour alone*. But in such leisure as his grace had, his majesty hath written (here inclosed) his commendations to the queen's grace, and to your lordship, that he is so much bound to you that he must needs remember you always, and, as his grace may have time, you shall well perceive by such *small lines* of recommendations with his own hand."[1]

Enclosed within Fowler's letter are the royal notes alluded to, written by Edward's own hand on torn and shabby scraps of paper, betraying both the scarcity of that article in the royal escritoire, and the stealthy manner in which they were penned. The first is a mysterious request for money, addressed to his uncle: "My lord,—Send me, per Latimer, as much as ye think good, and deliver it to Fowler.—EDWARD." The second of "*these small lines*" is,—"My lord, I thank you, and pray you to have me commended to the queen."[2]

There is in the context of Fowler's letter an allusion to queen Katharine's situation, with a friendly wish for the birth of the son, of whom both parents were so fondly desirous. He says, "My lady of Somerset is brought to bed of a goodly boy, and I trust in Almighty God the queen's grace shall have another." Fowler's letter is dated July 19th, from Hampton, where the young king then was. Seymour's great object was to get a letter written by king Edward, complaining of the arbitrary conduct of the protector, and the restraint in which he was kept by him. Edward had actually consented to write the letter, which the admiral was to lay before the parliament; but before this could be done, the plot was betrayed to the protector. The

[1] State-Paper MSS. [2] Ibid.

admiral was called before the council to answer for his proceedings. He defied them, but when he was threatened with imprisonment in the Tower, he made submissions to his brother, a hollow reconciliation took place for the present, and 800*l.* per annum was added to his appointments by the protector, in the hope of conciliating him.[1]

As long as queen Katharine lived, the admiral was too powerful for his foes; perhaps he did not sufficiently appreciate her value, even in a political and worldly point of view, till it was too late. The residence of the princess Elizabeth under their roof was fatal to the wedded happiness of Seymour and Katharine. The queen, forgetful that a blooming girl in her fifteenth year was no longer a child, had imprudently encouraged the admiral to romp with her royal step-daughter in her presence. Mrs. Ashley, the princess Elizabeth's governess, in her deposition before the privy council, gives a strange picture of the coarse manners of the times in which such proceedings could be tolerated in a palace, and with royal ladies. "At Chelsea, after my lord Thomas Seymour was married to the queen, he would come many mornings into the said lady Elizabeth's chamber before she were ready, and sometimes before she did rise; and if she were up he would bid her good morrow, and *ax* how she did, and strike her on the back familiarly, and so go forth to his chamber, and sometimes go through to her maidens and play with them. And if the princess were in bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and she would go further in the bed. And one morning he tried to kiss the princess *in* her bed, and this deponent was there, and bade him go away for shame. At Hanworth, for two mornings the queen [Katharine Parr] was with him, and they both tickled my lady Elizabeth in her bed. Another time, at Hanworth, he romped with her in the garden, and cut her gown, being black cloth, into a hundred pieces; and when Mrs. Ashley came up and chid lady Elizabeth, she answered, 'She could not strive with all, for the queen held her while the lord admiral cut the dress.' Another time, lady Elizabeth

[1] Burnet. Lingard. Tytler.

heard the master-key unlock, and knowing my lord admiral would come in, ran out of her bed to her maidens, and then went behind the curtain of her bed; and my lord tarried a long time, in hopes that she would come out." When Mrs. Ashley remonstrated with the lord admiral on the impropriieties of his behaviour, which had caused the princess to be evil spoken of, he replied, with a profane exclamation, "I will tell my lord protector how I am slandered; and I will not leave off, for I mean no evil."[1]

"At Seymour-place, when the queen slept there, he did use awhile to come up every morning in his night-gown and slippers. When he found my lady Elizabeth up, and at her book, then he would look in at the gallery-door, and bid her good morrow, and so go on his way; and the deponent told my lord it was an unseemly sight to see a man so little dressed in a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but left it. At Hanworth, the queen told Mrs. Ashley 'that my lord admiral looked in at the gallery-window, and saw my lady Elizabeth with her arms about a man's neck.' Upon which Mrs. Ashley questioned her charge regarding it, and the lady Elizabeth denied it, weeping, and bade them '*ax* all her women if there were any man who came to her, excepting Grindal?' [her schoolmaster]. Howbeit, Mrs. Ashley thought the queen, being jealous, did feign this story, to the intent that Mrs. Ashley might take more heed to the proceedings of lady Elizabeth and the lord admiral." The governess added, "that her husband, Mr. Ashley, who, it seems, was a relative of Anne Boleyn, did often give warning that he feared the princess did bear some affection to the lord admiral, as she would sometimes blush when she heard him spoken of."[2]

Elizabeth herself told Parry, the cofferer of her household, "that she feared the admiral loved her but too well, and that the queen was jealous of them both; and that, suspecting the frequent access of the admiral to her, her majesty came suddenly upon them when they were alone, he having her in his arms. Queen Katharine was greatly offended with them

[1] Mrs. Ashley's depositions before king Edward's privy council.—Haynes's State-Papers.

[2] Haynes's State-Papers.

both, and very sharply reproved the princess's governess for her neglect of her duty to her royal pupil, in permitting her to fall into such reprehensible freedom of behaviour. Conjugal jealousy apart, Katharine Parr had great cause for anger and alarm; for the princess was under her especial care, and if aught but good befell her at the tender age of fifteen, great blame would, of course, attach to herself, especially if the admiral, for whose sake she had already outraged popular opinion, were the author of her young stepdaughter's ruin. It is just possible that the actual guilt incurred by the unhappy queen Katharine Howard, in her girlhood, did not amount to a greater degree of impropriety than the unseemly romping which took place almost every day at Chelsea between the youthful princess Elizabeth and the bold, bad husband of Katharine Parr.

It does not appear that any violent or injurious expressions were used by queen Katharine, but she saw the expediency of separating her household from that of the princess, and acted upon it without delay. There is no reason to believe that she cherished vindictive feelings against Elizabeth, for she continued to correspond with her in a friendly and affectionate manner, as the princess herself testifies in the playful and somewhat familiar letter which is here subjoined :—

LADY ELIZABETH TO THE QUEEN.[1]

"Although your highness's letters be most joyful to me in absence, yet, considering what pain it is for you to write, your grace being so sickly, your commendations were enough in my lord's letter. I much rejoice at your health, with the well liking of the country, with my humble thanks that your grace wished me with you till I were weary of that country. Your highness were like to be cumbered, if I should not depart till I were weary of being with you; although it were the worst soil in the world, your presence would make it pleasant. I cannot reprove my lord for not doing your commendations in his letter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not complain on him, for he shall be diligent to give me knowledge from time to time how his busy child doth; and if I were at his birth, no doubt I would see him beaten, for the trouble he hath put you to. Master Denny and my lady, with humble thanks, prayeth most entirely for your grace, praying the Almighty God to send you a most lucky deliverance; and my mistress[2] wisheth no less, giving your highness most humble thanks for her commendations. Written, with very little leisure, this last day of July.

"Your humble daughter,

"ELIZABETH."

[1] Hearne's Sylloge.

[2] Katharine Ashley, her governess.

This letter, dated within six weeks of the queen's death, affords convincing evidence that she was on amicable terms with her royal step-daughter. She had not only written kindly to Elizabeth expressing a wish that she were with her at Sudely, but she had even encouraged the admiral to write, when not well enough herself to continue the correspondence, —a proof that Katharine Parr, though she had considered it proper to put a stop to the dangerous familiarity with which her husband had presumed to demean himself towards her royal charge, did not regard it as any thing beyond a passing folly. But even if her heart had been torn with jealousy, she was too amiable to blight the opening flower of Elizabeth's life by betraying feelings injurious to the honour of the youthful princess. It was not, however, Elizabeth, but the young and early wise lady Jane Gray who became the companion of Katharine Parr at Sudely-castle, when she withdrew thither to await the birth of her child. Lady Jane continued with queen Katharine till the melancholy sequel of her fond hopes of maternity.

Sudely-castle[1] was royal property, that had been granted to the admiral by the regency on the death of king Henry It was suspected that lands thus illegally obtained were held on a doubtful tenure. One day, when queen Katharine was walking in Sudely-park with her husband and sir Robert Tyrwhitt, she said, "Master Tyrwhitt, you will see the king, when he cometh to full age, will call in his lands again, as fast as they be now given away from him."—"Marry," said master Tyrwhitt, "then will Sudely-castle be gone from my lord admiral."—"Marry," rejoined the queen, "I do assure you he intends to offer to restore them, and give them freely back when that time comes." Queen Katharine had a princely retinue in attendance upon her, in her retirement at Sudely-castle, of ladies in waiting, maids of honour, and gentlewomen in ordinary, besides the appointments for her expected nursery and lying-in chamber, and more than a

[1] Sudely-castle is situated in Gloucestershire, and was, even in the reign of Henry IV., a noble building; and when one of the Botelers, its lord, was arrested by Henry IV., he suspected the king of coveting his castle, and looking back at it, said "Ah, Sudely-castle! thou art the traitor, not I."

hundred and twenty gentlemen of her household, and yeomen of the guard. She had several of the most learned men among the lights of the Reformation for her chapiains,[1] and she caused divine worship to be performed twice a-day, or oftener, in her house, notwithstanding the distaste of the admiral, who not only refused to attend these devotional exercises himself, but proved a great let and hindrance to all the pious regulations his royal consort strove to establish.[2] This opposition came with an ill grace from Seymour, who, for political purposes, professed to be a reformer, and had shared largely in the plunder of the old church; but in his heart he had no more liking for protestant prayers and sermons, than queen Katharine's deceased lord, king Henry.

A few days before her confinement, Katharine received the following friendly letter from the princess Mary:[3]—

"MADAME,

"Although I have troubled your highness lately with sundry letters, yet that, notwithstanding, seeing my lord marquess, who hath taken the pains to come to me at this present, intendeth to see your grace shortly, I could not be satisfied without writing to the same, and especially because I purpose to-morrow (with the help of God) to begin my journey towards Norfolk, where I shall be farther from your grace; which journey I have intended since Whitsuntide, but lack of health hath stayed me all the while, which, altho' it be as yet unstable, nevertheless I am enforced to remove for a time, hoping, with God's grace, to return again about Michaelmas, at which time, or shortly after, I trust to hear good success of your grace's condition; and in the mean time shall desire much to hear of your health, which I pray Almighty God to continue and increase to his pleasure, as much as your own heart can desire. And thus, with my most humble commendations to your highness, I take my leave of the same, desiring your grace to take the pain to make my commendations to my lord admiral.—From Beaulieu, the 9th of August,

"Your highness's humble and assured loving daughter,

"MARYE."

The lord marquess mentioned by Mary, was queen Katharine's only brother, William Parr, marquess of Northampton. His guilty and unhappy wife, the heiress of Essex, was then at Sudely-castle under some restraint, and in the keeping of her royal sister-in-law. This unpleasant charge must have greatly disquieted the last troubled months of Katharine Parr's life.[4]

[1] Strype's Memorials. Latimer's Sermons. [2] Ibid. [3] Hearne's Sylloge.

[4] The marriage between the queen's brother and the frail representative of the royally connected line of Bourchier was finally dissolved, and the children

Katharine fitted up the apartments which she destined for the reception of her first-born with no less state and magnificence than if she had been still queen-consort of England, and expected to present king Henry himself with a prince destined to bear the royal title of duke of York, and perhaps hereafter to succeed to the regal garland. The outer apartment, or day nursery, was hung with fair tapestry, representing the twelve months, a chair of state covered with cloth of gold, cushions of cloth of gold, all the other seats being tabourets with embroidered tops, and a gilded bedstead, with tester curtains, and counterpoint of corresponding richness. The inner chamber was also hung with costly tapestry, specified "as six fair pieces of hangings;" and besides the rich cradle with its three down pillows and quilt, there was a bed with a tester of scarlet and curtains of crimson taffeta, with a counterpoint of silk serge, and a bed for the nurse, with counterpoints of imagery to please the babe. A goodly store of costly plate, both white and parcel-gilt, were also provided for the table service of the anticipated heir. Local tradition still points to a beautiful embowed window, of the most elaborate Tudor-gothic order of architecture, which commands the fairest prospect and the best air, as the nursery-window *par excellence;* but the inventory of "the plate and stuff *as* belongeth to the nursery of the queen's child," enumerates carpets for *four* windows, whereof this surviving relic retains, after the lapse of three centuries, the unforgotten name of the nursery-window. It looks upon the chapel-green, and towards another scene sacred to the recollections of England's royal dead,—St. Kenelm's wood.

On the 30th of August, 1548, Katharine Parr gave birth, at Sudely-castle, to the infant whose appearance had been so fondly anticipated both by Seymour and herself. It was a girl, and though both parents had confidently expected a boy, no disappointment was expressed. On the contrary, Seymour,

of the marchioness, by her paramour, declared incapable of succeeding to the honours of Essex or Northampton. So much for the advantages derivable from marriages founded on sordid or ambitious motives! Parr, marquess of Northampton, was thrice wedded, and died without an heir to perpetuate his honours.

in a transport of paternal pride, wrote so eloquent a description of the beauty of the new-born child to his brother the duke of Somerset, that the latter added the following kind postscript to a stern letter of expostulation and reproof, which he had just finished writing to him when he received his joyous communication :—

"After our hearty commendations,

"We are right glad to understand by your letters, that the queen, your bedfellow, hath a happy hour; and, escaping all danger, hath made you the father of so pretty a daughter. And although (if it had pleased God) it would have been both to us, and (we suppose) also to you, a more joy and comfort if it had, this the first-born, been a son, yet the escape of the danger, and the prophecy and good hansell of this to a great sort of happy sons, which (as you write) we trust no less than to be true, is no small joy and comfort to us, as we are sure it is to you and to her grace also; to whom you shall make again our hearty commendations, with no less gratulation of such good success.

"Thus we bid you heartily farewell. From Sion, the 1st of Sept., 1548.

"Your loving brother,

"E. SOMERSET."[1]

From this letter, it is evident that lord Thomas had been casting horoscopes and consulting fortune-tellers, who had promised him long life and a great *sort* of sons.

It is difficult to imagine that the admiral, however faulty his *morale* might be on some points, could cherish evil intentions against her who had just caused his heart to overflow for the first time with the ineffable raptures of paternity. The charge of his having caused the death of queen Katharine by poison can only be regarded as the fabrication of his enemies; neither is there the slightest reason to believe that the unfavourable symptoms, which appeared on the third day after her delivery, were either caused or aggravated by his unkindness. On the contrary, his manner towards her, when she was evidently suffering under the grievous irritability of mind and body incidental to puerperal fever, appears from the deposition of lady Tyrwhitt,[2] her stepdaughter, one of the most faithful and attached of her ladies, to have been soothing and affectionate. Let the reader judge from the subjoined record

[1] State-Paper MSS.

[2] Lady Tyrwhitt was one of the three ladies included by Gardiner and Wriothesley in the bill of indictment they had prepared, with the sanction of the deceased king, against Katharine Parr.

of that sad scene in the chamber of the departing queen:—"Two days before the death of the queen," says lady Tyrwhitt, "at my coming to her in the morning, she asked me 'where I had been so long?' and said unto me 'that she did fear such things in herself, that she was sure she could not live.' I answered as I thought, 'that I saw no likelihood of death in her.' She then, having my lord admiral by the hand, and divers others standing by, spake these words, partly, as I took, *idly*, [meaning in delirium]: 'My lady Tyrwhitt, I am not well handled; for those that be about me care not for me, but stand laughing at my grief, and the more good I will to them, the less good they will to me.' Whereunto my lord admiral answered, 'Why, sweetheart, I would you no hurt.' And she said to him again, aloud, 'No, my lord, I think so;' and immediately she said to him in his ear, 'but, my lord, you have given me many shrewd taunts.' These words I perceived she spake with good memory, and very sharply and earnestly, for her mind was sore disquieted. My lord admiral, perceiving that I heard it, called me aside, and asked me 'What she said?' and I declared it plainly to him. Then he consulted with me 'that he would lie down on the bed by her, to look if he could pacify her unquietness with gentle communication,' whereunto I agreed; and by the time that he had spoken three or four words to her, she answered him roundly and sharply, saying, 'My lord, I would have given a thousand marks to have had my full talk with Hewyke [Dr. Huick] the first day I was delivered, but I durst not for displeasing you.' And I, hearing that, perceived her trouble to be so great, that my heart would serve me to hear no more. Such like communications she had with him the space of an hour, which they did hear that sat by her bedside."[1]

It is probable that the alarming change in Katharine had been caused, not by any sinister practices against her life, but by whispers previously circulated among the gossips in her lying-in chamber relating to her husband's passion for her royal step-daughter, and of his intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess in case of her own decease. Her malady

[1] Haynes's State-Papers, p. 104.

was puerperal fever. A sense of intolerable wrong was constantly expressed by her, yet she never explained the cause of her displeasure. She alluded to her delivery, but, strange to say, never mentioned her infant. Wild and gloomy fantasies had superseded the first sweet gushings of maternal love in her troubled bosom, and she appeared unconscious of the existence of the babe she had so fondly anticipated. This symptom, with ladies in her situation, is generally the forerunner of death.

On the very day when the scene occurred, described by lady Tyrwhitt, Katharine Parr dictated her will, which is still extant in the Prerogative-office;[1] it is dated September 5th, 1548, and it is to the following effect:—"That she, then lying on her death-bed, sick of body, but of good mind, and perfect memory and discretion, *being persuaded*, and perceiving the extremity of death to approach her, gives *all* to her married *espose* and husband, wishing *them* to be a thousand times more in value than they were, or been." There are no legacies; and the witnesses are two well-known historical characters,

ROBERT HUYCK, M.D.,
and
JOHN PARKHURST.

This is a *nuncupative* or verbal will; it was not signed by the dying queen, which we find was usually the case with death-bed royal wills of that era. The witnesses were persons of high character and even sacred authority in a sick chamber, being the physician and chaplain; the latter became subsequently a bishop of the reformed church, highly distinguished for his Christian virtues. In after-life, Parkhurst always mentioned Katharine Parr with great regard, as his "most gentle mistress." Was it likely that such a man would perjure himself for the sake of enriching Seymour? Yet the affectionate language of the will is inconsistent with the suspicions and reproaches which lady Tyrwhitt affirmed that the dying queen threw out against her lord on the very day of its date; viz. September 5th, 1548. Both these facts are depositions on oath, made by two most respectable witnesses on the same

[1] The public are indebted, for the will of Katharine Parr, to the research of John Courthope, esquire, Rouge Croix, who kindly favoured us with a copy.

day. As lady Tyrwhitt declares that she entered the queen's apartments in the morning, when the lord admiral was by the bed-side, with the patient's hand in his, it is likely that she came in just after the will had been made. Let us consider the state of Katharine Parr's mind at this juncture: Dr. Huick had recently revealed to her her danger; her words, "being persuaded of the approach of death;" her will distinctly intimates this fact; the result was an instant testamentary disposition of her property, in which she at the same time exerted her peculiar privilege, as queen-dowager, of bequeathing her personal effects, though a married woman, and showed her passionate love to her husband, for she left him *all*, "wishing *them* [her goods] a thousand times more than they were, or been." Her words are evidently written as uttered, with all imperfections. *He* was the sole object of her thoughts, her new-born infant was forgotten,—a lapse of memory on the part of its mother which doomed it to beggary before it could speak. All these circumstances certainly occurred in a short space of time, and doubtless occasioned great hurry of spirits. The queen's ladies knew not of her danger: lady Tyrwhitt says she did not. The queen in her will says "she herself had been *persuaded* of it." Then came the revulsion of feeling; the queen, on recollection, was not reconciled to death, and began to question, angrily, whether her death were not caused by carelessness or malice? Lady Tyrwhitt saw she spoke deliriously, or, according to her phrase, idly; her mind wandered, and former jealousies and affronts, hitherto successfully concealed, biassed her speech. She thought that her husband, to whom she had bequeathed her all, was exulting in her removal. She fancied—and that part of the narrative plainly reveals delirium, for such fancies are symptomatic—that he she loved so well, stood deriding her misery. He acted considerately, soothing her as a nurse soothes a sick wayward child; but his manner, as described by lady Tyrwhitt, was that of a person in possession of intellect humouring the sad vagaries of a mind diseased.

Katharine Parr expired on the second day after the date of her will, being the eighth after the birth of her child.

She was only in the thirty-sixth year of her age,[1] having survived her royal husband, Henry VIII., but one year, six months, and eight days. Her character is thus recorded by a contemporary, quoted by Strype:—

"She was endued with a pregnant wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the holy Scriptures; of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness, and contemning vain pastimes."

Fuller also, in his Church History, speaks of her in the highest terms of commendation. The official announcement of queen Katharine Parr's death, together with the programme of her funeral, is copied from a curious contemporary MS. in the College of Arms. Lady Jane Gray, who was with queen Katharine at Sudely-castle at the time of her death, officiated at her funeral solemnity as chief mourner, which is certified in this document.

"*A Breviate of the interment of the lady Katharine Parr, queen-dowager, late wife to king Henry VIII., and after wife to sir Thomas lord Seymour, of Sudely, and high-admiral of England.*

"*Item*, on Wednesday the v[2] of September, between two and three of the clock in the morning, died the aforesaid lady, late queen-dowager, at the castle of Sudely, in Gloucestershire, 1548, and lieth buried in the chapel of the said castle.

"*Item*, she was cered and chested in lead accordingly, and so remained in her privy-chamber until things were in readiness.

"The chapel was hung with black cloth, garnished with scutcheons of marriages; viz., king Henry VIII. and her in pale under the crown; her own in lozenge under the crown; also the arms of the lord admiral and hers in pale, without the crown.

"The rails were covered with black cloth for the mourners to sit within, with stools and cushions accordingly, and two lighted scutcheons stood upon the corpse during the service.

"*The Order in proceeding to the Chapel.*

"First, two conductors in black, with black staves; then gentlemen and esquires; then knights; then officers of the household, with their white staves; then the gentlemen ushers; then Somerset herald, in the tabard coat; then the corpse, borne by six gentlemen in black gowns, with their hoods on their heads; then eleven staff torches, borne on each side by yeomen round about the corpse, and at each corner a knight for assistance (four), with their hoods on

[1] See her mother lady Parr's correspondence with lord Dacre, which proves that Katharine Parr was four years younger than has generally been supposed.

[2] This is a mistake twice iterated in the Archæologia. The Roman numeral being used, the additional III have been omitted or obliterated. The queen was probably buried September 8th.

their heads; then the lady Jane (daughter to the lord marquess Dorset) chief mourner, her train borne up by a young lady; then six other lady mourners, two and two; then all ladies and gentlemen, two and two; then yeomen, three and three in rank; then all other following.

"*The manner of the Service in the Church.*

"*Item*, when the corpse was set within the rails, and the mourners placed, the whole choir began and sung certain psalms in English, and read three lessons; and after the third lesson, the mourners, according to their degrees and that which is accustomed, offered into the alms-box; and when they had done, all other, as gentlemen or gentlewomen, that would.

"The offering done, doctor Coverdale, the queen's almoner,[1] began his sermon, which was very good and godly; and in one place thereof he took occasion to declare unto the people 'how that they should none there think, say, or spread abroad that the offering which was there done, was done any thing to benefit the dead, but for the poor only; and also the lights, which were carried and stood about the corpse, were for the honour of the person, and for none other intent nor purpose;' and so went through with his sermon, and made a godly prayer, and the whole church answered and prayed the same with him in the end. The sermon done, the corpse was buried, during which time the choir sung *Te Deum* in English. And this done, the mourners dined, and the rest returned homeward again. All which aforesaid was done in a morning."[2]

This curious document presents the reader with the form of the first royal funeral solemnized according to Protestant rites. Queen Katharine's epitaph was written in Latin by her chaplain, Dr. Parkhurst, afterwards bishop of Norwich. The translation by an anonymous author is elegant:—

"In this new tomb the royal Katharine lies,
Flower of her sex, renowned, great, and wise;
A wife by every nuptial virtue known,
And faithful partner once of Henry's throne.
To Seymour next her plighted hand she yields—
Seymour, who Neptune's trident justly wields.
From him a beauteous daughter bless'd her arms,
An infant copy of her parent's charms:
When now seven days this infant flower had bloom'd,
Heaven in its wrath the mother's soul resumed."

The erudite writer, who has collected many interesting particulars in the Archæologia of the life of this queen, says, "She was tormented and broken-hearted with the pride of her sister-in-law and the ill-temper of her husband, whom she adored to the last." No instance of personal incivility or harshness on the part of the lord admiral towards Katharine Parr has, however, been recorded, without, indeed, the

[1] He was in that office at her death, by this document.

[2] From a MS. in the college of Arms, London, entitled "A Booke of Buryalls of Trew Noble Persons." No. 1-15, pp. 98, 99.

"shrewd taunts" she mentioned in her delirium were matters of fact. If so, like many other bad-tempered husbands, he was resolved no one should revile his wife but himself; for he was wont to affirm, with his usual terrible oath, that "no one should speak ill of the queen, or if he knew it, he would take his fist to the ears of those who did, from the lowest to the highest."[1] The charge of his having hastened her death, is not only without the slightest proof, but really opposed to the evidences of history.

The fatal termination of the queen's illness was not anticipated, even by her husband; and how great a shock it was to him may be gathered from the fact, that in his first perplexity all his political plans were disarranged, and he wrote to the marquess of Dorset to send for lady Jane Gray, as he meant to dismiss his household. But before a month was over he wrote again to the marquess, saying, "By my last letters, written at a time when with the queen's highness's death I was so amazed that I had small regard either to myself or my doings, and partly then thinking that my great loss must presently have constrained me to have dissolved my

[1] The duke of Somerset, after Katharine Parr's death, obtained a grant of the manor and palace of Marlborough, which had lately formed part of her dower as queen of England, and where there was an ancient royal palace.—Strype, vol. ii. p. 538. Chelsea-palace was doomed to a rapid change of owners; for, on the attainder and death of Somerset, it was granted by the young king to the heir of Northumberland, as we find from the following entry in the Augmentation Records:—"Fifth year of Edward VI. All our manor of Chelsea, with all appurtenances, and all that capital mansion-house late parcel of the possessions of Katharine, late queen of England, instead of Esher, granted to the earl of Warwick, son of the earl of Northumberland." These transfers remind us of Scipio's remark, when bereaved of the stolen crowns: "Thus did brother Chrysostom's goods pass from one thief to another." After the attainder and death of Northumberland, the manor-house of Chelsea was granted by patent to John Caryll, who sold it to James Basset; yet, in the herald's order for the funeral of Anne of Cleves, who died there, July 1557, it is described as crown property. Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, granted it to the widowed duchess of Somerset, who lived there with her second husband, who was master Newdigate, once the occasional tenant of Katharine Parr's second husband, at lord Latimer's town residence in the Charter-house. Lord Chency afterwards lived in the palace, having become lord of the manor in the seventeenth century; whence the ground on which stood the palaces of queen Katharine Parr and the bishop of Winchester derived its present name of Cheyne-row, not from the china works, which has been vulgarly supposed. The old palace was finally purchased and pulled down by sir Hans Sloane.

whole house, I offered to send my lady Jane unto you whensoever ye would send for her." Having now more deeply considered the matter, says he, "he found he could continue his establishment, where shall remain, not only the gentlewomen of the queen's highness's privy-chamber, but also the maids which waited at large and other women who were about her in her lifetime, with an hundred and twenty gentlemen and yeomen." The ambition of lord admiral Seymour still projected placing a royal partner at the head of his establishment: at present, he invited his aged mother, lady Seymour, to superintend this vast household; and he concluded his letter to Dorset with the assurance, "that if he would restore lady Jane Gray as his inmate, lady Seymour should treat her as if she were her daughter." After this letter Seymour came to Bradgate, "and," says lord Dorset, "he was so earnestly in hand with me and my wife, that he would have no 'nay;' so that we were contented for her to return to his house." At the same time and place he renewed the favourite project of the deceased queen and himself,—that Edward VI. should wed lady Jane Gray; adding, that if he could once get the king at liberty, this marriage should take place. Lady Jane was, in consequence of these representations, restored to the guardianship of lord admiral Seymour, and actually remained under his roof till his arrest and imprisonment in the Tower.

After the death of queen Katharine, a deceitful message of condolence was sent to the lord admiral by the duchess of Somerset, who intimated "that if any grudge were borne by her to him, it was all for the late queen's cause; and now she was taken away by death, it would undoubtedly follow (unless the fault were in himself) that she, the duchess, would bear as good will to him as ever she did before." The lord admiral accepted the overture for a time, and paid his brother a visit, but soon after gave pretty evident proof that his enmity to Somerset and his party was far from being diminished by the death of Katharine Parr; indeed it amounted almost to insanity, after he was deprived of the

restraining influence of her sound sense and prudent counsels. Queen Katharine's will was proved December 6th, 1548;[1] after which the admiral fiercely pursued the suit for the restoration of the jewels and "stuff" which had been detained from his late royal consort by the protector and his council. So thoroughly persuaded was the widower of the justice of the claim, that he appealed to no meaner witness than the princess Mary, requiring her to testify whether the disputed jewels and furniture were a *bonâ fide* gift made by the deceased king her father to Katharine Parr, or only a loan. In his letter to the princess he says,—

"The queen's highness (whose soul God hath) did ofttimes in her lifetime declare unto me, upon occasion of talk between us of such jewels and other things as were kept from her possession by my lord my brother, [Somerset]; she said, 'Your grace knew, and could testify, how and after what sort the king's majesty used to part with things to her; namely, those jewels which he delivered to her against the French admiral's[2] coming in.' And forasmuch as it may fortune a further communication will hereafter be had for the due trial of her title unto them, I do most humbly beseech your grace that it will please you to employ so much pains, at my poor request, as to make me some brief note of your knowledge in two or three lines, as to whether his majesty king Henry did *give* her highness [Katharine Parr] those jewels and other things that were delivered to her at the French admiral's coming in, and other times, both before and after; or else, whether he did but lend them for a time, to be returned home again after those triumphs finished, for which time and turn some few in number suppose they were only delivered. Assuring your grace that your opinion declared shall not only much satisfy me in this matter, but also bind me during my life to be at your grace's commandment, with any thing that lieth in me."[3]

This application was made a little before Christmas. The princess Mary was too prudent to allow herself to be involved in the dispute, and merely, in her reply, bore testimony to the great love and affection that her late lord and father did bear unto her grace queen Katharine,—a testimony of some importance to the biographers of Katharine Parr, but not what Seymour required to establish his right to the contested articles.

Wightman, one of the admiral's servants, subsequently deposed that he was employed by him in copying letters to the keeper of St. James's-palace, and others, requiring them to bear witness as to the fact whether the jewels were

[1] See the will extant in the Prerogative-court.

[2] Annebaut.

[3] Haynes's State-Papers.

given to queen Katharine by king Henry, or only lent for the honour of the crown while she presided at the fêtes that were given at Hampton-Court to the French ambassador, Claude d'Annebaut, who concluded the peace between England and France in 1546, as before related. Seymour made great search among queen Katharine's papers at her late royal residence at Hanworth, in the hope of finding some record affording decisive evidence of the gift. It is to be feared, that among "the great sort of old papers belonging to the late queen Katharine," of which he spake to his servant Wightman, he recklessly destroyed, as useless, and perhaps dangerous, many a precious letter and record, not only of her queenly, but her early life, and of her first and second marriages.[1]

The limits of this work will not admit of detailing the particulars of the intrigues which led to the fall of the lord admiral. Suffice it to say, that he had organized measures for supplanting his elder brother, the duke of Somerset, in the office of guardian to king Edward. The youthful majesty of England was actually brought before his own council, to be made a witness against his best-beloved uncle for the purpose of bringing him to the block. Edward confessed that the lord admiral had privily supplied him with sums of money, of which he had been kept destitute by the protector; and also that he had been accustomed to censure the proceedings of the protector, and to desire his removal. These words were from the lips of the princely boy: "Within these two years, at least, the admiral lord Thomas Seymour said to me, 'Ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle Somerset is old, and, I trust, will not live long.' I answered, 'It were better he should die.'"[2]

It is not unworthy of observation, that the marquess of Northampton, Katharine Parr's brother; her brother-in-law,

[1] It is supposed that many of queen Katharine Parr's letters to her brother the marquess of Northampton, and her sister the countess of Pembroke, perished in the great fire at Wilton.

[2] Haynes's State-Papers, p. 74.

Herbert earl of Pembroke; and her cousin, Nicholas Throckmorton, all remained the fast friends of the lord admiral after her death, which they would scarcely have done had they suspected him of unkindness to her, much less of hastening her death. The Throckmorton MS. thus mentions him:—

"But when my queen lay buried in her grave,
To Musselborough field I mourning went:
The gladsome victory to us God gave,
Home with those tidings I in haste was sent.

The admiral, my spokesman, was at home,
Who staid his nephew's safety to regard;
He was at all essays my perfect friend,
And patron too, unto his dying day.

When men surmised that he would mount too high,
And seek the *second time aloft to match*,
Ambitious hearts did steer something too nigh,
Off went his head, they made a quick dispatch;

But ever since I thought him sure a beast,[1]
That causeless laboured to defile his nest.
Thus, guiltless, *he* [Seymour] through malice went to pot,
Not answering for himself, nor knowing cause."

It is more than probable, that the charge of poisoning queen Katharine Parr was devised in order to induce the king, by whom she had been so fondly beloved, to sign the warrant for the execution of her unhappy husband. Seymour was far from submitting to death, like his contemporaries, with an approbative speech setting forth the justice of his sentence; he knew he had been doomed lawlessly, and he loudly proclaimed the fact on the scaffold. Before he laid his head on the block, he told an attendant of the lieutenant of the Tower to "bid his man speed the thing he wot of." This speech was overheard, and Seymour's servant was arrested, and threatened till he confessed "that his master had obtained some ink in the Tower, and had plucked off an aglet from his dress, with the point of which he had written a letter to each of the princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, which he had hidden within the sole of a velvet shoe.[2] The shoe was opened and the letters found, which were, as was natural, full

[1] Throckmorton goes on to blame Somerset severely for the death of his brother, and attributes his subsequent fate to retributive justice.

[2] Tytler's State-Papers. Lingard. Strype.

of bitter complaints against his brother, and all who had caused his destruction. Latimer preached a very uncharitable funeral sermon for Seymour, in which he said "that it was evident God had clean forsaken him. Whether he be saved or not I leave it to God, but surely he was a wicked man, and the realm is well rid him."[1]

Latimer accused lord Thomas Seymour, that when queen Katharine, his wife, had daily prayer morning and afternoon in his house, he would get him out of the way, and was a contemner of the Common-Prayer. Among his misdeeds it was mentioned that a woman, in 1540, being executed for robbery, declared that the beginning of her evil life was being seduced and deserted by lord Thomas Seymour.[2] He made no religious profession on the scaffold, and, according to the account given in his funeral sermon, he died "irksomely, dangerously, and horribly." These accusations against the unfortunate husband of Katharine Parr, are somewhat softened by the religious and philosophic verses he was known to write the week before his death:[3]—

"Forgetting God to love a king
Hath been my rod, or else nothing
In this frail life, being a blast
Of care and strife till it be past;
Yet God did call me in my pride,
Lest I should fall and from him slide,
For whom he loves he must correct,
That they may be of his elect:
Then, Death! haste thee, thou shalt me gain,
Immortally with God to reign.
Lord send the king in years as Noè,
In governing this realm in joy;
And after this frail life such grace,
That in thy bliss he may find place."

Lord Seymour was beheaded on Tower-hill, March 20th, 1549. There was only an interval of two years, one month, and three weeks between the death of Katharine's third husband, king Henry VIII., and the execution of her fourth, who survived her just six months and fourteen days. The

[1] Latimer's Sermons, first edition. [2] Strype, vol. ii. part i. p. 197.
[3] Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 328. Sir John Harrington the elder, who has preserved these verses, was the officer of lord Seymour, and cherished the utmost regard for his memory. He wrote a grand poetical portrait of his master.

only child of queen Katharine and lord Seymour was named Mary. It is probable that lady Jane Gray was her godmother, as she was at Sudely-castle at the time of her birth, and acted as chief mourner at the funeral of her royal mother. As the sole representative of both parents, the young Mary Seymour ought to have been the heiress of great wealth; and even if the act of attainder which had been passed on her father operated to deprive her of the broad lands of Sudely and the rest of his possessions, she was fully entitled to inherit the large fortune of the queen-dowager, her mother, if she had had friends to assert her rights. "This high-born infant lady," says Strype, "destitute already both of her mother, queen Katharine, and her lately executed father, remained a little while at her uncle Somerset's house at Sion; and then, according to her father's dying request, was conveyed to Grimsthorpe in Lincolnshire, where Katharine dowager-duchess of Suffolk lived. There she was brought, with her governess Mrs. Aglionby, her nurse, two maids, and other servants, consonant to the high quality to which, for their own misery, her unfortunate parents had been advanced. Her uncle the duke of Somerset, upon her leaving Sion, promised that a certain pension should be settled upon her for her maintenance, and that a portion of her nursery plate and furniture brought to Sion-house was to be sent after her when she went to Grimsthorpe." So the duchess of Somerset promised Mr. Bertie, a gentleman in the service of the duchess of Suffolk, whom that lady subsequently married, but these promises in behalf of the poor orphan were never fulfilled.[1]

Katharine duchess of Suffolk had been honoured with the friendship of the deceased queen, and through her favour and protecting influence had been preserved from the fiery persecution which had marked the closing years of Henry VIII.'s reign, when she was in more imminent peril than any one in the realm, since she had, by her cutting raillery, provoked the personal enmity of both Bonner and Gardiner. She held the same religious tenets as the late queen, whom she professed to regard as a saint, and it might have been expected that she

[1] Strype, vol. ii. p. 201.

would have cherished the orphan babe of her royal friend with not less than maternal tenderness. The impatience, however, with which she regarded the incumbrance and expense of the hapless little one who had become the unwelcome recipient of her charity, is sufficiently apparent in the letters written by her to Cecil, of which the following may serve as a specimen:—

"TO MR. CECIL.[1]

"It is said that the best means of remedy to the sick, is first plainly to confess and disclose the disease wherefore lieth for remedy; and again, for that my disease is so strong that it will not be hidden, I will discover me unto you. First, I will (as it were under *Benedicite*, and in high secrecy,) declare unto you that all the world knoweth, though I go never so covertly in my net, what a very beggar I am. This sickness, as I have said, I promise you increaseth mightily upon me. Amongst other causes whereof is, you will understand not the least, the queen's child hath lain, and yet doth lie, at my house, with her company about her, wholly at my charges. I have written to my lady Somerset at large, which was the letter I wrote (note this) with mine own hand unto you; and among other things for the child, that there may be some pension allotted unto her, according to my lord's grace's promise. Now, good Cecil, help at a pinch all that you may help. My lady also sent me word at Whitsuntide last, by *Bartue*,[2] that my lord's grace,[3] at her suit, had granted certain nursery plate should be delivered with the child; and lest there might be stay for lack of a present bill [list] of such plate and stuff as was there in the nursery, I send you here inclosed of all parcels as were appointed out for the child's only use. And that ye may the better understand that I cry not before I am pricked, I send you mistress Eglonby's [governess] letter unto me, who, with the maids, *nourice*, and others daily call on me for their wages, whose voices mine ears may hardly bear, but my coffers much worse. Wherefore I cease, and commit me and my sickness to your diligent care, with my hearty commendations to your wife. At my manor of Grymsthorpe, the 27th August.

"Your assured loving friend,

"K. SUFFOLK."

This curious letter is indorsed thus:—

"To my loving friend, Mr. Cecil, attendant upon my lord protector's grace."

"From my lady of Suffolk's grace to my Mr. ——, concerning the queen's child nursed at her house at Grimesthorpe, with a bill of plate belonging to the nursery. Anno 2 Ed. VI."

From the terms of the letter, it appears that even the paltry modicum in the list subjoined of the "good and stately gear," which of right belonged to the neglected infant of queen Katharine Parr, was withheld by her rapacious uncle Somerset and his pitiless wife.

[1] Lansdowne MSS., No. ii., art. 16, edited by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ.

[2] This messenger was afterwards her husband, Richard Bertie.

[3] Somerset.

"A Bill of all such Plate and other stuff as belongeth to the Nursery of the queen's child.

"First, 2 pots of silver, all white. *Item,* 3 goblets, silver, all white. One salt, silver, parcel-gilt. A *maser* [wooden cup] with a band of silver, parcel-gilt. 11 spoons, silver, all white. *Item,* a quilt for the cradle, 3 pillows, and 1 pair fustians. 3 feather beds, 3 quilts, 3 pair fustians. *Item,* a tester of scarlet, embroidered with a *counterpoint* [counterpane] of silk serge belonging to the same, and curtains of crimson taffeta. *Item,* 2 counterpoints of imagery for the nurse's bed. *Item,* 6 pair of sheets of little worth. 6 fair pieces of hangings within the inner chamber. 4 carpets for windows. 10 pieces of hangings of the *twelve months,*[1] within the outer chamber. *Item,* 2 cushions cloth-of-gold, and a chair of cloth-of-gold, 2 wrought stools and a bedstead gilt, with a tester and counterpoint, with curtains belonging to the same."

The fair hangings, and the embroidered scarlet tester and counterpane, were doubtless wrought by the skilful hands of the royal mother and her ladies in waiting, to adorn the apartments and the cradle of the fondly expected babe, whose birth cost her her life. How little did poor Katharine anticipate, that before that child had completed its first year of life it was to be deprived of both parents, plundered of its princely inheritance,—and even of the small remnant of plate and tapestry belonging to its nursery appointments, and thrown a helpless burden on the sufferance of a forgetful friend! In the list of the little Mary Seymour's effects is the following item:—

"2 milch beasts, which were belonging to the nursery, the which it may please your grace [Somerset] to *wite* [know] may be bestowed upon the two maids towards their marriages, which shall be shortly. *Item,* one lute.[2]

Eleven months after the date of this application, the persevering duchess writes again to her friend Cecil, assuring him that she had wearied herself with her letters to the protector and his lady on the same subject, and that she must again trouble him to press her suit to them both. "In these my letters to my lady," she says, "I do put her in remembrance for the performance of her promise touching some small pension for my kindness to the late queen's child, for it is, with a dozen servants, living altogether at my charge, the continuance of which will not bring me out of debt this year. My lord marquess of Northampton, to whom I should deliver her, hath as bad a back for such a burden as I have. He

[1] Tapestry, with the rural occupations of the twelve months depicted on it.
[2] Lansdowne MS.

would receive her, but not willingly if he must receive her train."[1] The conduct of the marquess of Northampton was even more heartless than that of the duchess of Suffolk towards his sister's orphan daughter, since he was the person who was by nature bound to cherish and protect her person, and to vindicate her right to inherit the possessions of her deceased parents; but he, having obtained for himself a grant of a portion of his infant niece's patrimony,[2] was unwilling to give her and her attendants a home. The brother of Katharine Parr and the duchess of Suffolk zealously united in editing and publishing the devotional writings of that queen, though they grudged a shelter and food to her only child.

The destitution of the unoffending infant of queen Katharine was completed by an act of parliament, entitled "An act for disinheriting Mary Seymour, daughter and heir of the late lord Sudley, admiral of England, and the late queen."[3] Another act, *for the restitution* of Mary Seymour, passed January 21st, 1549, 3 Edward VI.;[4] yet we find her uncle retained possession of Sudely. The historical records connected with queen Katharine's only child close with this act. Her aunt, the learned Anne countess of Pembroke,[5] the only sister of Katharine Parr, died in the year 1551 at Baynard's-Castle, so that the little lady Mary Seymour could not have found a home with her; and whether she were actually transferred to her unwilling uncle the marquess of Northampton, or remained, which is more probable, under the care of the duchess of Suffolk, is not known. Strype says she died young. Lodge affirms, but on what authority he does not state, "that the only child of the admiral lord Thomas Seymour by queen Katharine Parr died in her thirteenth year." There is, however, more reason to believe that she lived to be

[1] Unpublished MS., State-Paper office, Edward VI., dated July 24th, 1549.

[2] On the attainder of Thomas Seymour, lord Sudely, the manor of Sudely was granted to William marquess of Northampton, and on his attainder by queen Mary, to lord Chandos; from thence, by a marriage and heirship, down to lord Rivers of Strathfieldsaye; and the circumference of the castle was bought, about A.D. 1826, by the duke of Buckingham and Chandos. It is now the property of Mr. Dent.

[3] Drake's Parliamentary History. Burnet.

[4] Journals of the House of Commons, vol. i. p. 15.

[5] Her portrait, and that of her lord, painted on glass, is, or was lately, extant in the chapel of Wilton. The present earl of Pembroke is her descendant.

a wife and mother. The statements with which I have been favoured by Johnson Lawson, esq. of Grove-Villa, Clevedon, and his brother Henry Lawson, esq., of Hereford, the sons of the late very reverend Johnson Lawson, dean of Battle, in Sussex, vicar of Throwley and rector of Cranbrook in Kent, afford, at any rate, presumptive evidence that they derive their descent from this lady. The authentic records of this fact appear to have been destroyed among a mass of interesting genealogical papers that were in the possession of a clergyman of the Lawson family, and on his death were consigned to the flames by his widow, "as she had no children to give them to," she said. One precious MS. fragment of the pedigree had, however, fortunately escaped the notice of this destructive dame, who would certainly have been branded by Anthony à-Wood with the epithet of "a clownish woman," and it contains a family record of the marriage and posterity of the daughter of Katharine Parr.

Copy of MS. fragment, entitled "A good account of my Pedigree, given me by my Grandmother, July 26th, 1749."

"Paul Johnson, a gentleman of good family and estate, residing at his mansion at Fordwich in the county of Kent, also having another named Nethercourt in the Isle of Thanet, married Margaret Heyman, (of the baronet's family of Kent and Norfolk).

"Their son, *Sylas Johnson*, married the daughter of sir Edward Bushel,[1] who had married the only daughter of the duke of Somerset's younger brother, lord Seymour, which daughter the lord Seymour had by queen Katharine Parr, whom he married after the death of Harry the Eighth, whose queen she was. The above sir Edward Bushel's daughter was a great fortune to Silas Johnson; and their daughter, *Mary Johnson*, married the rev. Francis Drayton, of Little-Chart in Kent, where he and his wife lie buried."—From that marriage the records of the pedigree, down to Lawson, are very clear and certain, and need not lengthen this statement.

Whether from any records, or knowledge, or tradition, the old grandmother declared the marriage of Katharine's daughter to sir Edward Bushel, it is impossible now to say; but it seems that Silas Johnson, by his marriage with their daughter Mary Bushel, obtained a great fortune, together with some relics of Katharine Parr's personal property, which have continued in the Lawson family, their descendants, ever since

[1] The Bushels were a very ancient and honourable family, and sir Edward Bushel, probably the same person referred to in the Lawson pedigree, was gentleman of the household to Anne of Denmark, the queen of James I., and with nine other knights, assisted in bearing her body to the grave.

They are thus described by Johnson Lawson, esq., in whose possession they are at present:—"A fine damask napkin, which evidently was made for, and brought from Spain by Katharine of Arragon, the first queen of Henry VIII. The beautiful pattern therein exhibits the spread eagle, with the motto PLUS OULTRE four times; and on the dress of four men blowing trumpets, attired in the Spanish garb as matadors, are the letters K.I.P. [probably Katharine Infanta Princess]; and this napkin, in the palace of Henry VIII., must have passed through the hands of *six queens*, including Katharine Parr. The second relic is the royal arms of king Henry, engraved on copper in cameo, which were set in the centre of a large pewter dish: the table service, in those times, was usually pewter."

In the absence of those *bonâ fide* vouchers of the marriage of the young lady Mary Seymour which have been destroyed by time, by accident, or wanton ignorance, it may be conjectured that the duchess of Suffolk, after her marriage with Richard Bertie, and her subsequent flight from the Marian persecution, provided for her youthful *protégée* by an honourable marriage with sir Edward Bushel, though certainly much beneath the alliances which would have courted her acceptance had she not been wrongfully deprived of the great wealth she ought to have inherited as the only child of queen Katharine Parr. The Lawsons, who claim their descent from the daughter of Katharine Parr, are a branch of the ancient family of the Lawsons of Yorkshire and Westmoreland, and bear the same arms.

Queen Katharine Parr was originally interred on the north side of the altar of the then splendid chapel of Sudely, and a mural tablet of sculptured alabaster was placed above her tomb. The chapel is now despoiled and in ruins, the roofless walls alone remaining. The notice of queen Katharine's death and interment from the document in the Herald's office having been published in Rudde's History of Gloucestershire, some ladies, who happened to be at Sudely-castle in May 1782, determined to examine the ruined chapel. Observing a large block of alabaster fixed in the north wall of the chapel,

they imagined that it might be the back of a monument that had once been fixed there. Led by this hint, they had the ground opened not far from there, and about a foot from the surface they found a leaden envelope, which they opened in two places,—on the face and breast, and found it to contain a human body wrapped in cerecloth. Upon removing the portion that covered the face, they discovered the features, particularly the eyes, in the most perfect state of preservation. Alarmed with this sight, and with the smell which came from the cerecloth, they ordered the earth to be thrown in immediately, without closing over the cerecloth and lead that covered the face, only observing enough of the inscription to convince them it was the body of queen Katharine.[1] In the same summer Mr. John Lucas, the person who rented the land on which the ruins of the chapel stand, removed the earth from the leaden coffin, which laid at the depth of two feet, or little more, below the surface. On the lid appeared an inscription, of which the following is a true copy :—

K. P.
Here lyeth Quene
Katharine VIth wife to Kyng
Henry the VIIIth And
after the wif of Thomas
lord of Suddeley high
Admyrall of England
And vncle to Kyng
Edward the VI.
She died
September
MCCCCC
XLVIIJ.

Mr. Lucas had the curiosity to rip up the top of the coffin, and found the whole body, wrapped in six or seven linen cerecloths, entire and uncorrupted, although it had been buried upwards of two centuries and a half. He made an incision through the cerecloths which covered one of the arms of the corpse, the flesh of which at that time was white and moist.[2] The perfect state in which the body of queen Katharine Parr was found, affords a convincing evidence that her death was not occasioned by poison; for in that case almost immediate

[1] Archæologia. [2] Rudde's Hist. of Gloucestershire. Archæologia.

decomposition would have taken place, rendering the process of embalming ineffectual, if not impracticable. The repose of the buried queen was again rudely violated by ruffian hands in the spring of 1784, when the royal remains were taken out of the coffin and irreverently thrown on a heap of rubbish and exposed to public view. An ancient woman, who was present on that occasion, assured my friend Miss Jane Porter, some years afterwards, that the remains of costly burial clothes were on the body,—not a shroud, but a dress, as if in life; shoes were on the feet, which were very small, and all her proportions extremely delicate, and she particularly noticed that traces of beauty were still perceptible in the countenance, of which the features were at that time perfect, but by exposure to the air, and other injurious treatment, the process of decay rapidly commenced. Through the interference of the vicar the body was re-interred. In October 1786, a scientific exhumation was made by the rev. Tredway Nash, F.A.S., and his interesting and valuable report has been published in the Archæologia,[1] from which the following abstract is given:—"In 1786, October 14, having obtained leave of lord Rivers, the owner of Sudely-castle, with the hon. J. Somers Cocks the writer proceeded to examine the chapel. Upon opening the ground, and tearing up the lead, the face was found totally decayed; the teeth, which were sound, had fallen. The body was perfect, but, out of delicacy, it was not uncovered. Her hands and nails were entire, of a brownish colour. The queen must have been of low stature, as the lead that enclosed her corpse was just five feet four inches long. The cerecloth consisted of many folds of linen, dipped in wax, tar, and gums, and the lead fitted exactly to the shape of the body. It seems, at first, extraordinary that she should be buried so near the surface; but we should consider that the pavement, and perhaps some earth, had been taken away since she was first interred. As she was buried within the communion rails, probably the ground was three feet higher than the rest of the chapel. I

[1] In vol. ix. of Archæologia, 1787, being the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries, with a plate of the exterior of the beautiful chapel when perfect, and of the encased body, with a fac-simile of the inscription on the lead.

could heartily wish more respect were paid to the remains of this amiable queen, and would willingly, with proper leave, have them wrapped in another sheet of lead and coffin, and decently interred in another place, that at least her body might rest in peace; whereas, the chapel where she now lies is used for the keeping of rabbits, which make holes, and scratch very irreverently about the royal corpse."

The last time the coffin of queen Katharine Parr was opened, it was discovered that a wreath of ivy had entwined itself round the temples of the royal corpse, a berry having fallen there and taken root at the time of her previous exhumation, and there had silently, from day to day, woven itself into this green sepulchral coronal. A lock of hair, which was taken from the head of queen Katharine Parr after it had lain in the dust and darkness of the grave for nearly two centuries and a half, was kindly sent for my inspection by Mrs. Constable Maxwell. It was of exquisite quality and colour, exactly resembling threads of burnished gold in its hue; it was very fine, and with an inclination to curl naturally.[1] After recording these indignant complaints of the outrages and neglect to which the mortal remains of our first Protestant queen were exposed in the apathetic eighteenth century, I am happy to be able to add, that having, in July 1848, enjoyed the opportunity of making an historical pilgrimage to the spot, I can bear honourable testimony to the care taken by the present proprietors of the Sudely-castle domain, Messrs. John and William Dent, to guard the grave of queen Katharine Parr from desecration, and to preserve the ruins of the beautiful old chapel from further decay. A portion of the grand old castle itself has been restored by the same worthy gentlemen, who are sparing neither trouble nor expense to fit up that part of the building, not only in the Tudor style, but with veritable Tudor furniture and decorations, paintings, and carvings. Some of the most interesting of the Strawberry-

[1] Since the three previous editions of this work have been published, I am able to boast myself of being the possessor of one of these golden ringlets of the royal dead, which was most courteously presented to me in a handsome locket by Thomas Turner, esq., of Gloucester, during my visit to that hospitable city, July 1848.—A. S.

hill relics of the Henrican era, Holbein portraits and miniatures, and many other 'auld knick-knackets,' are assembled in those venerable walls as if by magic,—the magic which performs all wonders in the nineteenth century.

It is difficult to dismiss the subject of Katharine Parr without repeating that some mark of consideration and grateful respect is due, in the shape of a national monument, to the memory of this illustrious English-born queen, to whom the church of England owes the preservation of the university of Cambridge.

London, Henry Colburn, 1851.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Birth of Mary—Her state-governess—Baptism—Infancy—Nursery establishment—Her court in infancy—Her early musical attainments—Abode at Ditton-park—Her presents—Betrothed to Charles V.—Her tutors—Her betrothment annulled—Establishment at Ludlow—Her person and manners—Attainments—Offered in marriage to Francis I.—Her court masques—Commencement of her mother's divorce—Reginald Pole's defence of her—Mary separated from her mother—Her dangerous illness—Her parents divorced—Anne Boleyn crowned queen—Katharine of Arragon's letter to Mary—Mary present at the birth of Elizabeth—Mary's letters—Resistance to her degradation—Her household at Beaulieu broken up—Calamitous reverses—Her life threatened—Death of her mother queen Katharine.

MARY, our first queen-regnant, was the only child of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon who reached maturity; she first saw the light on the banks of the Thames, at Greenwich-palace, on Monday, at four in the morning, February 18, 1515-6. As she was a healthy babe, her birth consoled her parents for the loss of the two heirs-male who had preceded her, nor in her childhood was her father ever heard to regret her sex. The queen confided her to the care of her beloved friend the countess of Salisbury, (Margaret Plantagenet,) and the royal infant's first nourishment was supplied by one of that lady's family. Katharine, the wife of Leonard Pole, was Mary's wet-nurse. The princess was, according to custom, baptized the third day after her birth. The silver font, in which the children of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII. had been christened, once more travelled from Christchurch, Canterbury, to the Grey Friars, adjacent to Greenwich-palace. Carpets were spread for the royal babe's procession from the palace to the font, which was placed

in the Grey Friars' church, guarded by knights-banneret. The godmothers were the princess Katharine Plantagenet and the duchess of Norfolk. The infant was carried by the countess of Salisbury;[1] the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, both uncles to the princess by marriage, walked on each side of her. Cardinal Wolsey was godfather. She was named Mary, after the favourite sister of Henry VIII. When the baptism was finished, the countess of Salisbury knelt at the altar with her infant charge in her arms, who received the preliminary rite of confirmation, or bishoping, the countess being her sponsor at that ceremony. Various rich presents were bestowed on the princess Mary by her sponsors and relatives who assisted at her baptism.[2] Cardinal Wolsey gave a gold cup; her aunt, Mary Tudor, gave her niece and name-child a pomander of gold:[3] the princess Katharine gave a gold spoon; and the duchess of Norfolk presented a primer, being a book, richly illuminated, of Catholic offices of devotion.

Mary was reared, till she was weaned, in the apartments of the queen her mother,[4] and the first rudiments of her education were commenced by that tender parent as soon as she could speak. Both Henry and Katharine were in the habit of dandling Mary, and holding her in their arms after dinner. Sebastian Justianiani, the Venetian ambassador, observes in his despatches, dated March 1st, 1518,[5] that "Henry VIII. came to his palace called Windsor, about twenty miles from London, and dined there. The king then took from the arms of the serene queen Katharine his little daughter, at that time about two years old, and carried her

[1] Herald's Journal, Harleian MSS.

[2] Household-book of Princess Mary, 1517.

[3] The pomander of gold was a hollow ball, which opened to admit a ball of paste formed of rich perfumes, the pomander being perforated to diffuse the scent. It was hung at the girdle, and sometimes carried in the hand. It was not unfit for a baby's plaything, though an article of jewellery used by the belles of those days.

[4] Poem of William Forrest, chaplain to queen Mary, quoted by sir F. Madden: Privy-purse Expenses of Mary, cxix.

[5] Copied from the diaries of Martin Sanuto in St. Marco's library, by Rawdon Browne, esq., and translated by our late venerated friend, H. Howard, esq., of Corby-castle.

to cardinal Wolsey, and to our ambassador, who kissed her hand."

The nursery establishment of the princess was occasionally stationed at Ditton-park, in Buckinghamshire. The royal infant was often ferried over the Thames to Windsor-castle, when her parents sojourned there. Her education must have commenced at a very tender age, if her early attainments in music may be taken in evidence. After the first months of her infancy no more payments occur to Katharine Pole as her wet-nurse, but the care of her person was consigned to lady Margaret Bryan, the wife of sir Thomas Bryan, who was called the lady mistress. This lady superintended the temperate meals of the royal infant, which consisted of one dish of meat, with bread. The countess of Salisbury was state-governess and head of the household, the annual expenses of which amounted to 1100*l.*;[1] sir Weston Browne was chamberlain, Richard Sydnour treasurer and accountant; Alice Baker, gentlewoman of the bedchamber, at a salary of 10*l.*, and Alice Wood, laundress, had 33 shillings half-yearly. Sir Henry Rowte, priest, was chaplain and clerk of the closet, at an allowance of sixpence per day.

Ditton-park and Hanworth were the earliest residences of the princess's childhood, but while her parents were absent in France, at the celebrated 'field of cloth of gold,' she seems to have kept court in royal state at their palace of Richmond. Here the privy council frequently visited her, and sent daily details of her health and behaviour to her absent parents, or to cardinal Wolsey. Some foreign strangers were introduced by the order of the king to the royal child, who, though little more than three years old, had to sit up in state, greet them courteously and rationally, and, finally, to amuse them by playing on the virginals. She must have been a musical prodigy if, at that tender age, she could play a tune correctly on a musical instrument. The visit of three Frenchmen of rank to the princess is thus described by the privy council:[2] —"After they had been shown every thing notable in

[1] Household-book of the Princess Mary.

[2] Letter from the council to Wolsey, dated July 2nd, 1520, printed by sir Harris Nicolas: Privy council of Henry VIII., pp. 339, 340.

London, they were conveyed in a barge by the lord Berners and the lord Darcy to Richmond, when they repaired to the princess, and found her right honourably accompanied with noble personages, as well spiritual as temporal, and her house and chambers furnished with a proper number of goodly gentlemen and tall yeomen. Her presence-chamber was attended, besides the lady governess and her gentlewomen, by the duchess of Norfolk and her three daughters, the lady Margaret, wife to the lord Herbert, the lady Gray, lady Neville, and the lord John's wife. In the great chamber were many other gentlewomen well apparelled. And when the gentlemen of France came into the presence-chamber to the princess, her grace in such wise showed herself unto them, in welcoming and entertaining them with most goodly countenance, proper communication, and pleasant pastime in playing on the virginals, that they greatly marvelled and rejoiced at the same, her tender age considered." The infant royal performer must have been exceedingly docile and well trained, not only to receive and speak properly to foreign strangers, but to play her tunes when required. The instrument here mentioned was the first rude idea our ancestors had formed of a piano: it was a miniature keyed instrument, contained in a box about four feet long, with an ivory or box-wood finger-board, limited to two or three octaves, and was, when wanted, placed on a table before the performer. When the little princess had exhibited her infantile skill on this instrument, refreshments were served to her foreign guests, of strawberries, wine, wafers, and ipocras. The council, in another letter, thus mentioned the princess again:—"Since our last writing we have sundry times visited and seen your dearest daughter the princess, who, God be thanked, is in prosperous health and convalescence; and like as she increaseth in days and years, so doth she in grace and virtue." General history is not silent regarding Mary's infantine musical attainments. In the Italian history of Pollino it is asserted that Mary played on the *arpicordo*, which is the same name as the *harpsichord*. The Italian seems to designate by it the instrument called by the chroni-

clers 'clavichord.' "This she used to play on," he adds, "when a very little child; and she had so far mastered the difficulties as to have a light touch, with much grace and velocity."

When her royal parents returned to England, Mary went back to her nursery at Ditton-park, but she made a long visit to the king and queen the succeeding Christmas. She was a very lovely infant, her complexion rosy, and her eyes brown, and "right merry and joyous." It is not probable that the king, who was passionately fond of children, could part from an attractive prattler of that age; accordingly she remained at Greenwich till after her fourth birth-day. The Christmas gifts made to the princess this year were numerous, and some of them very costly. There was, however, but one article calculated to please a little child; this was a rosemary-bush hung with spangles of gold, brought for her by a poor woman of Greenwich: it was, perhaps, like the Christmas-tree, which gives such delight to the German children. Cardinal Wolsey sent her a gold cup, the princess Katharine Plantagenet two small silver flagons, queen Mary Tudor another golden pomander, her nurse, lady Margaret Bryan, a crimson purse, tinselled, and the duke of Norfolk a pair of silver snuffers.[1] The princess was amused by the performance of a company of children, who acted plays for her diversion; and in her accounts 6*s.* 8*d.* is given to a man who managed the little actors, as a reward. This man, it appears, was Heywood, the dramatic author.

The succeeding Christmas was spent by the princess Mary at Ditton-park, where, among the diversions of the season, a

[1] The use of snuffers at this era is a proof that England had surpassed other nations in luxury, although there was still great need of improvement in manners and customs. In the northern countries the use of snuffers was not comprehended for centuries afterwards. King Gustavus Adolphus replied to one of his officers, who declared "that he never knew what fear was,"—"Then you never snuffed a candle," meaning with his fingers. The delicate way of trimming the duke of Holstein's candles forms a laughable page in Raumer's collections; and even in the beginning of the present century a Swedish officer, dining at an English gentleman's table, seized the snuffers, and after curiously examining them, snuffed the candles with his fingers: then carefully gathering up the snuff, he shut it in the snuffers, commending the cleanliness of the English in providing such a receptacle.

lord of misrule, one John Thurgood, was appointed to "make mirth for herself and household, with morris-dancers, masques, carillons, and hobby-horses." After Christmas, she crossed the Thames to Windsor, and there received her New-year's gifts,—from the king, a standing-cup of silver gilt, filled with coin; from cardinal Wolsey, a gold salt set with pearls; and from her aunt, princess Katharine, a gold cross. The princess made her Candlemas offering that year at Hanworth, and thence proceeded to Richmond, where her mother, the queen, sent her barge to convey her to Greenwich. The same month she stood godmother to the infant daughter of sir William Compton, to whom she gave the name of Mary; at the baptism the lady mistress, Margaret Bryan, distributed 33*s.* to the attendants. This office of standing godmother made a pleasing impression on the memory of the princess of five years old, since it was often reiterated: she must have stood godmother to at least a hundred children.

More than one negotiation had been in agitation for the marriage of the young princess with the dauphin, heir to Francis I., while she was yet in her cradle; but neither Henry VIII. nor Francis I. appear to have been sincere in their intentions. In the summer of 1522 she was brought to Greenwich, where the queen, her mother, holding her by the hand at the hall-door of the palace, there introduced her to the emperor Charles V., on his landing with Henry from his barge at the water-stairs. It was the desire of queen Katharine's heart that this great emperor, her nephew, might become her son-in-law, and all the political arrangements between him and her husband seemed to favour that wish. The emperor, who was then a young man in his twenty-third year, came expressly to England for betrothal to his cousin Mary, a child of six years old. As he passed five weeks in England, the little princess became well acquainted with him, and learned, young as she was, to consider herself as his empress. By a solemn matrimonial treaty, signed at Windsor, the emperor engaged to marry the princess Mary when she attained her twelfth year: he was in the mean time exceedingly desirous that she should be sent to Spain, that

she might be educated as his wife, but the doting affection of her parents could not endure the separation. The emperor's visit caused the expenditure of the princess's establishment to amount to the great sum of 1139*l.* 6*s.* 1½*d.*

The care of Mary's excellent mother was now sedulously directed to give her child an education that would render her a fitting companion to the greatest sovereign of modern history, not only in regard to extent of dominions, but in character and attainments. To Dr. Linacre, the learned physician, who had formerly been one of prince Arthur's tutors,[1] was entrusted the care of the princess Mary's health, and some part of her instruction in Latin,—the queen her mother (as appears by her own written testimony) often examining her translations, and reading with her. Linacre died when the princess was but eight years of age, having first written a Latin grammar for her use. It was dedicated to her, and he speaks with praise of her docility and love of learning at that tender age. The copy belonging to the princess is now in the British Museum.

Queen Katharine requested Ludovicus Vives, a Spaniard of deep learning, who was called by his contemporaries the second Quintilian, to draw up a code of instructions for the education of Mary. He sent a treatise in Latin, dedicated to the queen, from Bruges, and afterwards came to England, and at Oxford revised and improved it. He thus addresses Katharine of Arragon:—"Govern by these my monitions Maria thy daughter, and she will be formed by them; she will resemble thy domestic example of probity and wisdom, and, except all human expectations fail, holy and good will she be by necessity."[2] Vives points out with exultation the daughters of sir Thomas More, as glorious examples of the effects of a learned and virtuous female education. His rules are rigid: he implores that the young princess may read no idle books of chivalry or romance. He defies and renounces such compositions, in Spanish, as Amadis de Gaul, Tirante

[1] Biographia Britannica. Linacre dedicated to his royal pupil one of his grammatical works.

[2] Dated April 5, 1523: Bruges. Sir F. Madden's Introductory Memoir of Mary p. cxxi.

the White, and others burnt by the curate in Don Quixote. He abjures Lancelot du Lac, Paris et Vienne, Pierre Provençal, and Margalone and the Fairy Melusina. In Flemish, he denounces Florice and Blanche, and Pyramus and Thisbe. All these, and such as these, he classes as *libri pestiferi*,[1] corrupting to the morals of females. In their places he desires that the young princess Mary may read the Gospels, night and morning, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, selected portions of the Old Testament, and the works of Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose; likewise Plato, Cicero, Seneca's Maxims, Plutarch's Enchiridion, the Paraphrase of Erasmus, and the Utopia of sir Thomas More. Among the works of classic poets he admitted the Pharsalia of Lucan, the tragedies of Seneca, with *selected* portions of Horace. He deemed cards, dice, and splendid dress as pestiferous as romances. He gave rules for her pronunciation of Greek and Latin, and advised that lessons from these languages should be committed to memory every day, and read over two or three times before the pupil went to bed. He recommended that the princess should render English into Latin frequently, and likewise that she should converse with her preceptor in that language: her Latin dictionary was to be either Perotti or Colepin. He permitted some stories for her recreation, but they were all to be purely historical, sacred, or classic: he instanced the narrative of Joseph and his brethren in the Scriptures, that of Papyrus in Aulus Gellius, and Lucretia in Livy. The well-known tale of Griselda is the only exception to his general exclusion of fiction, and that perhaps he took for fact. It is a curious coincidence, that Griselda was afterwards considered in England as the prototype of queen Katharine.

The young princess was certainly educated according to the rigorous directions of Vives, and she is an historical example of the noxious effect that over-education has at a very tender age. Her precocious studies probably laid the foundation for her melancholy temperament and delicate health.

[1] Sir Frederick Madden's Privy-purse Expenses of Princess Mary: Introductory Memoir, p. xxxi.

The emperor Charles continued extremely desirous that the princess should be sent to Spain for education; a wish which Henry VIII. parried, by declaring that she should, while in England, be brought up and entirely trained as a Spanish lady; and that she should be even accustomed to wear the national dress of the country whose queen she was expected to be. For this purpose he sent envoys to consult Margaret regent of Flanders, regarding materials and patterns proper for Spanish costume. "As to the education of the princess Mary," said Henry VIII., "if the emperor should search all Christendom for a mistress to bring her up and frame her after the manner of Spain, he could not find one more meet than the queen's grace, her mother, who cometh of the royal house of Spain, and who, for the affection she beareth to the emperor, will nurture her, and bring her up to his satisfaction. But the noble person of the young princess is not meet, as yet, to bear the pains of the sea, nor strong enough to be transported into the air of another country."[1]

In the course of the summer of 1525, when this correspondence took place, rumours reached the court of England that the emperor meant to forsake the princess Mary, being privately engaged to Isabel of Portugal. This was probably the first sorrow experienced by Mary, who was observed to grow pale with apprehension and jealousy, when the change of the emperor's intentions was discussed. The little princess had been persuaded by her maids that she was in love with Charles V., for about this time she sent a pretty message to him through her father's ambassadors resident in Spain. Cardinal Wolsey thus communicated it, in a letter addressed to them, dated April 7, 1525:—"I send you herewith an emerald, which my lady princess Mary sendeth to the emperor, with her most cordial and humble commendations to him. You, at the delivery of the same, shall say, 'that her grace hath devised this token for a better knowledge to be had (when God shall send them grace to be together) whether his majesty doth keep constant and continent to her, as with God's grace

[1] Hall

she will to him.' Whereby you may add, that her assured love towards his majesty hath already raised such passion in her that it is confirmed by jealousy, which is one of the greatest signs and tokens of love."[1] The emerald, whose colour was the symbol of constancy, sent by young Mary, would, it was imagined, fade and pale its brilliant green if the heart of the betrothed swerved from the affianced lady. Thus, in that time of transition from the chivalric to the political era, did the fond ideality of the minstrel and the troubadour—with which the heads of the maids and pages of honour who waited around the little heiress were teeming—find its way into the despatches of the statesman; ay, and would have had influence, too, had the betrothed princess been taller and older. As it was, the emperor stuck the emerald ring on his little finger as far as it would go, and bade the English ambassadors say "he would wear it for the sake of the princess," asking many questions regarding her health, learning, and appearance; to which the ambassadors answered by zealously descanting upon "the manifold seeds of virtues that were in her grace."

Even at this very time Charles V. was burning with indignation at private intelligence which had reached him, that Henry VIII. meditated a divorce from queen Katharine, and the consequent disinheriting of her daughter. In the course of the same year Charles broke his contract of betrothal with Mary, and wedded the beautiful Isabel of Portugal. It appears he justified his conduct by a letter full of reproaches to Henry VIII., for his sinister intentions in respect to Mary. Henry took great pains to show him in what a different light he ostensibly regarded his only child; for Mary, if not actually declared princess of Wales, as some authors have affirmed, assuredly received honours and distinctions which have never, either before or since, been offered to any one but the heir-apparent of England. A court was formed for her at Ludlow-castle on a grander scale than those established either for her uncle Arthur or Edward of York, both acknowledged princes

[1] Wolsey's correspondence with Tunstall and Wingfield, MS. Cotton., Vesp., C iii. fol. 49 to fol. 162, from March to July, 1525.

of Wales and heirs-apparent of England.[1] The officers and nobles who composed the princess Mary's court at Ludlow were employed, likewise, in superintending the newly formed legislature of Wales, the natives of the principality being at last, by the tardy gratitude of the Tudors, admitted to participation in the privileges of English subjects. The Welsh had been long discontented with the absence of the royal family from any part of their territory, and the sojourn of the heiress of England was intended to conciliate their affections and sanction the new laws. Sir John Dudley—whose ambition afterwards made him so prominent a character as earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland in the next reign—was appointed chamberlain to the princess Mary at her new court. Thomas Audley, afterwards lord chancellor, and John Russell were members of her council. The countess of Salisbury resided with her, as she had done from her birth, as head of her establishment and state-governess, an office always filled, till the time of James I., by a lady of the blood-royal. The princess had besides no less than thirteen ladies of honour and a crowd of lower functionaries, whose united salaries amounted to 741*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*[2]

Mary took leave of her parents at the palace of Langley in Hertfordshire, in September 1525, previously to her departure for Ludlow-castle. Dr. Sampson gives a pleasing description of her person and qualities at this epoch. "My lady princess," he says in a letter to Wolsey, "came hither on Saturday; surely, sir, of her age, as goodly a child as ever I

[1] Burnet, and many English authors, who, however, use mere general terms, without entering into documents. We translate the following passage from Pollino:—"She was," says this author, "declared rightful heir of the realm by the king her father, and princess of Wales, which was the usual title of the king of England's eldest son. She likewise governed that province, according to the custom of the male heir." The Italian then carefully explains that the princes of Wales were in the same position in regard to the English crown, as the dauphins were to that of France. Pollino must have had good documentary evidence, since he describes Mary's court and council (which he calls a senate) exactly as if the privy council books had been open to him. He says four bishops were attached to this court.

[2] To the deep research of sir Frederick Madden is the public indebted for particulars of Mary's sojourn in this ancient demesne of the English heirs-apparent. See, for many curious antiquarian particulars, Privy-purse Expenses of Mary, p. xxxix., by sir F. Madden.

have seen, and of as good gesture and countenance. Few persons of her age blend sweetness better with seriousness, or quickness with deference; she is at the same time joyous and decorous in manners." In fact contemporaries, and all portraiture, represent Mary at this period of her life as a lovely child; but if human ingenuity had been taxed to the utmost in order to contrive the most cruel contrast between her present and future prospects, it could not have been more thoroughly effected than by first placing her in vice-regal pomp and state, as princess of Wales, at Ludlow-castle, and then afterwards blighting her young mind by hurling her undeservedly into poverty and contempt. It was exceedingly probable that Henry meant fraudulently to force a high alliance for Mary before he disinherited her, and therefore took the deceitful step of placing her in a station which had never been occupied excepting by an heir-apparent of England. It was in her court at Ludlow-castle that Mary first practised to play the part of queen, a lesson she was soon compelled to unlearn, with the bitterest insults. Her education at the same time went steadily on, with great assiduity. Fresh instructions were given to her council regarding her tuition when she parted from her royal parents; they emanated from the maternal tenderness and good sense of queen Katharine, whose earnest wish was evidently to render her daughter healthy and cheerful, as well as learned and accomplished.

"First, above all other things, the countess of Salisbury, being lady governess, shall, according to the singular confidence that the king's highness hath in her, give most tender regard to all that concerns the person of said princess, her honourable education and training in virtuous demeanour; that is to say, to serve God, from whom all grace and goodness proceedeth. Likewise, at seasons convenient, to use moderate exercise, taking open air in gardens, sweet and wholesome places and walks, (which may conduce unto her health, solace, and comfort,) as by the said lady governess shall be thought most convenient. And likewise to pass her time, most seasons, at her virginals or other musical instruments, so that the same be not *too much*, and, without *fati-*

gacion or weariness, to attend to her learning of Latin tongue and French; at other seasons to dance, and among the rest to have good respect to her diet, which is *meet* [proper] to be pure, well-prepared, dressed, and served with comfortable, joyous, and merry communication, in all honourable and virtuous manner. Likewise, the cleanliness and well-wearing of her garments and apparel, both of her chamber and person, so that every thing about her be pure, sweet, clean, and wholesome, as to so great a princess doth appertain: all corruptions, evil airs, and things noisome and unpleasant, to be eschewed."[1] With these instructions the princess Mary and her court departed for Ludlow, which Leland describes as "a fair manor place, standing in a goodly park, west of the town of Bewdley, on the very knob of the hill;" he adds, "the castle was built by Henry VII., for his son prince Arthur." It was probably repaired and decorated, but the castle was previously the grand feudal seat of the Mortimers, as lords of the marches. Richard duke of York, as heir of those semi-royal chiefs, resided there; and the young prince of Wales, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V., was educated and kept his court there, as heir-apparent of England, for some years prior to the death of his father, Edward IV.

As a great concourse of people was expected at Ludlow-castle during the Christmas festivities, for the purpose of paying respect to the princess, her council thought it requisite that she should "keep Christmas with princely cheer;" they therefore wrote to the cardinal, intimating the articles requisite for the use of their young mistress's household. A silver ship, or *nef*, (which was to hold the table-napkin for the princess,) an alms-dish, and silver spice-plates, were among these requests. They wanted trumpets and a rebeck, and hinted a wish for the appointment of a lord of misrule, and some provision for interludes, disguisings, and plays at the feast, and for the banquet at Twelfth-night. The residence of Mary at Ludlow lasted about eighteen months, varied with occasional

[1] MS. Cotton., Vitellius, C, fol. 24. In sir F. Madden's Privy-purse Expenses, Introductory Memoir, this document may be seen in the original orthography, p. xli.

visits to Tickenhill, and to the magnificent unfinished palace of the unfortunate duke of Buckingham at Thornbury, lately seized by the king.

The education of the young princess, meantime, proceeded rapidly. Lord Morley, one of the literary nobles of that day, thus alludes to Mary's attainments in a preface to his translation of the New-year's Angelical Salutation, one of his works presented to her some years afterwards, when her changed fortune had wholly silenced the voice of flattery. "I do well remember," says lord Morley, addressing the princess, "that scant had ye come to twelve years of age but ye were so rife in the Latin tongue that *rathe* [rarely] doth happen to the women-sex, that your grace not only could properly read, write, and construe Latin, but furthermore translate any hard thing of the Latin into our English tongue. And among other your virtuous occupations, I have seen one prayer of your doing of St. Thomas Aquine,[1] that I do assure your grace is so well done, so near to the Latin, that when I look upon it (as I have one the examplar of it) I have not only marvel at the doing of it, but farther, for the *well*-doing of it. I have *set it* [copied it] in my books, as also in my poor wife's [probably her prayer-book] and my children, to give them occasion to remember to pray for your grace." Mary's translation, thus described by her friend, is as follows:—

"The PRAYER of St. Thomas Aquinas, translated out of Latin into English by the most excellent *princess* Mary, daughter to the most high and mighty prince and princess, king Henry VIII. and *queen Katharine his wife*.[2] In the year of our Lord God 1527, and the eleventh of her age.[3]

"O merciful God! grant me to covet with an ardent mind those things which may please thee, to search them wisely, to know them truly, and to fulfil them perfectly to the laud and glory of thy name. Order my living that I may do that which thou requirest of me, and give me grace that I may know it, and have wit and power to do it, and that I may obtain those things which be most convenient for my soul. Good Lord, make my way sure and straight to thee,

[1] Sir F. Madden's Privy-purse Expenses of Mary, p. clxxiii.

[2] The words in italics have been crossed out of the manuscript, at a time (doubtless) when it was treason to call Mary princess, or her mother queen.

[3] Sir F. Madden's Privy-purse Expenses of Mary; this translation being edited by him from Mary's missal, now in the possession of George Wilkinson, of Tottenham-green. It has been already alluded to in a former volume of this work, as containing autographs of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, the princess Mary and her mother.

that I fail not between prosperity and adversity, but that in prosperous things I may give thee thanks, and in adversity be patient, so that I be not lift up with the one, nor oppressed with the other, and that I may rejoice in nothing but in that which moveth me to thee, nor be sorry for nothing but for those which draweth me from thee. Desiring to please nobody, nor fearing to displease any besides thee, Lord, let all worldly things be vile to me for thee, and that all thy things be dear to me, and thou, good Lord, most specially above them all. Let me be weary with that joy which is without thee, and let me desire nothing beside thee. Let the labour delight me which is for thee, and let all rest weary me which is not in thee. Make me to lift my heart ofttimes to thee, and when I fall, make me to think and be sorry with a steadfast purpose of amendment. My God, make me humble without feigning, merry without *lightness* [levity], *sad* [reflective] without mistrust, *sober* [steady] without dulness, fearing without despair, gentle without doubleness, trustful in thee without presumption, telling my neighbours [of their] faults without mocking, obedient without arguing, patient without grudging, and pure without corruption. My most loving Lord and God, give me a waking heart, that no curious thought withdraw me from thee. Let it be strong, that no unworthy affection draw me backward; so stable, that no tribulation break it; and so free, that no election, by violence, make any challenge to it. My Lord God, grant me wit to know thee, diligence to seek thee, wisdom to find thee, conversation to please thee, *continuance* [constancy] to look for thee, and finally, hope to embrace thee; by thy penance here to be punished, and in our way to use thy benefits by thy grace; and in heaven, through thy glory, to have delight in thy joys and rewards. Amen."

There is a childlike simplicity in this translation; at the same time, the perspicuity apparent in the construction proves that Mary had the command of her own language, as well as the knowledge of it,—points which do not always meet with proper attention in a classical education. In her missal, from which this early performance is drawn, the young princess has added: "I have read, That nobody liveth as he should do, but he that followeth virtue; and I, reckoning you to be one of them, I pray you to remember me in your devotions.—Marye, *child of K . . . . .*" The princess has added "child of king Henry and queen Katharine;" but as such a sentence, in succeeding years, rendered the person in whose hand it was written liable to the pains and penalties of high treason, all the words but those in italics were subsequently obliterated.

While the princess still resided at Ludlow-castle, Henry VIII. made a desperate attempt to marry her to Francis I., with the intention of revenging himself on the emperor Charles, and, perhaps, of removing his daughter out of his way before he dismissed her mother. The king of France was under engagements to marry the emperor's sister, Eleanora of Austria, widow of Emanuel the Great, king of

Portugal. Wolsey, who could not bear this close alliance between France and Spain, prevailed on his royal master to send Dr. Clerke to Louise duchess of Savoy, the mother of Francis, for the purpose of proposing a marriage between him and Mary,[1] the then acknowledged heiress of England,—an unsuitable marriage, for the princess was, in 1526, but eleven years of age. The marriage with Eleanora had been one of the conditions of Francis's liberation from his captivity, but it now seemed doubtful whether Charles would entrust an amiable sister, whom he loved entirely, to the care of his enemy. While the matter was uncertain, Dr. Clerke beset the duchess Louise with panegyric on the young Mary's beauty and docility. "Howbeit," he says in his despatch, "I observed that madame Eleanora was now of the age of thirty; and, peradventure, there should not be found in her so much good-nature and humility as in my lady princess, [Mary,] whom now, at her age, and after her education, she might bring up, fashion, forge, and make of her whatever she would, assuring her that my said lady princess would be as loving, lowly, and humble to her, as to her own father." The lady-duchess then held up her hands, and with tears declared "that I said truth;" adding, "that if it should be my lady princess's chance to be queen of France, she would be as loving again to her as to her own son Francis I."

Louise of Savoy made the more rational proposal of a union between her second grandson, Henry duke of Orleans, and the young English princess; but this did not answer Wolsey's purpose, which was to break a family league between Francis and the emperor. The bishop then sought Francis I. himself, to whom he descanted, in terms of great hyperbole, on the girlish beauties of Mary, calling her "the pearl of the world, and the jewel her father esteemed more than any thing on earth." King Francis affirmed that he had wished to espouse her before his campaign. "Sir," responded the bishop, "whereat stick ye, then? for she is of that beauty and virtue—" Here Francis interrupted him, being, perhaps, impatient at hearing all this incongruous flattery regarding a

[1] MS. Cotton., Caligula, D ix. p. 256.

small child. His words, though couched in a similar strain, have the semblance of satire: "I pray you," said the king, "repeat unto me none of these matters. I know well her education, her form and her fashion, her beauty and her virtue, and what father and mother she cometh of. I have as great a mind to marry her as ever I had to any woman;" and then he declared "he had promised Eleanora, and was not free, without she refused first." This strange negotiation ended with the king's mother informing the English ambassador "that news had arrived of queen Eleanora having laid aside her widow's weeds, and therefore it was evident she looked upon herself as the future queen of France. Francis I., though by no means anxious to espouse a bride of eleven years old, seemed really desirous of receiving Mary as his daughter-in-law, and, at various periods of his life, endeavoured to match her with his son Henry duke of Orleans. It was in the course of one of these negotiations, which took place in the succeeding spring of 1527, that (as it was affirmed by Henry VIII. and Wolsey) doubts of the legitimacy of Mary were first started.[1]

The precise time of the withdrawal of the princess Mary from her court at Ludlow-castle, is not defined; it was probably to receive the French ambassadors, who had arrived for the purpose of negotiating her marriage with the second son of France. Many notices exist of her participation in the giddy revelry of her father's court; among others, occur the following curious verses, quoted here, not for any poetical merit they possess, but for their historical allusions.[2] They were evidently penned by some courtly adulator, who had been present at a ball at which Mary danced with her royal father, and strange must have been the contrast presented between his colossal figure and her *petite* and fragile form:—

"Ravished I was, that well was me,
O Lord! to me so *fain* [willing],
To see that sight that I did see
I long full sore again.

[1] See biography of Katharine of Arragon, vol. ii.

[2] From MS. Ashmole, 176, edited by J. O. Halliwell, esq., in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. i. p. 258, from which valuable work this extract is made.

I saw a king and a princess
Dancing before my face,
Most like a god and a goddess,
(I pray Christ save their grace!)

This king to see whom we have sung,
His virtues be right much,
But this princess, being so young,
There can be found none such.

So *facund* fair she is to see,
Like to her is none of her age;
Withouten grace it cannot be
So young to be so sage.

This king to see with his fair flower,
The mother[1] *standing by*,
It doth me good yet at this hour,
On them when that think I.

I pray Christ save father and mother,
And this young lady fair,
And send her shortly a brother,
To be England's *right* heir."

The tenour of these lines plainly indicates, that they were composed at a period when Katharine of Arragon was still the undoubted queen, presiding at the regal festival; yet that the lamentations of Henry for a son, "to be England's right heir," on which he founded his grand plea for the divorce, were beginning to be re-echoed by his flatterers.

But the princess appeared soon after, not only as the partner of her royal sire in the stately pavon, (or minuet of that era,) but as a dancer in court ballets, and a performer in comedies,—no slight infringement of the rigid rules prescribed for her education by Ludovicus Vives. She seems, nevertheless, to have passed through the trials of this early introduction to display and dissipation without incurring the least blame for levity of conduct; on the contrary, all parties joined in praising the simplicity and purity of her manners and pursuits. Among these commendations is one, according to the bias of the times, which will appear no particular excellency in modern estimation; for instance, she is praised for dressing on the Easter festival, according to the old usages of England, in the very best apparel she had, in order that she might show her gladness at receiving the sacrament.

[1] Katharine of Arragon.

This is a curious illustration of the national custom still existing among the lower classes, who scrupulously wear their best clothes on Easter-day, and, if possible, purchase some new apparel.

The practice of royal personages exhibiting themselves in the costume of stage-players had been hitherto unexampled, excepting by Henry VIII.[1] and the most profligate of the Roman emperors. Nor was the coarse mind of Henry satisfied without the females of his family followed his example. His beautiful sister Mary, when she first appeared in one of these pantomimic ballets, wore a black crape mask as an Ethiopian princess. She soon became emboldened, and freely took her part as a dancer in the court balls and pageants. Still it was strange that the king should wish a girl, young as his daughter, thus to challenge the gaze of strangers. She appeared before the French ambassadors, at Greenwich-palace in the spring of 1527, with five of her ladies disguised in Icelandic dresses, and, with six lords in the costume of the same country, "daunced lustily about the hall." At another banquet and masque, before the same ambassadors in May, the princess Mary issued out of a cave with her seven ladies, all apparelled, after the Roman fashion, in rich cloth of gold and crimson tinsel, *bendy;* that is, the dresses were striped in a slanting direction,—a Roman fashion that may vainly be sought in classic remains. Their hair was wrapped in cauls of gold, with bonnets of crimson velvet on their heads, set full of pearls and precious stones. Mary and her seven ladies then danced a ballet with eight lords. Some scenic effect was evidently attempted in this performance. The princess is said, likewise, to have acted a part in one of Terence's comedies,

[1] The sole exception to this assertion was the fact, that Charles VI. of France and some of his courtiers went to a court ball in the disguise of *salvage* men. The surprise at the king's disguise occasioned a fatal accident, and it seems the whole scheme was an insane frolic, unauthorized by any precedent. King René, the father of Margaret of Anjou, wrote operas and songs, and planned ballets; he did not, however, act in them. Henry VIII. certainly established the precedent, afterwards so amply followed in England, France, and Italy, of royal and noble personages taking part in plays and pantomimic ballets, which was continued till the verses of Racine, in Britannicus, on the stage-playing of Nero were taken by Louis XIV. as a suitable reproof for this practice.

in the original Latin, for the entertainment of the French ambassadors at Hampton-Court. Mary was but in her twelfth year at this epoch, from which the commencement of her misfortunes may be dated, for a few weeks afterwards her mother's divorce became matter of public discussion. Just at this time, May 21, 1527, was born at Valladolid, Philip, afterwards the second of Spain, son of the emperor Charles V. and Isabel of Portugal, who afterwards became the husband of the princess Mary.

Henry VIII., during the protracted discussion of the divorce, was at times extremely embarrassed by his affection for Mary and her claims on his paternity. Sometimes he bestowed profuse caresses on her in public: at the first movement of the divorce, he gave out that the inquiry was made only to settle her claims permanently to the succession. The princess, meantime, remained near her parents, in possession of the same state and distinction she had enjoyed since her birth. Henry thus mentions his daughter, in one of his speeches regarding the divorce from her mother. "Although," says he, "we have had the lady Mary, singular both in beauty and shape, by the most noble lady Katharine, yet that marriage cannot be legitimate which gives us such pain and torment of conscience." The jealous disposition of Henry was probably soon inflamed into rancour when he found, in the course of the dispute, that his daughter took part with her mother, and was, moreover, the idol of his people, who, declared on all occasions, according to the testimony of Hall, the contemporary recorder of London, "that king Henry might marry whom he would, yet they would acknowledge no successor to the crown but the husband of the lady Mary."[2] Wolsey was hated furiously throughout England, because he was supposed to be the originator of the divorce; and one of the popular rhymes of the day thus sets forth public indignation at the wrongs of the people's darling:—

"Yea, a princess whom to describe
It were hard for an orator;
She is but a child in age,
And yet she is both wise and sage,
And beautiful in favour.

Perfectly doth she represent
The singular graces excellent
Both of her father and mother:
Howbeit, this disregarding,
The *carter* of York[1] is meddling
For to divorce them asunder."

It has been asserted by all contemporaries, that queen Katharine, at one time of her life, cherished an ardent desire that her daughter Mary should be united in marriage with Reginald Pole, son of the countess of Salisbury, the noble kinswoman who had constantly resided with the young princess. All the biographers of Reginald Pole declare that Mary manifested the greatest partiality to him from her earliest childhood. This might have been; yet the difference of their ages, Reginald being born in 1500, was too great for any partiality to have subsisted between them in early life as lovers. While there was hope of her daughter becoming the wife of the emperor, it was not probable that queen Katharine, who loved her nephew exceedingly, could have wished her to marry Reginald Pole. But when Reginald returned to England at the same time that the imperial match was broken off, and appeared in her court in his twenty-fifth year, possessing the highest cultivation of mind, the grandest person, and features of that perfect mould of beauty which revived the memory of the heroic Plantagenets, his ancestors,[2] it is possible that the wise queen, weighing the disadvantages of wedlock with a foreign monarch, might wish her Mary united to such a protector. The match would have been highly popular among the English, as the national love for the memory of the Plantagenet kings was only equalled by the intense national jealousy of foreign alliances; besides which, the personal qualities of Reginald rendered him the pride of his country. He had, however, a mistrust of the atmosphere of the English court, as portentous of storm and change; he reminded his royal relatives that he had been educated for the church, and with-

[1] Wolsey was archbishop of York. The lines are by a Protestant, John Roy.

The portrait of cardinal Pole singularly resembles the most beautiful portraits of Edward III., his ancestor, and the best pictures of Edward IV., his great-uncle. Michael Angelo has drawn his portrait, in the grand painting of The Raising of Lazarus, as the Saviour. This work, which is the joint performance of Angelo and Sebastian del Piombo, is in the National Gallery.

drew himself into the seclusion of the Carthusian convent of Sion. Here Reginald abstracted himself from the world by sedulous attention to books, but it was observed that he neither took priest's orders, nor monastic vows.

While the perplexities of the divorce engrossed public attention, few notices occur of the princess Mary, excepting that the queen was occasionally threatened with separation from her child,—a proof that their intercourse continued. Both the queen and princess were with the king at Tittenhanger[1] during the prevalence of the plague, called 'the sweating sickness,' in 1528. At the ensuing Christmas, the king gave his daughter "20*l.* to disport her with." At Ampthill, one of her servants "received for her use 10*l.* to make pastime withal." The young princess spent the year 1530 with her mother, for Hall occasionally mentions her at Greenwich, particularly at the close of the year, when he says, speaking of Henry's disappointment at finding himself still remaining the husband of Katharine of Arragon, "The king sore lamented his chance; he made no mirth or pastime, as he was wont to do, yet he dined with and resorted to the queen as accustomed; he *minished* nothing of her estate, and much loved and cherished their daughter, the lady Mary."[2] These words afford proof that the establishment and royal routine of the mother and daughter continued the same as formerly. Lady Salisbury, likewise, retained her office, and Reginald Pole, her son, who had, with a single exception of an honourable mission to Paris, been resident in England for five years, had frequent opportunities of seeing the princess, on account of his mother's residence with her, and her near relationship to the royal family. Mary was now a blooming girl, in her fifteenth year; she manifested the greatest partiality to her noble and accomplished kinsman,—whether as friend or lover it is scarcely possible to say. But history having linked together the names of Mary Tudor and Reginald Pole, by hints that matrimonial alliance was, at a later time, projected between them, their locality at this momen-

[1] The country-house of the abbot of St. Alban's, already wrested from him by the king.

[2] Hall, 780.

tous period of their career becomes an interesting point of biography.

Henry VIII. was very anxious to gain the sanction of the noble-minded Reginald to his pending divorce. When greatly urged to give his opinion on that head, and to accept of the archbishopric of York, rendered vacant by the death of Wolsey, Reginald, by letter,[1] firmly and respectfully declined this great advancement, adding many arguments against the divorce of Katharine and the degradation of her daughter. Henry was incensed; he called the disinterested advocate before him in the stately gallery of Whitehall-palace,[2] to account for this opposition. Reginald, who at that time loved the king ardently, could not speak for emotion, and his words, so celebrated for their impassioned eloquence, were stifled in a gush of tears; yet his broken sentences proved that he was firm in his principles, and manly in his defence of the helpless queen and her daughter. Henry frowned, and his hand often sought the hilt of his dagger; but if his kinsman did not yield to affection or interest, there was little chance of a scion of the Plantagenets bending to fear. Henry left Reginald weeping, and vented his temper in threats to his brother, lord Montague,—threats which afterwards were fatally verified. Reginald's brothers loaded him with reproaches, yet he appears to have convinced them that he was right; for Montague, his elder brother, undertook a message of explanation to the king, who had rather taken the contents of the letter which had displeased him from the report of the duke of Norfolk than from his own perusal. Meantime, Henry had conquered his passion, for he was as yet a novice in injustice and cruelty. He examined the letter, and after walking up and down thoughtfully for some time, turned to his kins-

[1] This letter was the first of the celebrated series of controversial letters and essays written by Reginald Pole, and often quoted by historians. It was, of course, different in tone to those written after his aged mother had been hacked to pieces on the scaffold, his brother put to death on slight pretext, and his whole house desolated.

[2] Whitehall-palace was thus called after the death of Wolsey. It formerly bore the name of York-place, and was from this time the favourite residence of the royal family.

man, lord Montague, and said, "Your brother Reginald has rightly guessed my disposition; he has given me such good reasons for his conduct, that I am under the necessity of taking all he has said in good part, and could he but gain on himself to approve my divorce from the queen, no one would be dearer to me."[1] At this period no separation had taken place of the English church from Rome, and the divorce cause remained wholly undecided, therefore no religious prejudices were at issue in the bosom of Reginald Pole. It was as yet a simple matter of right or wrong between a husband, wife, and child; and when his opinion was demanded, and not till then, Reginald, the near kinsman of the husband and child, honestly declared what he thought of the justice of the case. If his defence of the oppressed made a powerful impression on the oppressor, what must it have done on the minds of those whose cause he pleaded?

The queen, from the commencement of her troubles, had often recurred to the unjust sentence on Reginald Pole's uncle, the last of the Plantagenets. She said, "that she saw the judgment of God in her afflictions, for a marriage founded in murder was not likely to prosper." She knew that her father, king Ferdinand, had refused the English alliance till Warwick was executed.[2] The conscientious queen had endeavoured to make reparation by the friendship she ever showed to Warwick's sister, the countess of Salisbury, and by the affection she cultivated between her daughter Mary and the children of the countess. At one period of her life (and this may naturally be deemed the time) Katharine was heard to express a wish that Mary might marry a son of lady Salisbury, in order to atone for the wrong done to the earl of Warwick, whose property was taken as well as his life.[3] Reginald Pole used no surreptitious means to realize a wish

[1] This scene is related by both Pole's secretaries, and by himself in his letters. Sanders has likewise detailed it. Burnet rejected it as a romantic fiction of Sanders' own inventing; but, as it is related by Pole himself, it enforces belief. When a man sacrifices all worldly advantage rather than flatter injustice, his word becomes sacred to posterity. [2] Hall. Life of Cardinal Pole.

[3] This is evident from the State-Papers and Lodge's Illustrations, which prove that Warwick-castle was crown property in the reign of Edward VI.

so flattering to ambition. When the young princess was sixteen, he withdrew from England, finding that his principles could not accord with the measures of the king. Yet it was long supposed that his reluctance to take priest's orders arose from a lingering hope that the wishes of queen Katharine might one day be fulfilled.

An utter silence is maintained, alike in public history and state documents, regarding that agonizing moment when the princess Mary was reft from the arms of her unfortunate mother, to behold her no more. No witness has told the parting, no pen has described it; but sad and dolorous it certainly was to the hapless girl, even to the destruction of health.[1] In the same month that Henry VIII. and queen Katharine finally parted, Mary had been ill, for a payment is made by her father to Dr. Bartelot of 20*l.*, in reward for giving her his attendance. Another long sickness afflicted the princess the succeeding March, when the king again gave a large sum to the physician for restoring his daughter. Mary's sorrow had thus cast an early blight on her constitution, which she never wholly recovered. But her troubles had not yet reached their climax; for lady Salisbury, the friend next her mother dear to her heart, still resided with her. This fact is evident from the letter[2] written by queen Katharine, in which the recent illness of Mary is mentioned, and at the conclusion a kind message is sent to lady Salisbury. In this letter, Katharine endeavoured, with great sweetness, to reconcile the princess Mary to the loss of the Latin lessons she used to give her, by commendations of the superior ability of her tutor Dr. Featherstone, (who, it is evident, still retained his post): at the same time she requested occasionally to inspect her daughter's Latin exercises. The queen's letter concluded with expressions of tender regret at her separation from the king and her daughter, but without a word of angry complaint at the cause, which she wisely

[1] Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., pp. 146, 202, where payments frequently occur to physicians, for attendance on Mary throughout the same year.

[2] See biography of Katharine of Arragon, vol. ii., where the whole letter is cited.

knew would irritate and agonize the mind of her child. Woburn is the place of date, which marks the time as during the queen's residence at the palace of Ampthill, near that abbey.

The succeeding year brought many trials to the unfortunate mother and daughter, who were still cruelly kept from the society of each other. The king proclaimed his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Cranmer pronounced the marriage of queen Katharine invalid, and the coronation of the rival queen took place. Another letter, written by Katharine of Arragon to her daughter, occurs without date of time or place, supposed to have been written at Bugden, 1533, about the middle of August:—

"DAUGHTER,

"I heard such tidings this day, that I do perceive (if it be true) the time is very near when Almighty God will provide for you, and I am very glad of it; for I trust that he doth handle you with a good love. I beseech you agree to his pleasure with a merry [cheerful] heart, and be you sure that, without fail, *he* will not suffer you to perish if you beware to offend him. I pray God that you, good daughter, offer yourself to him. If any pangs come over you, shrive yourself; first make you clean, take heed of his commandments, and keep them as near as he will give you grace to do, for there are you sure armed.

"And if *this lady* do come to you, as it is spoken; if *she* do bring you a letter from the king, I am sure in the self-same letter you will be commanded what to do. Answer with very few words, obeying the king your father in every thing,—save only that you will not offend God, and lose your soul, and go no further with learning and disputation in the matter. And wheresoever, and in whatsoever company, you shall come, obey the king's commandments, speak few words, and meddle nothing.

"I will send you two books in Latin; one shall be *De Vita Christi*, with the declarations of the gospels; and the other, the epistles of St. Jerome, that he did write to Paula and Eustochium, and in them, I trust, you will see good things. Sometimes, for your recreation, use your virginals or lute, if you have any. But one thing specially I desire you, for the love you owe to God and unto me,—to keep your heart with a chaste mind, and your person from all ill and wanton company, not thinking or desiring of any husband, for Christ's passion; neither determine yourself to any manner of living, until this troublesome time be past. For I do make you sure you shall see a very good end, and better than you can desire.

"I would God, good daughter, that you did know with how good a heart I write this letter unto you. I never did one with a better, for I perceive very well that God loveth you. I beseech him, of his goodness, to continue it. I think it best *you keep your keys yourself*, for whosoever it is, [that is, 'whosoever keeps her keys,'] shall be done as shall please them.

"And now you shall begin, and by likelihood I shall follow. I set not a rush by it, for when they have done the utmost they can, then I am sure of amendment. I pray you recommend me unto my good lady of Salisbury, and pray her to have a good heart, for we never come to the kingdom of heaven but by troubles. Daughter, *wheresoever you come*, take no pain to send to me, for if I may, I will send to you.

"By your loving mother,

"KATHARINE THE QUENE."

Hitherto, this letter has been deemed a mystery. It is, nevertheless, clearly explained by a few words from Pollino, stating that Mary was summoned by her father about this time to be present at the expected accouchement of Anne Boleyn, at Greenwich-palace,[1] a summons which was expected to precede her own degradation from royal rank, and that queen Katharine's letter was to prepare her daughter's mind for this trial of patience. Queen Katharine has evidently written under the pressure of conflicting feelings, but with the excitement of recently awakened hope of better days. She has privately heard of some great, but undeclared, benefit to her daughter, which she hints at to cheer her. Meantime, she expects that a lady is to summon Mary by a letter from the king, and that she is shortly to be introduced into trying scenes, where the divorce will be discussed and her opinion demanded. On these points she disinterestedly and generously exhorts her not to controvert her father's will. The queen expects her daughter to be surrounded by dissipated company, where temptations will sedulously be brought to assail her, against which she guards her. She likewise anticipates that enemies will be near her, and warns her to keep the keys herself, dreading the surreptitious introduction of dangerous papers into her escritoire. Lady Salisbury is still Mary's protectress; but that venerable lady is in trouble, and looking darkly forward to the future. The kind queen sends her a message of Christian consolation, the efficacy of which she had fully tried.

Until some days subsequent to the birth of Elizabeth, Henry did not disinherit his eldest daughter, lest, if any thing fatal

[1] Pollino, Istoria dell' Ecclesia, p. 7, printed 1594. Burnet likewise says that Sanders mentions that Mary was present on this occasion: vol. ii. p. 220, of Records. In the same volume may be seen, in the original orthography, the letter of queen Katharine quoted above.

had happened to queen Anne and her infant, he might have been left without legitimate offspring of any kind. It is very likely that the laws of England required then, as now, that the presumptive heir of the kingdom should be present at the expected birth of an heir-apparent to the crown. If Katharine of Arragon's letter be read with this light cast on it, the sense is clearly manifest. The good mother endeavoured to fortify her daughter's mind for the difficult situation in which she would find herself in the chamber of Anne Boleyn, at the birth of the rival heir. Then the beneficial change in Mary's prospects, hinted at by her mother, has reference to the recent decree of the pope, (soon after made public,) who, in July 1533, had annulled the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn, and forbade them to live together under pain of excommunication,—a sentence which likewise illegitimated their offspring, and confirmed Mary in her royal station. This sentence was published in September, as near as possible to the birth of Elizabeth, and secret intelligence of this measure had evidently been given to Katharine of Arragon when she wrote to Mary. She knew that the decision of Rome had previously settled all such controversies, and it was natural enough that she should expect the same result would take place.

It is very clearly to be gathered, from the continued narrative of our Italian authority, that Mary did not adhere to the temperate line of conduct her wise mother had prescribed for her. "She was present," says Pollino, "assisting, with the relatives and friends of Anne Boleyn, in the lying-in chamber when *Lisabetta* [Elizabeth] was born; and there she heard, among the ladies and persons of the court, such secret things relative to the conduct of the mother, as made her declare that she was sure the infant was not her sister." Thus had Mary, with the natural incautiousness of youth, given ear to all the scandal which queen Anne's enemies were whispering on this occasion; and Mary's informants, who were probably her deadliest foes, had repeated to Anne Boleyn and the king any imprudence she, in the excitement of the moment, might utter, or even what she did not utter, but was attributed to

her by the surrounding gossips. Too often there is an evil propensity in the human heart, which finds amusement in the fomentation of dissension where family interests clash. The close observer may see this tendency in active operation among gossiping circles, even where the promoters of strife have not the least selfish end to gain by success in their endeavours. If they would subject themselves to that rigid self-examination which moral justice requires, they would find their satisfaction arose from a certain degree of malignant marvellousness, which is gratified in watching the agitation of their victims. In short, they witness a species of *improvisatore* tragedy, of which they furnish the plot and machinery. If, according to the wise Scripture proverb, "a little matter kindleth a great heap," when the tale-bearers of private life are pursuing their self-appointed vocation, let us consider what the case was in the royal family of England, September 1533, when the matter was so portentous and the heap so enormous? The situation of Mary, when called to court at such a crisis, must have been trying in the extreme, nor could the most sedulous caution have guided her through the difficulties which beset her path without incurring blame from one party or the other. There is, however, whatever the court gossips might say, the witness of her own letter that she never denied the name of sister to the new-born infant; for when she was required to give up the title of princess, and call Elizabeth by no other appellation, "Sister," she said, "she would call the babe, but nothing more."[1] Her father threatened her: his threats were useless, and he proceeded to aggravate the case by declaring Mary's new-born rival his heiress, (in default of male issue,) a dignity till then enjoyed by Mary, who had lately, as such, exercised authority in the principality of Wales. But neither threats nor deprivations had the least effect in bending the resolution of Mary. That her resistance did not spring from an exclusive devotion to her own interest, her subsequent concessions proved; but her love for her injured mother was an absorbing feeling, para-

[1] This fact is related, by Mary herself, in a letter of hers which will be subsequently quoted.

mount to every other consideration, and while Katharine of Arragon lived, Mary of England would have suffered martyrdom rather than make a concession against the interest and dignity of that adored parent.

Before the end of September, the privy council sent orders to Mary, who had then returned to Beaulieu, that she was immediately to lay aside the name and dignity of princess; and, moreover, enjoined her to forbid her servants to address her as such, and to withdraw directly to Hatfield, where the nursery of her infant sister was about to be established. The king did not take any ostensible part in this message,—conduct, however singular it may appear, which was perfectly consistent with the excessive love of approbation apparent in his character, even when he was performing acts of the utmost enormity. The important message, the effect of which was to deprive the eldest child of the English crown of her exalted situation, was delivered by her chamberlain, Hussey;[1] it purported to be "the king's commandment, issued to the bearer by the privy council on the last Sunday, at Greenwich." The princess being scarcely seventeen when this hard reverse of fortune befell her, the courage of her reply will excite some surprise. She told Hussey "that she not a little marvelled at his undertaking, in his single person, unauthorized by commission of council signed by the king, or by his majesty's private letters to her, such matter of high emprise as *minishing* from her state and dignity,—she not doubting, withal, that she was the king's true daughter, born in good and lawful matrimony; and unless she were advertised by letter, from the king's own hand, that his grace was so minded to diminish her state, name, and dignity, (which she trusted he never would do,) she should never believe the same."

Hussey withdrew to indite a narrative of the scene to his employers of the privy council.[2] The only remarkable feature

[1] Strype's Memorials, vol. i. pp. 224, 225.

[2] Strype's Mems., vol. i. p. 231. Strype calls this person one Huse, describing him as "a *promoter*, formerly employed by the king in his matter with the queen,"—a sentence which looks as if it had been miscomprehended by the printer. He was certainly the princess's chamberlain at Beaulieu. He has been

in his despatch is, that he invariably applied the titles of 'grace' and 'princess' to Mary, though addressing the very persons who had just deputed him to deprive her of those distinctions. Mary likewise forwarded a letter to the privy council, in which she sustained the high tone of a royal lady whose rights of succession were invaded illegally:—

"My lords,[1] as touching my removal to Hatfield, I will obey his grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his grace may appoint me; but I protest before you, and all others present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take *any other*[2] than myself for princess, or for the king's daughter born in lawful matrimony; and that I will never wittingly or willingly say or do aught, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Nor say I this out of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my judge. If I should do otherwise, I should slander the deed of our mother, the holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other; and should also dishonour the king my father, the queen my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard, which God defend I should do, since the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive, to whose final judgment I submit myself."

Hussey's despatch to the council produced a letter, purporting to be the royal order written by the comptroller of the king's household, requiring Mary to leave Beaulieu, and take up her abode at Hertford-castle. But the king and his ministers were dubious whether the princely establishment formed for the infant Elizabeth was to be fixed at Hatfield or Hertford-castle, as it appears by a subsequent order of council. Wherever it were to be, it is evident that no home was to be allowed the fallen Mary but the spot where she was to draw daily comparisons between her lost dignities, and those profusely lavished on the daughter of the rival queen. In this exigence Mary wrote thus to her father:—

THE LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"In most humble wise I beseech your grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth the same to be advertised, that this morning my chamberlain came and showed me that he had received a letter from sir William Paulet, comptroller of your household; the effect whereof was, that I should, with all diligence, remove to

called by some historians, "one Edward Huse, a relative of Anne Boleyn," and represented as a cruel and insolent agent. He, however, signs his name, in the document, "John Huse." He was undoubtedly a peer of the realm, and warmly but secretly devoted to the cause of Mary, as will be presently shown.

[1] Heylin, who is uncertain as to the date, excepting that these letters were written before 1536: they belong to the crisis under discussion.

[2] This is an evident allusion to Elizabeth, and therefore proves t was written after she was invested with Mary's birthright.

the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired to see that letter, which he showed me, wherein was written that 'the lady Mary, the king's daughter, should remove to the place aforesaid,'—leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which, when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your grace was not privy to the same letter, as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess, forasmuch as I doubt not that your grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I were to say to the contrary, I should in my conscience run into the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly that your grace would not that I should do.

"And in all other things your grace shall have me, always, as humble and obedient daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to, as knoweth our Lord, who have your grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour and long life to his pleasure. From your manor of Beaulieu, October 2nd.

"By your most humble daughter,

"MARY, *Princess.*"

The king took decided measures to dissolve the household of his daughter at Beaulieu, by sending the duke of Norfolk, assisted by lord Marney, the earl of Oxford, and his almoner, bishop Fox, "to deal with her," while the duke of Suffolk and others of the council were breaking up her mother's establishment at Bugden. In the midst of these troubles Mary's cousin-german, James V., solicited her hand; but his suit was refused peremptorily, lest such marriage should interfere with the title of Anne Boleyn's issue. The degradation of the princess Mary was rendered legal in the beginning of 1534, when the houses of parliament passed an act, settling the crown on the king's heirs by queen Anne, whether male or female. Mary's household at Beaulieu,[1]—a princely establishment, consisting of no less than one hundred and sixty individuals,—was finally dismissed and dispersed. The unfortunate princess was severed from those, to whose society she had been accustomed during her childhood; worst of all, she was torn from her venerable relative, Margaret countess of Salisbury, by whose arms she had been encircled in the first days of her existence. This was a blow more bitter than the mere deprivation of rank or titles. When separated from this maternal friend, she was transferred to the nursery-palace of Hunsdon, where the infant Elizabeth was established, with

[1] From the date of an order of council, quoted by Strype, (Dec. 2, 1533,) in which it mentions the dissolution of Mary's household at Beaulieu as a measure *still to be carried into effect*, it is evident Mary had succeeded in delaying her removal till after the new year had commenced.

a magnificent household befitting the rank of which Mary had just been deprived. In this residence Mary was located, more like a bondmaiden than a sister of the acknowledged heiress of the realm. Hunsdon had formerly belonged to the family of the Boleyns; it had been recently purchased or exchanged by the king.

To Hunsdon, the former seat of her family, had Anne Boleyn sent her infant with royal pomp: nor was she satisfied unless the fallen princess drew hourly comparisons between her lot, and that of the sister who had supplanted her. A fearful thing it was thus to tempt the heart of a fellow-creature, by aggravating grief into passionate anger through the infliction of gratuitous injury. But the heart of Mary was as yet unscathed by the corrosion of hatred; every object of her strong affections was not then destroyed, though they were removed, and ample proof remains that, instead of being aggravated into detesting or injuring her rival sister, she amused her sorrows with the playful wiles of the infant, and regarded her with kindness. This result probably originated in the fact, that queen Anne Boleyn, choosing that—as far as she could command—the former attendants of Mary should wait on Elizabeth, had appointed lady Margaret Bryan as her governess: whatever others might do, it is certain that excellent lady did all in her power to soothe the wounded mind of her former charge, and promote her kindly feelings to her infant sister. The insults heaped by Anne Boleyn, at this crisis, on the unfortunate Mary, weighed heavily on her conscience when she was making up her accounts with eternity. What they were, rests between God and herself, for no specific detail of them exists. Perhaps the severe inquiry, made the summer after Mary's removal from Beaulieu, relative to her correspondence and communication with her friends, was among these repented malefactions.

In a mutilated letter[1] from Fitzwilliam, treasurer of the king's household, to Cromwell, is an account of a search made

[1] This important passage, edited by the research and valuable acumen of sir Frederick Madden from half-burnt documents, is taken from his work, Privy-purse Expenses, &c. pp. lxii. lxiii. Lord Hussey was put to death, on suspicion

in the coffers of Mary at Hunsdon, which were sealed up; various papers were seized, put into a bag, and sent to Cromwell, together with a purse of purple velvet containing some writing,—perhaps the very letter from her mother quoted above. Several persons were at the same time committed to the Tower on the charge of holding private intercourse with the lady Mary, and styling her 'princess,' after the prohibition issued against it: among these was lady Hussey, and her examination, taken August 3rd, is still preserved. Various ensnaring interrogations were put to lady Hussey, as "How often she had repaired to the lady Mary since she had lost the name of princess? Whether she was sent for, and on what occasion she went? Whether she knew that the lady Mary was justly declared by law to be no princess, and yet had so called her? What moved her so to do? Whether she had received any tokens or messages from the lady Mary; and what persons, at that time, visited her at Hunsdon?" The replies are short and unequivocal,—the language of one who felt she had done nothing wrong, yet sensible of the danger incurred. She stated, "She had visited the lady Mary only once since the king had discharged her from Beaulieu, and that was when lord Hussey came up to parliament at the last Whitsuntide, and the visit then was altogether accidental." She owned "she had inadvertently called the lady Mary twice by the title of princess, not from any wish to disobey the law, but simply from her having been so long accustomed to it." She confessed having received a trifling present from the lady Mary. Among the persons who visited the disinherited princess at Hunsdon, she deposed, was lord Morley. He was the literary friend whose testimony to Mary's early attainments has been already quoted, and who, to the honour of literature, did not forsake the unfortunate, notwithstanding his daughter's intermarriage in the Boleyn family. Lady Morley, Mr. Shakerley and his wife, and sir Edward Baynton,

of participation in one of the frequent risings of the people, in the year 1537. His manor of Sleaford was granted or sold by archbishop Cranmer to Richard Goodrick, of London. The whole property of lord Hussey was torn from his heirs, and never restored. Anne, lady Hussey, was daughter to the earl of Kent. See Burke's Extinct Peerage; likewise Peerage of England, 1711, vol. iii. p. 325.

were likewise among Mary's visitors. "The poor princess," says Heylin, "had at Hunsdon no comfort but in her books;" she was assisted in her studies by Dr. Voisie, whom Henry VIII. rewarded for the pains he took with the bishopric of Exeter. This passage leads to the supposition that Dr. Featherstone (who had been employed in Mary's education since her infancy) had been dismissed, with the rest of the attached friends who composed her household at her regretted home of Beaulieu.

The two melancholy years which Mary spent at Hunsdon, under the surveillance of her step-mother, were passed in sorrow and suffering. The few friends who dared visit her were subjected to the severest espionage, their words were malignantly scrutinized, and sedulously reported to the privy council. The papers of the princess were put under the royal seal, and if she was allowed to read, she certainly was not permitted to write; since, in one of her letters penned just after the execution of Anne Boleyn, she apologizes for "her evil writing, because she had not written a letter for two years." Her father muttered murderous threats against her, and his words were eagerly caught and re-echoed by those members of his council whose whole study it was to flatter his wilful wishes, however wicked they might be. If the expressions of king Henry had not been appalling to the last degree, would the treasurer, Fitzwilliam, have dared to use the revolting terms he did regarding his master's once-idolized daughter? "If she will not be obedient to his grace, I would," quoth he, "that her head was from her shoulders, that I might toss it here with my foot," and "so put his foot forward, spurning the rushes,"[1] a graphic exemplification, added by two witnesses of his horrible speech, which it seems was not resented, but received as a dutiful compliment by the father of the young female, whose head was thus kicked as a football in the lively imagination of the obedient satellite!

Dark indeed were the anticipations throughout Europe

[1] State-Papers. MS. Cotton., Otho, c. x, much burnt, but successfully edited by sir Frederick Madden.

regarding the future destiny, not only of the unfortunate daughter, but of the queen her mother, during the year 1535. The king's envoys wrote home, that all men viewed them, as Englishmen, with either pity or horror. Mason, who was resident in Spain, declared "that the people expected to hear every day of the execution of queen Katharine, and that the princess Mary was expected soon to follow her."[1] These rumours are vaguely stated in general history; only one author, and he a foreigner, attempts to relate the particular circumstances which instigated Henry VIII. to meditate the astounding crime of filiacide. Gregorio Leti affirms that some fortune-teller had predicted the accession of the princess Mary to the crown after the death of her father. This report, being circulated at court, was quickly brought to queen Anne Boleyn, and threw her into great agitation. She flew to the king, and with tears and sobs told him "how much afflicted she was at the thought that their child should be excluded from the throne for the sake of Mary, who was the offspring of a marriage solemnly pronounced illegal." Henry, who was completely bewitched by her, embraced her with all the tenderness possible, and, to assuage her tears, "promised not only to disinherit Mary, but even to kill her, rather than such a result should happen." Fox, and every succeeding historian, declare that Cranmer prevented the king from immolating his daughter; if so, this must have been the crisis. To the princess, the matter of her life or death was perhaps of little moment, for grief had reduced her to the most dolorous state of illness. Her mother was on her death-bed, desiring with a yearning heart, but with words of saintly meekness, to be permitted, if not to see her, merely to breathe the same air with her afflicted daughter. She promises, solemnly, "that if Mary may be resident near her, she will not attempt to see her, if forbidden." She adds, that such measure was "impossible, since she lacked provision *therefor;*" meaning, she had neither horse nor carriage to go out. Yet she begs the king may be always told, that the thing she most desires is the company

[1] Ellis's Letters, second Series; likewise Edmund Harvel, resident at Venice.

of her daughter, "for a little comfort and mirth she would take with me, should undoubtedly be a half health unto her."[1] Doleful would have been the mirth, and heart-rending the comfort, had such interview been permitted between the sick daughter and the dying mother; but it was no item in the list of Henry's tender mercies.

The emperor Charles V. remonstrated sternly on the treatment of his aunt and young kinswoman, and the whole ingenuity of the privy council was exerted to hammer out a justification of the ugly case. A copy of the despatch sent to Mason, much altered and interlined, remains in Cromwell's hand.[2] "Touching the *bruit* of the *misentreaty* of the queen and princess, such report and bruit is untrue;" then, after setting forth king Henry's munificence to the mother, he by no means boasts of his generosity to the princess, but adds, "Our daughter, the lady Mary, we do order and entertain as we think expedient, for we think it not meet that any person should prescribe unto us how we should order our *own* daughter, we being her natural father." In another despatch, the rumour at the imperial court is indignantly denied "that it was the king's intention to marry Mary to some person of base blood."

The death of Mary's tender and devoted mother opened the year 1536 with a dismal aggravation of her bitter lot. The sad satisfaction of a last adieu between the dying queen and her only child, was cruelly forbidden. Mary was informed of the tidings of her mother's expected dissolution, and with agonizing tears and plaints implored permission to receive her last blessing;[3] but in vain, for Katharine of Arragon expired without seeing her daughter. Again the continent rung with reprobation of such proceedings. The English resident at Venice wrote to Thomas Starkey, a learned divine at Henry's court, February 5th, 1536, "that queen Katharine's death had been divulged there, and was received with lamentations, for she was incredibly dear to all men for her

[1] Hearne's Sylloge, p. 107. [2] MS. Cott., Nero, b. vi. f. 85.
[3] Cardinal Pole's Letters.

good fame, which is in great glory among all *exterior* nations." He concludes, in Latin, "Great obloquy has her death occasioned; all dread lest the royal girl should briefly follow her mother. I assure you men speaketh here *tragice* of these matters, which are not to be touched by letters."

Happy would it have been for Mary, happy for her country, if her troublous pilgrimage had closed, even tragically, before she had been made the ostensible instrument of wrong and cruelty unutterable to conscientious Protestants!

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER II.

Change in Mary's fortunes—Fall of queen Anne Boleyn—Her penitent message to Mary—Friendship between Mary and queen Jane—Mary's correspondence with Cromwell—Visit of the Spanish ambassador—Letter to Edward Seymour—Mary's acknowledgment of her illegitimacy—Forbidden to call her sister princess—Letter to her father—Her household fixed at Hunsdon—Her method of spending her time—Her learning and accomplishments—Her musical skill—Privy-purse expenses—Her visit to the king and queen—High play at court—Buys millinery at lady Gresham's shop—Mary's alms and gifts—Her illness—Arrives at Hampton-Court—Is sponsor to her infant brother—Her dress—Mary chief mourner at queen Jane's funeral—Treaty of marriage—Presents to her brother and sister—Mary's troubles in 1538—Wooed by Philip of Bavaria—Their interview in Westminster-abbey garden—Love-token—Their engagement broken—Mary's sojourn at Sion—Domesticated with prince Edward and her sister—Her diplomatic letter—Her visit to her father—Course of life—Present at the marriage of Henry VIII. and Katharine Parr—Improved prospects.

At the very time when all Europe anticipated the destruction of the princess Mary, a change took place in the current of events that influenced her fortunes. Her step-mother, queen Anne Boleyn, lost the male heir who was expected wholly to deprive Mary of all claims to primogeniture, even in the eyes of her most affectionate partisans. Scarcely had queen Anne uttered the well-known exclamation of triumph on the death of Katharine of Arragon, before indications were perceptible that she had herself lost Henry's capricious favour; her fall and condemnation followed with rapidity.[1]

The wrongs inflicted on Mary proved to be the chief weight on the conscience of Anne Boleyn; for, the day before her tragical death, after placing lady Kingston in the royal

[1] For these particulars, see the biography of queen Anne Boleyn, vol. ii.

seat as the representative of Mary, she fell on her knees before her, and implored her to go to Hunsdon, and in the same attitude to ask, in her name, pardon of the princess for all the wrongs she had heaped upon her while in possession of a step-dame's authority. How lady Kingston could represent the princess Mary has been hitherto reckoned a discrepancy in the incident; but that lady held one of the principal offices about the person of the princess Mary in the years 1538 and 1540,[1] and had probably done the same before the divorce of Katharine of Arragon and the dissolution of the establishment at Beaulieu. Lady Kingston had accompanied her husband sir William Kingston to the Tower, where it is well known that he was the custodian of Anne Boleyn during her bitter misery. The profession of penitence made by the wretched queen was thus addressed to one of her step-daughter's attendants and attached friends. Lady Kingston certainly went to Hunsdon on this errand, for there is evidence of her presence there a few days after the execution of queen Anne.

Although the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, in her passionate repentance, took upon herself the blame of the ill-treatment her step-daughter had experienced, yet it is an evident truth that she was not the sole instrument in the persecution, since, two months after she had lost all power, the cruel system of restraint and deprivation continued to afflict Mary at Hunsdon. But this was artfully relaxed directly Anne Boleyn was put to death, in order that the princess might lay the whole blame of her sufferings on the unhappy queen. Meantime, some kind of friendly acquaintance had previously subsisted between the princess Mary and the new queen, Jane Seymour, but when this originated is one of the obscure passages in the lives of both, which no ray has as yet illuminated. Be that as it may, Mary was encouraged to commence the following correspondence, in the hopes that her new mother-in-law was favourably disposed to her reconciliation with her father. The event proved that, notwithstanding all fair seeming, there was no

[1] Letters of Royal Ladies, M. A. Wood.

restoration to Henry's good graces but by her utter abandonment of her place in the succession,—a result which Mary had, even while Anne Boleyn held the ascendant, hitherto successfully avoided. The first letter of this series was addressed to Cromwell, evidently at the very time when lady Kingston had arrived at Hunsdon to deliver the dying confession of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Mary, according to her own words at the conclusion, took advantage of lady Kingston's presence to obtain writing materials, of which she had been long deprived. The letter is dated only one week after the execution of Anne Boleyn.

LADY MARY TO CROMWELL.

"MASTER SECRETARY,

"I would have been a suitor to you before this time, to have been a means for me to the king's grace, my father, to have obtained his grace's blessing and favour, but I perceived that nobody durst speak for me as *long as that woman lived* which is now gone, (whom I pray God of his mercy to forgive). Wherefore, now she *is* gone, I am bolder to write to you, as one which taketh you for one of my chief friends. And therefore I desire you for the love of God to be a suitor to me of the king's grace, to have his blessing and licence [leave] to write unto his grace, which shall be of great comfort to me, as God knoweth, who have you evermore in his holy keeping. Moreover, I must desire you to accept mine evil writing, *for I have not done so much for this two years or more, nor could have had the means to do it at this time, but my lady Kingston's being here.*—At Hunsdon, 26th of May.

"By your loving friend,

"MARY."[1]

An intimation followed this epistle, that the king permitted his daughter to write to him; and she accordingly penned a letter,[2] chiefly compounded of supplicating sentences. The only fact contained in this letter is comprised in these words:—

"Having received, this Thursday night, certain letters from Mr. secretary [Cromwell], advising me to make my humble submission immediately to yourself, which I durst not do without your gracious licence [leave] before, and that I *should not* eftsoons *offend your majesty, by denial or refusal* of such articles or commandments as it might please your highness to address to me for the perfect trial of mine heart and inward affections."

No notice was vouchsafed to this letter by Henry, and Mary soon after wrote a second, in which she ventured to congratulate him and Jane Seymour on their marriage:—

[1] Hearne's Sylloge, No. 20.

[2] See Hearne's Sylloge, copied from the MS. Cottonian.

Lady Mary to the King.[1]

"In as humble and lowly a manner as is possible for a child to use to her father and sovereign lord, I beseech your grace of your daily blessing, which is my chief desire in this world, and in the same humble wise acknowledging all the offences that I have done to your grace, since I had first discretion unto offend unto this hour. I pray your grace for the honour of God, and for your fatherly pity, to forgive me them, for the which I am as sorry as any creature living; and next unto God, I do and will submit me in all things to your goodness and pleasure, to do with me whatsoever shall please your grace. Humbly beseeching your highness to consider that I am but a woman, and your child, who hath committed her soul only to God, and her body to be ordered in this world as it shall stand with your pleasure; whose order and direction (whatsoever it shall please your highness to limit and direct unto me) I shall most humbly and willingly stand content to follow, obey, and accomplish in all points.

"And so, in the lowest manner that I can, I beseech your grace to accept me your humble daughter, *which* [who] doth not a little rejoice to hear the comfortable tidings (not only to me, but to all your grace's realm) concerning the marriage which is between your grace and the queen [Jane Seymour], now being your grace's wife and my mother-in-law, The hearing thereof caused nature to constrain me to be an humble suitor to your grace, to be so good and gracious lord and father to me as to give me leave to wait upon the queen, and to do her grace such service as shall please her to command me, which my heart shall be as ready and obedient to fulfil (next unto your grace) as the most humble servant that she hath.

"Trusting to your grace's mercy to come into your presence, which ever hath and shall be the greatest comfort that I can have within this world, having also a full hope in your grace's natural pity, which you have always used as much, or more, than any prince christened, that your grace will show the same upon me, your most humble and obedient daughter, which daily prayeth to God to have your grace in his holy keeping, with long life and as much honour as ever had king; and to send your grace shortly a prince, whereof no creature living shall more rejoice or heartilier pray for continually than I, as my duty bindeth me.—From Hunsdon, the first day of June, (1536).

"By your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and handmaid,

"Mary."

This letter was written on occasion of Jane Seymour's public appearance as queen, May 29th; it was accompanied with another to Cromwell, dated the 30th of May, thanking him for having obtained leave of writing to her father, and praying him "to continue his good offices till it may please his grace to permit her approach to his presence, at the time his [Cromwell's] discretion may deem suitable;" but this favour was not granted till after a compliance was extorted from the princess to sign the cruel articles which stigmatized her own birth and her mother's marriage with as many opprobrious terms as Henry and his satellites chose to dictate. One week afterwards, Mary wrote another short letter, from which may

[1] See Hearne's Sylloge, copied from the MS. Cottonian.

be gathered that her sire had declared that "he forgave her all *her* offences." These were truly the injuries with which *he* had loaded her; but he had not yet either written to her, or admitted her into his presence,—favours she humbly sued for in her letter written two days afterwards as follows:—

LADY MARY TO KING HENRY VIII.

"In as humble and lowly a manner as is possible for me, I beseech your most gracious highness of your daily blessing; and albeit I have already, as I trust in God, upon mine humble suit and submission, requiring mercy and forgiveness for mine offences to your majesty, obtained the same with licence to write unto you, whereby I have also conceived great hope and confidence that your grace of your inestimable goodness will likewise forgive me my said offences, and withdraw your displeasure conceived upon the same; yet shall my joy never return perfectly to me, *ne* my hope be satisfied, until such time as it may please your grace sensibly to express your gracious forgiveness to me, or such towardness thereof, and of the reconciliation of your favour by your most gracious letters, or some token or message as I may conceive a perfect trust that I shall not only receive my most hearty and fervent desire therein, but for a confirmation thereof *penetrate an access to your presence*,[1] which shall, of all worldly things, be to me most joyous and comfortable, for that in the same I shall have the fruition of your most noble presence most heartily (as my duty requireth) desired.

"I do most heartily beseech your grace to pardon me, though I presume thus to molest your gracious ears with my suits and rude writing, for nature hath had its operation in the same. Eftsoons, therefore, most humbly prostrate before your noble feet, your most obedient subject and humble child, that hath not only repented her offences hitherto, but also desired simply from henceforth and wholly (next to Almighty God) to put my state, continuance, and living in your gracious mercy; and likewise to accept the condition thereof at your disposition and appointment, whatsoever it shall be, desiring your majesty to have pity on me in the granting of mine humble suits and desires, who shall continually pray to Almighty God (as I am most bounden) to preserve your grace, with the queen, and shortly to send you a prince, which shall be gladder tidings to me than I can express in writing.—From Hunsdon, the 10th of June.

"Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant, daughter, and handmaid,

"MARY."

Neither letter had elicited an answer from the king. The last was enclosed in a letter from Cromwell, which contains this remarkable sentence,—"that she took him for her chief friend next to God and the *queen*." So few days had elapsed since Jane Seymour had become queen, that this expression assuredly implies that some friendly communication must have passed between the princess Mary and her previously to the death of Anne Boleyn. Cromwell continued to urge more unconditional submission, and even sent her a copy of the

[1] *i.e.* 'be admitted to the king's presence.'

sort of letter that was to be efficacious with the king. The poor princess, ill in body and harassed in mind, wrote thus to Cromwell three days afterwards :—

"Nevertheless, because you have exhorted me to write to his grace again, and I cannot devise what I should write more but your own *last copy*, without adding or *minishing*, therefore do I send you, by my servant, the same word for word; and it is unsealed, because I cannot endure to write another copy, for the pain in my head and my teeth hath troubled me so sore this two or three days, and doth yet so continue, that I have very small rest day or night."

Mary was at this time in deep mourning for her beloved mother. The imperial ambassador visited her during the month of June 1536, and expressed surprise at the "*heavynes* [mournfulness] of her apparel;" his errand was to advise her to obey her father unconditionally. She thanked him for his good counsel, and told him she had written to her father. Here a provoking hiatus occurs in the manuscript.[1] Eustachio, who had attended her mother's death-bed, probably delivered some message from the dying queen relative to the expediency of Mary's submission, but she had still a struggle before she could bring herself to compliance. The ambassador, to whom she had probably forwarded letters in Latin or Spanish, expressed his surprise at her learning, and asked her if she was unaided in the composition, which the princess acknowledged was the case.

The visit of the Spanish ambassador was followed by one from the brother of the new queen Jane, Edward Seymour, lately created lord Beauchamp, and appointed lord chamberlain for life. He required her to send in a list of the clothing she needed;[2] and added the welcome present of a riding-horse, which benefits Mary thus acknowledged:[3]—

[1] MS. Cottonian, c. x. folio 253, ably edited by sir F. Madden: Privy-purse Expenses, lxxv.

[2] The observation of the Spanish ambassador on her heavy mourning, fixes most satisfactorily the chronology of this letter. New clothing was requisite when she laid aside her black.

[3] The letter has no address; but that Mary had written to him is indisputably proved in a letter to Wriothesley soon after, in which she expressly tells him he was the fourth man she had ever written to, the others being the king, Cromwell, 'and once to my lord *Bechame*.' Besides, the benefactions awarded to Mary were peculiarly in the dispensation of the lord chamberlain. The original is in Hearne's Sylloge, copied from the Cottonian MSS., but by no means arranged according to historical chronology, which it has been the office of the author of this biography to rectify according to internal evidence.

LADY MARY TO MY LORD ——.

"MY LORD,

"In my heartiest manner I commend me unto you, as she *which* [who] cannot express in writing the great joy and comfort that I have received by your letters, as by the report of my servant (this bearer) concerning the king my sovereign father's goodness towards me, which I doubt not but I have obtained much the better by your continual suit and means; wherefore I think myself bound to pray for you during my life, and that I will both do and will continue, with the grace of God.

"Sir, as touching mine apparel, I have made no *bill* [list], for the king's highness's favour is so good clothing unto me, that I can desire no more. And so I have written to his grace, resting wholly in him, and willing to wear whatsoever his grace shall appoint me.

"My lord, I do thank you with all my heart for the horse that you sent me with this bearer, wherein you have done me a great pleasure, for I had never a one to ride upon sometimes for my health; and besides that, my servant showeth me that he is such a one, that I may, of good right, accept not only the mind of the giver, but also the gift. And thus I commit you to God, to whom I do and shall daily pray to be with you in all your business, and to reward you for so exceeding great pains and labours that you take in my suits.—From Hunsdon, the first day of July.

"Your assured loving friend during my life,

"MARY."

Notwithstanding these signs of restoration to his paternal favour, the king had not condescended to notice the letters of the princess till July 8th, when she either *copied* or composed the following epistle:—

LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"My bounden duty most humbly remembered, with like desire of your daily blessing, and semblable thanks upon my knees to your majesty, both for your great mercy lately extended unto me, and for the certain arguments of a perfect reconciliation, which of your most abundant goodness I have since perceived. Whereas, upon mine inward and hearty suit and desire that it would please your highness to grant me licence some time to send my servant to know your grace's health and prosperity, (which I beseech our Lord long to preserve, being the thing that is in this world my only comfort,) to my great joy and satisfaction I obtained the same. I have now (to use the benefit of that especial grace) sent this bearer, mine old servant Randal Dod, in lieu of a token, to present unto your majesty these my rude letters, (written with the hand of her whom your highness shall ever find true, faithful, and obedient to you and yours, as far as your majesty and your laws have and shall limit me, without alteration until the hour of my death,) and so to bring me again relation of your prosperous estate. Most humbly beseeching your highness, in case I be over hasty in sending so soon, to pardon me, and to think that I would a thousand-fold more gladly be there in the room of a poor chamberer, to have the fruition of your presence, than in the course of nature planted in this your most noble realm."

If this last sentence has any meaning, it is that Mary would rather be a domestic servant near her father during his life, than heiress to his realm after his death; she concludes,—

"And thus I beseech our Lord to preserve your grace in health, with my very natural mother the queen [Jane], and to send you shortly issue, which I shall as gladly and willingly serve with my hands under their feet, as ever did poor subject their most gracious sovereign. From Hunsdon, the 8th of July, (1536).

"Your grace's most humble and obedient daughter and bondmaiden,

"MARY."

Henry VIII. knew that his daughter Mary was regarded in secret with deep affection by a great majority of his subjects, who acknowledged in their hearts (notwithstanding all acts of parliament) that she was, in her present position, heiress to the crown, and he remained in a furious state of irritation till he had obtained an acknowledgment under her own hand of her illegitimacy. Since the death of Anne Boleyn, an act of parliament had passed which not only illegitimated the infant Elizabeth equally with Mary, but changed the constitution of the succession to more than eastern despotism, by enabling the king, in default of heirs by queen Jane Seymour, to leave his dominions, like personal property, money, plate, or furniture, to whomsoever he chose to bequeath them. It has been surmised that the king, by placing his daughters on the same footing with his natural son, Henry duke of Richmond, meant to use this privilege in his behalf. Fortunately for himself and the kingdom, this youth was removed by death[1] within a little time after passing this iniquitous act.

Mary promised unconditional submission to all the king required, consistent with what she considered the laws of God;

[1] He died at Colleweston, the late seat of Margaret Beaufort. King Henry VIII. had given him her property, with the title of Richmond. Among the Hardwicke State-Papers is one describing his progress to Colleweston: he was evidently in the last stage of consumption. Some of the privy council escorted him: they describe the fluctuations of his health, and the difficulty they had to induce him to travel in a litter. The traditions of the ancient family of Throckmorton, contained in the MS. already described, give no very attractive picture of this youth's disposition. The celebrated sir Nicholas Throckmorton has left this remembrance, embodied in the verse of his nephew, of his introduction to life as Richmond's page,—a post far enough from an enviable one:—

"A brother fourth, and far from hope of land,
By parents' best I served as a page
To Richmond's duke, and waited still at hand,
For fear of blows that happened in his rage.
In France with him I lived most carelessly,
And learned the tongue, though nothing readily."

Throck-

and the king sent down a deputation of his privy council[1] to apply the cruel test of her obedience, the principal articles of which were, the acknowledgment that her mother's marriage was incestuous and illegal, her own birth illegitimate, and the king's supremacy over the church absolute. It will scarcely excite wonder that Mary demurred at signing these bitter requisitions. She did not think them consistent with her principles, and the council departed without their errand, although at the head of them the king observed he had, "as a favour to her, sent his daughter's cousin, the duke of Norfolk."[2] As soon as they had departed, Mary wrote to Cromwell a letter expressive of uneasiness of mind, which drew from him the following insolent reply:—

"MADAM,

"I have received your letter, whereby it appeareth you be in great discomfort, and do desire that I should find the means to speak with you. How great soever your discomfort is, it can be no greater than mine, who hath, upon [the receipt] of your letters, spoken so much of your repentance for your wilful obstinacy against the king's highness, and of your humble submission in all things, without exception or qualification, to obey his pleasure and laws, and knowing how *diversly* [differently] *and contrarily you proceeded at the late being of his majesty's council with you*, I am as much ashamed of what I have said, as afraid of what I have done, insomuch as what the sequel thereof shall be, God knoweth.

"Thus with your folly you undo yourself, and all who have wished you good; and I will say unto you, as I have said elsewhere, that it were a great pity ye be not made an example in punishment, if ye will make yourself an example of contempt of God, your natural father, and his laws by your own only fantasy, contrary to the judgments and determination of all men, that ye must confess to know and love God as much as you do, except ye will show yourself altogether presumptuous. Wherefore, madam, to be plain with you, as God is my witness, I think you the most obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was, and one that is so persevering deserveth the extremity of mischief.

"I dare not open my lips to name you, unless I may have some ground that it may appear you were *mis-taken*, [meaning, evidently, misunderstood,] or at least repentant for your ingratitude and miserable unkindness, and ready to do all things that ye be bound unto by your duty and allegiance (if nature were excluded from you) in degree with every other common subject. And therefore I have sent you a certain book of articles, whereunto if you will set your hand and subscribe your name you shall undoubtedly please God, the same being conformable to his truth, as you must conceive in your heart if you do not dissemble. Upon the receipt whereof again from you, with a letter declaring that you think

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[1] The visit of the council to Hunsdon must have occurred some time between the 8th and the 21st of July, 1536.

[2] Heylin's Reformation. He had been husband of Anne Plantagenet, Mary's great-aunt.

in heart what you have subscribed with hand, I shall eftsoons venture to speak for your reconciliation.

"But if you will not with speed leave off all your sinister counsels, which have brought you to the point of utter undoing without remedy, I take my leave of you for ever, and desire that you will never write or make means to me hereafter, for I shall never think otherwise of you than as the most ungrateful person to your *dear* and *benign father*. I advise you to nothing; but I beseech God never to help me if I know it not to be your bounden duty, by God's laws and man's laws, that I must needs judge that person who shall refuse it not meet to live in a Christian congregation; to the witness whereof, I take Christ, whose mercy I refuse if I write any thing but what I have professed in my heart and know to be true."

The overbearing style of this epistle effected the end for which Cromwell had laboured so long, and terrified Mary into signing the articles she had previously rejected. The young princess has been universally accused of meanness because she yielded to these threats and reproaches, and signed the articles mentioned in this letter; but those who blame her can scarcely have dispassionately examined the whole circumstances of the case. While her mother lived, she was utterly inflexible; neither bribes nor the deadliest menaces could shake her firmness into the slightest admission which could compromise that beloved mother's honour. As to her own individual interest, it either remained the same as in her mother's lifetime, or approximated nearer to the crown since the degradation of her sister Elizabeth and the death of Anne Boleyn's son; therefore it is vain to attribute her renunciation of her rights to any cause, excepting a yearning desire to be once more enfolded in a parental embrace. *She* was gone whose noble mind would have been pained by her daughter's voluntary degradation, and Mary had no one left but herself who could be injured by her compliance. Henry had been used to caress his daughter fondly when domesticated with her; there is no testimony that he ever used, personally, an angry word to her; she loved him tenderly, and, with natural self-deception, attributed all the evil wrought against her mother and herself to the machinations of Anne Boleyn. She thought, if she were restored to the society of the king, instead of lingering her life away in the nursery prison at Hunsdon, she should regain her former interest in his heart,—and she signed the prescribed articles, which are as follow:[1]—

[1] Hearne's Sylloge. From the original.

"LADY MARY'S SUBMISSION.

"The confession of me, the lady Mary, made upon certain points and articles under written, in the which, as I do now plainly and with all mine heart confess and declare mine inward sentence, belief, and judgment, with a due conformity of obedience to the laws of the realm, so minding for ever to persist and continue in this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do most humbly beseech the king's highness, my father, whom I have obstinately and *inobediently* offended in the denial of the same heretofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his most gracious mercy.

"First, I confess and knowledge the king's majesty to be my sovereign lord and king, in the imperial crown of this realm of England, and to submit myself to his highness, and to all and singular laws and statutes of this realm as becometh a true and a faithful subject to do, which I shall obey, keep, observe, advance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the power, force, and qualities that God hath indued me during my life.

(Signed) "MARY."

"*Item*, I do recognise, accept, take, repute, and knowledge the king's highness to be supreme head in earth, under Christ, of the church of England, and do utterly refuse the bishop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and jurisdiction within this realm heretofore usurped, according to the laws and statutes made in that behalf, and of all the king's true subjects humbly received, admitted, obeyed, kept, and observed; and also do utterly renounce and forsake all manner of remedy, interest, and advantage which I may by any means claim by the bishop of Rome's laws, process, jurisdiction, or sentence, at this present time or in any wise hereafter, by any manner, title, colour, mean, or case that is, shall, or can be devised for that purpose.

(Signed) "MARY."

"*Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the discharge of my duty towards God, the king's highness, and his laws, without other respect, recognise and acknowledge that the marriage heretofore had between his majesty and my mother, the late princess-dowager, was by God's law and man's law incestuous and unlawful.

(Signed) "MARY."[1]

Wriothesley was the person who brought the rejected articles for Mary's reconsideration; he had authority to promise, in case of compliance, that her household should be re-established, with every consideration to her respectability and comfort. This privy councillor likewise brought express orders that Mary should no longer call Elizabeth princess, but sister; an injunction which Mary, in her next letter, alluded to with some reference to past disputes concerning the title of princess, but, at the same time, with sisterly kindness to the motherless infant. Surely there is something of touching simplicity in the sentence where she says, "And, now you think it meet, I shall never call her by any other name than *sister*."

[1] Hearne quotes all these articles as subscribed by Mary; Collier and Heylin affirm she did not sign the two last.

"Good Mr. Secretary, how much am I bound to you, which have not only travailed, when I was almost drowned in folly, to recover me before I sunk and was utterly past recovery, and so to present me to the face of grace and mercy, but desisteth not since with your good and wholesome counsels so to arm me from any relapse, that I cannot, unless I were too wilful and obstinate, (whereof there is now no spark in me,) fall again into any danger. But leaving the recital of your goodness apart—which I cannot recount—I answer the particulars of your credence sent by my friend Mr. Wriothesley. First, concerning the *princess*, (Elizabeth, so I think I must call her yet, for I would be loath to offend,) I offered, at her entry to that name and honour, to call her sister; but it was refused, unless I would add the other title unto it, which I denied then, not more obstinately than I am sorry for it now, for that I did therein offend my most gracious father and his just laws. And, now you think it meet, *I shall never call her by any other name than sister.*

"Touching the nomination of such women as I would have about me, surely, Mr. secretary, what men or women soever the king's highness shall appoint to wait upon me, without exception shall be to me right heartily welcome. Albeit, to express my mind to you, whom I think worthy to be accepted for their faithful service done to the king's majesty and to me since they have come into my company, I promise you, on my faith, Margaret Baynton and Susanna Clarencieux[1] have, in every condition, used themselves as faithfully, painfully, and diligently as ever did women in such a case; as sorry when I was not so comformable as became me, and as glad when I inclined to duty as could be devised. One other there is that was some time my maid, whom for her virtue I love and could be glad to have in my company, that is Mary Brown, and here be all that I will recommend; and yet my estimation of this shall be measured at the king's highness my most merciful father's pleasure and appointment, as reason is.

"For mine opinion touching pilgrimages, purgatory, relics,[2] and such like, I assure you I have none at all but such as I shall receive from him who hath mine whole heart in his keeping, that is, the king's most gracious highness, my most benign father, who shall imprint in the same, touching these matters and all other, what his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning shall think convenient and limit unto me. To whose presence, I pray God I may come once ere I die, for every day is a year till I have a fruition of it. Beseeching you, good Mr. secretary, to continue mine humble suit for the same, and for all other things, whatsoever they be, to repute my heart so firmly knit to his pleasure, that I can by no means vary from the direction and appointment of the same. And thus most heartily fare you well.—From Hunsdon, this Friday, at ten o'clock of the night.

"Your assured loving friend,

"MARY."[3]

The continued discussions as to the right of the daughters of Henry VIII. to the title of princess, lead to the conviction that, at this era, that distinction was only bestowed on the

[1] Her name was Susan Teonge. She was daughter to the Clarencieux herald. She lived with Mary till death parted them.

[2] It is remarkable, that neither in her numerous letters, in the journals of her expenses, nor in her will, is there any indication of provision made concerning any of these points of the Romish church.

[3] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. (p. 224, Records). Likewise in Hearne's Sylloge.

heiress-presumptive to the crown of England, or, at the very utmost, to the eldest daughter of the sovereign, though it is doubtful whether she ever possessed it during the existence of brothers. Elizabeth of York was called "my lady princess" before the birth of her brothers, and perhaps retained the title after they were born; but her sisters were only called lady Cicely, lady Anne, &c., instead of the princess Cicely, &c., as they would have been in modern times. It seems doubtful if any of the daughters of Henry III., Edward I., Edward III., or Henry IV., were ever termed 'princess' by their contemporaries; but the rank of all the daughters of the English crown was designated by the elegant address of 'grace,' which was likewise the epithet used in speaking to and of the king and queen.

At the same time that Mary wrote the letter to Cromwell, just quoted, she addressed the following one to her father:—

LADY MARY TO THE KING.

"My bounden duty most humbly remembered to your most excellent majesty. Whereas I am unable and insufficient to render and express to your highness those most hearty and humble thanks for your gracious mercy and fatherly pity (surmounting mine offences at this time) extended towards me, I shall lie prostrate at your noble feet humbly, and with the very bottom of my heart beseech your grace to repute that in me (which in my poor heart, remaining in your most noble hand, I have conceived and professed towards your grace) whiles the breath shall remain in my body. That is, that as I am in such merciful sort recovered, being almost lost in mine own folly, that your majesty may as well accept me, justly your bounden slave by redemption, as your most humble and obedient child and subject.

"My sister Elizabeth is in good health, (thanks to our Lord,) and such a child toward, as I doubt not but your highness shall have cause to rejoice of in time coming, (as knoweth Almighty God,) who send your grace, with the queen my good mother, health, with the accomplishment of your desires. From Hunsdon, the 21st day of July.

"Your highness's most humble daughter and faithful subject,

"MARY."

This letter, dated the 21st of July, 1536, may be considered as the concluding one of the curious historical series connected with Mary's forced renunciation of her birthright. The opening phrases are couched in the species of formula prescribed to Mary from the commencement of the correspondence, in which the most servile terms of verbal prostration are studied, as offerings at the throne of the despot. But the letter ends in a manner that will startle many a precon-

ceived idea of the disposition of Mary, in the minds of readers who are willing to be guided by facts, not invective. Noble, indeed, it was of Mary thus to answer the agonized cry for forgiveness from the dying Anne Boleyn, by venturing a word in season in behalf of her forlorn little one. Even this generous trait has been inveighed against, as an act of mean flattery[1] to the parental pride of Henry, and had it happened during the prosperity of Elizabeth, so it might have been considered; but mark how a plain matter of chronology places a good deed in its true light! So far from feeling any pride as the father of Elizabeth, Henry had just disowned her as a princess of his line, and horrid doubts had been murmured that she was the child of lord Rochford,[2] her mother's brother, and was not worthy even to be ranked as the king's illegitimate daughter. Who can, then, deny that it was a bold step of sisterly affection on the part of Mary to mention the early promise of the little Elizabeth, as she does in this letter, in terms calculated to awaken paternal interest in the bosom of her father?

Nothing now prevented the settlement of Mary's household. It was effected on a scale of the lowest parsimony, when compared to the extravagant outlay of her annual expenditure as an infant, and when she kept her court at Ludlow-castle; yet she expressed herself cheerfully and gratefully to Wriothesley in the following letter, in which she informed him that he was the fourth man to whom she had ever written. It will be observed she mentions, with great interest, a faithful servant of her mother:—

"Mr. Wriothesley,

"I have received your letters by this bearer, which compel me to do that thing that I never did to any man, except the king's highness, my lord privy-seal, and once to my lord *Bechame*, [Beauchamp, Edward Seymour]; that is to say, write to you, to give you thanks for your great goodness and gentleness, besides all other times, now showed to me, as well as sending this messenger for my quietness as in entertaining my servant, Randal Dod. Furthermore, there

[1] See remarks in the biography of Mary, Encyclopædia Britannica, which merely re-echoes the invectives of preceding historians.

[2] See letter of a Portuguese gentleman, who was resident in London at the time, printed in Excerpta Historica, by sir Harris Nicolas, p. 264. He mentions, as a public report, that the privy council had come to this decision.

is another, who, as I hear say, also is much beholden to you, that is Anthony Roke, for although he be not my servant, *he was my mother's*, and is an honest man, as I think; I do love him well, and would do him good. Sir, besides all these things, I think myself much beholden to you for remembering my cook, whom (I think plainly) I have obtained much sooner by your good means, for as I take you to be my second *suitor*,[1] as God knoweth, who help you in all your business.—From Hunsdon, this Thursday at nine of the clock, (morning).

"Your friend to my power, during my life,

"MARY."

Mary, at the conclusion of these painful trials, was settled in some degree of peace and comfort, holding a joint household with her little sister at Hunsdon. The persons nominated to attend her at this time, continued in her service the principal part of her life: these were, four gentlewomen, four gentlemen, two chamberers, a physician, a chaplain, five yeomen, four grooms of the chamber, one footman, four grooms of the stable, a laundress, and a wood-hewer. Her mother, queen Katharine, had, at the hour of her death, but three maids, as appears by her last letter to her husband: two of these were anxious to enter Mary's service,—one of them, Elizabeth Harvey, applied to the council for permission, but was refused by the king; the other, Elizabeth Darell, to whom queen Katharine had left 300 marks, had said "she saw no hope of lady Mary yielding to the king's requisitions, and therefore petitioned for a situation in the service of queen Jane Seymour."

In the midst of all her degradations Mary was regarded with the utmost sympathy by her country; poets offered her their homage, and celebrated the beauty of her person at a time when no possible benefit could accrue to any one by flattering her. John Heywood, one of the earliest dramatists of England, wrote the following stanzas in her praise, which occur in a poem of considerable length, entitled A Description of a most noble Lady, *ad*-viewed by John Heywood:—

"Give place, ye ladies! all begone—
Give place in bower and hall;
For why?—behold here cometh one
Who doth surpass ye all.

[1] This expression may be mistaken by those who are not familiar with ancient phraseology: it merely means that she takes him to be her friendly advocate with the king, next in influence to Cromwell or queen Jane.

The virtue of her looke
Excels the precious stone;
Ye need none other books
To read or look upon.

If the world were sought full far,
Who could find such a wight
Her beauty shineth like a star
Within the frosty night.

Her colour comes and goes
With such a goodly grace,
More ruddy than the rose
Within her lovely face.

Nature hath lost the mould
Whence she her form did take,
Or else I doubt that nature could
So fair a creature make.[1]

In life a Dian chaste,
In truth Penelope,
In word and deed steadfast,—
What need I more to say?"

Mary was her own mistress, and had the command of her own time after the establishment of her household, though, doubtless, she looked up to the excellent lady Margaret Bryan as her guide and protectress, who continued in the office of governess to her little sister, Elizabeth, with whom she kept house jointly for three years to a certainty. The manner in which Mary passed her time there, and her course of daily studies, nearly coincided with the rules laid down for her by Vives, her mother's learned friend. She commenced the day with the perusal of the Scriptures, she then spent some hours in the study of languages, and devoted a third portion to the acquirement of knowledge of an extraordinary kind, considering her sex and station. Crispin, lord of Milherve, who was resident in England in the year 1536, and was author of a chronicle of current events in French verse, has declared therein that the princess Mary studied astronomy, geography, natural philosophy, and the mathematics; and read the orators, the historians, and the poets of Greece and

[1] Dryden has a celebrated line,—

"When Nature formed her, she the die destroyed."

Byron helped himself to the same idea, in his poem on the death of Sheridan. It here appears in the words of an elder writer.

Rome in their native languages. She used to read over with her chaplain the daily service; she finished the day by working with her needle, and playing on the lute, the virginals, or the regals,—three instruments on which she excelled. Latin she wrote and spoke with ease; it was the medium of communication with all the learned of that day, not only on scientific subjects, but as a universal language, in which the ecclesiastics and the leading characters of all nations were able to confer. She likewise spoke and wrote in French and Spanish; she was well acquainted with Italian, but did not venture to converse in it. In music she particularly excelled for the rapidity of her touch on the manichord and lute.[1] Mr. Paston was paid as her teacher on the virginals, and Philip Van Wilder, of the king's privy-chamber, as her instructor on the lute: the expense of such instruction appears to have been as high as 40*s.* per month.

In the autumn of 1536, notwithstanding the disinheriting statutes lately passed, overtures were renewed for the marriage of Mary with Henry duke of Orleans,—hints being perpetually thrown out by her father of the possibility of her restoration to her place in the succession. Mary had, perhaps, a preoccupied heart; for one of the letters of Beccatelli to his friend, Reginald Pole, December 1536, speaks of the reports current from England, "that it was the general opinion that the princess Mary would one day marry him, because of the love she had borne him from her infancy." Lord Morley dedicated one of his translations from Erasmus to her; and, speaking of the change which had recently taken place in her station, he exclaims,—"O noble and virtuous king's daughter! how is it that those of our time be so blinded? I can think no other but that the end of the world hasteth apace." He calls her, "the second Mary of this world for virtue, grace, and goodness; and beseeches her to help correct his work, where he has by any means erred in the translation."

Notwithstanding the concessions made by the princess, no trace can be found of her admission to her father's pre-

[1] Michele, Italian MS. in the Lansdowne Collection, 840 A, f. 156.

sence before the Christmas of 1537. From this time the diary of her privy-purse expenses commences, forming a species of journal of her life, in most instances to her credit, excepting items of high play at cards and a general propensity to betting and gambling, which will excite surprise. In this examination of the private life of a princess so exceedingly detested by her country, a vigilant scrutiny has been kept in quest of the evil traits with which even the private character of the unfortunate Mary has been branded. The search has been vain: these records speak only of charity, affection to her little sister, kindness to her dependants, feminine accomplishments, delicate health, generosity to her godchildren, (many of whom were orphans dependent on her alms,) fondness for birds; very little hunting or hawking is mentioned, and no bear-baiting. Her time seems, indeed, to have passed most blamelessly, if the gaming propensities above mentioned may be considered rather faults of the court when she visited it, than faults of hers. It is certain Henry VIII. was one of the most inveterate gamblers that ever wore a crown.[1] No doubt the royal example was followed by his courtiers, for very high play at the Christmas festival must have taken place at the court of queen Jane Seymour, if the losings of the princess Mary are calculated according to the relative value of money.

The visit of the princess Mary at the royal palace of Richmond commenced December the 9th, 1536.[2] How the long-estranged father and daughter met no pen has chronicled, but it is evident she regained, when once admitted to his presence, a large share of his former affections, tokens of which were shown by presents and New-year's gifts. The

[1] This was the first of his bad qualities, which made its appearance early in his reign, when his high play with his French hostages excited the uneasiness of Katharine of Arragon, his losses amounting to several thousand crowns every day he played at tennis. On the representation of the queen that the losses were always on his side, he for a time abated this bad habit. It evidently returned after this good woman had lost her influence, for his loss of the lead and bells of abbey-churches at dice with the companion of his orgies, sir Francis Bryan, is matter of notoriety in history.

[2] Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, edited by sir F. Madden, is the authority for this information, pp. 1–12.

king presented her with a bordering for a dress, of goldsmiths' work, perhaps some rich ornament belonging to her mother: it was not new, for she paid to a goldsmith 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for lengthening the borders, adding, in her own hand, "that the king's grace had given it to her." Likewise she noted payment to the goldsmith, "for coming to Greenwich to take her orders." The court moved from Richmond to Greenwich before Christmas-day. Mary lost at cards six angels, or 2*l.* 5*s.*, directly she arrived at Richmond; in six days, another supply of six angels was needed; soon after, a third of 20*s.*, besides 30*s.* lent her by lady Carew, when her pocket was again emptied "at the cards." In the course of this week, the entry of a quarter's wages for one of her footmen occurs of 10*s.*, which offers a fair criterion to estimate the extravagance of her card-losings, by comparing the present value of a footman's wages for a quarter of a year with every 10*s.* thus dissipated. As some atonement for this idle outlay, 1*l.* 3*s.* was paid to "the woman who keepeth Mary Price, my lady Mary's god-daughter;" and 15*s.* in alms, and 3*s.* 9*d.* "to a poor woman of her grace living at Hatfield," and 7*s.* 6*d.* to John of Hatfield.

Cromwell presented the princess with a New-year's gift of some value, for the present given to his servant who brought it amounted to three angels; he likewise sent her a "gift of sweet waters and *fumes*," for which his servant was given a gratuity of 7*s.* 6*d.* Among the other characters of historical interest who sent their offerings to Mary, on her return to court, occur the names of lady Rochford, (then one of queen Jane Seymour's bedchamber ladies,) of her father lord Morley, (Mary's old literary friend,) of lord Beauchamp (the queen's brother) and his wife; likewise lady Salisbury. To queen Jane's maids the princess presented each a ducat, amounting altogether to 40*s.* The queen's page had 45*s.* for bringing the New-year's gift of his royal mistress. Besides other presents, she gave the princess 50*l.* The princess made many minor gifts at the new year to those, to whom etiquette would not permit the offering of money. For instance, she bought of the lady mayoress of London six bonnets, for New-

year's gifts, at 1*l.* each, and likewise paid her 10*s.* for two frontlets,—a plain proof that the lady mayoress in 1537 kept a haberdasher's or milliner's shop. The lord mayor that year was sir Richard Gresham, a near relative of the Boleyns, a circumstance which makes this little mercantile transaction between the princess Mary and her sister's industrious kinswoman a curious incident. Yet ample proof is afforded, by the privy-purse accounts, that the princess Mary, though formally forbidden to do so by Wriothesley and Cromwell, persisted in giving to her little sister Elizabeth the title of grace. This was, perhaps, owing to the tenacity of her disposition, which could not endure the alteration of any thing to which she had accustomed herself. To an item of 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, given "to Mr. Bingham," the princess has added, in her own hand, the explanation, "chaplain to my lady Elizabeth's grace," thus disobeying, wilfully and deliberately, the orders of council which degraded her young sister from royal rank. Afterwards, wherever the name of Elizabeth occurs in her sister's account-journal, she is always mentioned with this distinction. The princess Mary paid 5*s.* for mending a clock given her by lady Rochford, and 20*d.* to Heywood's servant for bringing her regals (a sort of portable finger-organ) from London to Greenwich. She had still further dealings with lady Gresham, the lady mayoress; "for divers and sundry things of her had," 42*s.* were paid in January. Among other incidental expenses, attempts were made to charge the princess with various pottles of sack, charges which she pertinaciously resisted, and the intrusive pottles are carefully scored out by her hand.[1]

The princess seems to have taken a progress after the festival of the New-year, to visit her former mansion of Beaulieu, or Newhall, in Essex, probably to take repossession of this favourite residence; she, however, returned to the court at Greenwich, and remained there the rest of January and part of February. She paid in that month 5*s.* for making a window in her bedchamber there, and 10*s.* for the hire of a room to keep her robes in. The end of February

[1] Privy-purse Expenses, edited by sir F. Madden, p. 12.

she removed to the palace of Westminster, and the French gardener there presented her with apples. She gave generous donations to the poor prisoners in various prisons in London, a favourite charity of hers, and greatly needed, for the horrors and privations in prisons of all kinds rendered benevolence thus bestowed a very good work, and as such it was always considered, from the first institution of Christianity.

The situation in which Mary was placed at court, on these occasional visits, was a very trying one. She was a young woman, whose person was much admired, surrounded by parties hostile to her, both on a religious and political account, and she was wholly bereft of female protection. Her tender mother, and her venerable relative (lady Salisbury), had both been torn from her, and who could supply their places in her esteem and veneration? A perplexed and thorny path laid before her; yet, at a time of life when temptation most abounds, she trod it free from the reproach of her most inveterate political adversaries. The writings of her contemporaries abound with praises of her virtuous conduct. "She was," says the Italian history of Pollino, "distinguished, when a young virgin, for the purity of her life and her spotless manners; when she came to her father's court, she gave surprise to all those who composed it, so completely was decorum out of fashion there. As to the king, he affected to disbelieve in the reality of female virtue, and therefore laid a plot to prove his daughter. This scheme he carried into effect, but remained astonished at the strength and stability of her principles."[1] Such an assertion it is very hard to credit: it may be possible to find husbands willing to be as cruel as Henry if they had the power, but, thanks be to God, who has planted so holy and blessed a love as that of a father for his daughter in the heart of man, it is not possible to find a parallel case in the annals of the present or the past. And if a father could be believed capable of contriving a snare for the honour of his daughter, it ought to be remembered that family honour is especially compromised by the misconduct of the females who belong to it, and Henry VIII.

[1] Pollino, Istoria dell' Eccles., p. 396.

has never been represented as deficient in pride. This singular assertion being, nevertheless, related by a contemporary, it became the duty of a biographer to translate it.

The princess was resident at the palace of St. James in the month of March, and gave a reward to the king's watermen for rowing her from the court to lady Beauchamp's house[1] and back again: she had recently stood godmother to one of that lady's children. The fondness of the princess for standing godmother was excessive. She was sponsor to fifteen children during the year 1537, in all grades of life, from the heir of England down to the children of cottagers. Her godchildren were often brought to pay their duty, and she frequently made them presents. She stood godmother to a child of lord William Howard, and to a daughter of lord Dudley, (who was afterwards the duke of Northumberland, put to death by her sentence); her godchild was probably lady Sidney. The princess Mary, as before said, was sponsor to one of Edward Seymour's numerous daughters, three of whom were afterwards her maids of honour, and the most learned ladies in the realm. Lady Mary Seymour, the god-daughter of the princess, in partnership with her sisters, lady Jane and lady Katharine, wrote a centenary of Latin sonnets on the death of the accomplished queen of Navarre, sister to Francis I.

While the princess Mary abode at court, the yeomen of the king's guard presented her with a leek on St. David's-day, and were rewarded with 15*s*. In the succeeding summer she was afflicted with one of her chronic fits of illness, and the king's physicians attended her in June and July. She sent queen Jane, from Beaulieu, presents of quails and cucumbers; there is an item in the accounts, "given in reward for *cucumbs*, and the same given to the queen at divers times." It appears Mary

[1] Privy-purse, p. 16; likewise see p. 46, where the little god-daughter is sent to the princess to pay her respects; lady Beauchamp was, however, then called lady Hertford. Her husband was known in history by various successive titles, as sir Edward Seymour, lord Beauchamp, earl of Hertford, duke of Somerset, and Protector, as he climbed the ladder of ambition, from whence he experienced a fatal fall. The above-mentioned lady was the haughty Anne Stanhope, by whom he had a large family. His ill-treated wife, Katharine Foliot, left him only the son Edward, whom he cruelly disinherited in favour of his other son Edward, by Anne Stanhope.

practised the good custom of importing curious plants from Spain, and these *cucumbs* were perhaps among the number. Mary had returned to her home, at Hunsdon, in the month of September. Indications exist that her sister Elizabeth was domesticated with her, as notations occur in her expenses of presents to her sister's personal attendants.

Mary stood sponsor to a poor infant, "the child of one Welshe, beside Hunsdon, on the 7th of October." She gave a benefaction to this little one, and bountiful alms to her poor pensioners (apparently as farewell gifts) the same day, and came to Hampton-Court to be present at the accouchement of her royal friend queen Jane. It is likely she brought her little sister with her, since both were present at the christening of prince Edward, to whom the princess Mary stood sponsor, in manner already detailed.[1] She was dressed on this occasion in a kirtle of cloth of silver, ornamented with pearls. She gave to the queen's nurse and midwife the large sum of 30*l.*, and to poor people in alms, the day the prince was born, 40*s.* She presented a gold cup, as a christening gift, to her brother; but, as it is not charged in her expenses, it was probably one of those that had been profusely bestowed on her in her infancy. At the conclusion of the baptismal ceremony, Mary took possession of her little sister Elizabeth, and led her by the hand from Hampton-Court chapel to her lodgings in the palace.

Ten days after, the calamitous death of queen Jane turned all the courtly festivals for the birth of the heir-apparent into mourning. The king retired to Windsor, and left his daughter to bear the principal part in the funeral ceremonials about the corpse of the deceased queen. These were performed with all the magnificence of the Catholic church. Whilst the deceased queen laid in state in Hampton-Court chapel, the princess Mary appeared as chief mourner at dirges and masses, accompanied by her ladies and those of the royal household. She knelt at the head of the coffin, habited in black; a white handkerchief was tied over her head, and hung down. All the ladies, similarly habited, knelt about

[1] See life of Jane Seymour, *antè*.

the queen's coffin in "lamentable wise." The princess caught cold at these lugubrious vigils, performed in November nights; and the king sent his surgeon, Nicholas Simpson, to draw one of her teeth, for which service she paid him the enormous fee of six angels.[1]

On the day of the funeral, the corpse of Jane Seymour was removed from Hampton-Court to Windsor, in stately procession. Very fatiguing must have been that day to the princess Mary, since she followed the car on which the body was placed, mounted on horseback. Her steed was covered with black velvet trappings; she was attended, on her right hand, by her kinsman lord Montague, (who was so soon to fall a victim to her father's cruelty,) and on the left by lord Clifford. Behind her followed her favourite cousin, lady Margaret Douglas, who is called by the herald lady Margaret Howard, a proof that her wedlock with lord Thomas Howard[2] was believed by the contemporary herald who has described this scene. Lady Frances Brandon, daughter of Mary Tudor and Suffolk, likewise had her place near her cousin the princess Mary. They were followed by the countesses of Rutland and Oxford, both ladies of royal descent, and by the countesses of Sussex, Bath, and Southampton. As the funeral passed on the road between Hampton and Windsor, the princess Mary distributed 30*s.* in alms to poor persons begging by the way-side.[3] She officiated in St. George's chapel, Windsor, the day after, as chief mourner at the interment of queen Jane; and she paid for thirteen masses for the repose of her soul. She gave a sovereign a-piece to the women of the deceased queen's chamber, and many gifts to the officers of her household.

Mary remained at Windsor-castle with her father till Christmas. King Henry was supposed to be bemoaning the death of queen Jane; he was really deeply occupied in

[1] See her Privy-purse Expenses. Strype has quoted the particulars of the princess Mary's attendance on her step-mother's funeral and obsequies from a contemporary herald's journal.—See his Memorials, vol. ii. part 1, pp. 11, 12.

[2] That unfortunate lover (or husband) of lady Margaret was just dead in the Tower, where she herself had been a prisoner, and but recently released, perhaps to bear a part in this very ceremony.

[3] Privy-purse Expenses, p. 42.

matrimonial negotiations[1] for himself, but ostensibly for his daughter. Meantime, Mary stood godmother to two more infants, one being the child of her apothecary, the other that of her physician, according to an entry in her accounts. "*Item*, given to John, potticarry, at the christening of his child, my lady's grace being godmother, 40*s*. *Item*, given at the christening of Dr. Michael's child, a salt, silver gilt, my lady's grace being godmother to the same, price [of the salt] 2*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*." She usually added her own name to that of the godchildren, as, Edward Maria,[2] or Anne Maria.

Christmas was kept at Richmond-palace.[3] A payment was made by the princess Mary, in December, of 5*s*. to a waterman called 'Perkin of Richmond,' for the *ferriage* on the Thames of her and her servants coming there from Windsor. Mary amused herself this winter by embroidering a cushion as a New-year's gift to Wriothesley, and a box wrought with needle-work in silver for her sister, "my lady Elizabeth's grace," as she is designated in the diary of expenses. Mary likewise prepared a cap, which cost 2*l*. 5*s*., for her infant brother and godson; and, withal, made his nurse, mother Jackson, a present of a bonnet and frontlet, which cost 20*s*.

The princess remained at Richmond till February, and during this time lost money at cards to lady Hertford and lady Margaret Gray. She gave considerable sums in alms, and honestly paid William Allen, of Richmond, the value of two of his sheep killed by her greyhounds. She paid for the board and teaching of her poor godchildren, and several items are charged for necessaries provided for 'Jane the Fool,' a functionary who is first named in the autumn accounts of 1537. Jane the Fool was sometimes exalted on horseback, as her mistress paid for the food of a horse kept for her use. Payments for shoes and stockings, linen, damask gowns, and charges for shaving "Jane's fool's head" frequently occur in the diary of expenses. Among many other odd gifts, she was presented with orange-pies by my lady Derby. Oranges seem

[1] See the biography of Anne of Cleves, *antè*. [2] Fuller's Church History.
[3] Privy-purse Expenses, pp. 42–45. From this journal it is evident the court was at Richmond during Christmas, though Hall says it was at Greenwich.

to have been in general domestic use since the reign of Edward I.; at this time they were bought for the use of the princess at the rate of 10*d.* per hundred. Lady Hertford's servant brought the princess quince-pies; she was sent cockles and oysters, and received presents of strawberries as early as April and May, 1538,—a proof that the art of forcing fruit by artificial means was practised in England at that period.[1] Many items occur of bottles of rose-water, a preparation in that century considered as an acceptable gift to royalty. The princess concluded her long visit at Richmond-palace after Candlemas-day, when she went to Hanworth. She was forced to employ persons for making the road passable thither; she paid these pioneers 7*s.*, and gave besides 4*s.* 4*d.* alms on the road to Hanworth.

At Easter, Mary wished to change the mourning she had worn for queen Jane Seymour, and made application to her father to know what colour she should wear at that festival? His answer was she might wear what colour she liked. The important negotiation was conducted by lady Kingston, who was connected with every domestic concern of the princess Mary: she must have been mistress of robes or wardrobe to the princess Mary. The minuteness of direction demanded relative to the dress of the princess, shows the apprehensions under which her friends laboured at that terrible period of Henry VIII.'s tyranny. Lady Kingston made interest to Wriothesley, to learn by Cromwell whether the king chose that his daughter should wear "her white taffeta edged with velvet, which used to be to his own liking whensoever he saw her grace, and suiteth for this joyful feast of our Lord's rising."[2] Permission was given for the princess Mary to wear whatsoever she pleased.

Mary paid, this summer, repeated visits to her infant brother at Hampton-Court: gifts to his nurse, servants, and minstrels form heavy articles in her expenses. She appears

[1] Privy-purse Expenses, pp. 67, 69. The last are presented by a friar. The cherries given the princess do not make their appearance till June, therefore it was no extraordinary warmth of the year 1538.

[2] M. A. Wood, Royal Letters, vol. iii. p. 17.

to have watched over his infancy with the care of a mother. During the childhood of her brother and sister, few notices exist of Mary without her being mentioned as in their company. At Hampton-Court lady Lisle[1] visited the royal family, and found them as usual together. "His grace the prince," writes that lady to her husband, "is the goodliest babe that ever I set mine eyen upon. I pray God make him an old man, for I think I should never weary of looking on him. Whereas I saw also my lady Mary, and my lady Elizabeth; my lady Mary's grace asking heartily how you did, and even desired to be commended to you. I would not but have been there, for it was the king's pleasure I should be so; howbeit, it was costly unto me, for there is none cometh there but must give great rewards."[2]

Lady Margaret Douglas was in attendance on the princess at this time, for she was repaid 20*s.* for articles purchased for her use. The same year the princess received into her household and protection the lady Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald, a beautiful girl, who has excited no small interest in the literary world as 'the fair Geraldine,' celebrated by the accomplished earl of Surrey. She was the near kinswoman of the princess, since her mother, lady Elizabeth Gray, was daughter of Thomas marquess of Dorset, eldest son of queen Elizabeth Woodville. Her father, the earl of Kildare, with the five gallant Geraldines his uncles, had all perished in the preceding year by the hands of the executioner. Lady Kildare was left a widow, dependent on the alms of her tyrant kinsman. Whether it was the princess Mary's desire to receive her destitute young cousin, or whether she was sent to her at Hunsdon by the king's pleasure, is not precisely defined; but it is certain that a firm friendship ever after existed between the princess Mary and the impoverished orphan of the Geraldines.[3]

More than one treaty of marriage had been negotiated by Henry for his daughter, since the disinheriting act of parlia-

[1] Lord Lisle, her husband, governor of Calais, was a natural son of Mary's great-grandfather Edward IV. He bore the name of Arthur Plantagenet, which was sure, sooner or later, to wake the jealousy of Henry VIII.

[2] In fees to the rapacious servants of the royal households.—State-Paper letter, Nov. 1538.

[3] Nott's Life of Surrey.

ment had passed; he always setting forth that, by the same act, it remained in his power to restore her to her place in the succession, if agreeable to his will. He had been so long used to amuse himself with these negotiations, that they evidently formed part of his pastime; yet Mary's early desire of leading a single life was seldom threatened with contradiction, by any prospect of these marriage-treaties being brought to a successful conclusion. Thus passed away the suit of the prince of Portugal, made the same year.

The year 1538 was one of great trouble and convulsion in England; the serious insurrection of the Catholics, called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace,' which had occasionally agitated the north since the autumn of 1536, was renewed nearer the court, and several nobles connected with the royal family were suspected of collusion. The most dreadful executions took place; one unfortunate female, lady Bulmer, was burnt alive for high treason and sorcery, and her husband butchered under the same pretence in Smithfield. The land reeked with judicial bloodshed, and the representatives of some of the most noble families in England perished on the scaffold. Among the requisitions of the northern insurgents there was always a clause for the restoration of the princess Mary to her royal rank,—a circumstance replete with the greatest danger to herself; and very warily must she have guided her course, to have passed through the awful year of 1538 without exciting greater jealousy than she did from her father and his government. Her establishment was for a time certainly broken up, for a chasm of more than a year appears in the book of her privy-purse expenses. She had in the preceding autumn excited the anger of her father and Cromwell, by affording hospitality to some desolate strangers,—probably some of the dispossessed *religieuses* from the overthrown monasteries, many of whom wandered about in the most piteous state of destitution. The princess promised Cromwell, by letter, not to offend in this way again, and adds, "she fears the worst has been made of the matter to the king."[1]

The Christmas of 1538 found Cromwell and the duke of

[1] Hearne's Sylloge.

Saxony (the head of the Protestant league in Germany) busy negotiating the union of the strictly catholic Mary with the young duke of Cleves, brother to the duchess of Saxony. Burgartius, the vice-chamberlain of Saxony, was likewise employed in the proposal: this dignitary, it appears, had applied for a portrait of Mary, but was answered by Cromwell "that no instance can be quoted of a king's daughter of such a high degree having her picture sent abroad for approval; but Burgartius, the duke's vice-chamberlain, (*whoself* having seen the lady Mary,) can testify of her proportion, countenance, and beauty. And although," he adds, "she be the king's natural daughter only, yet, nevertheless, she is endowed and adorned (as all the world knoweth) as well of such grace, and beauty, and excellent proportion of person, as of most excellent learning, honourable behaviour, and of all honest virtues and good qualities, that it is not to be doubted (when all the rest, as portion, &c., should be agreed) that no man would stick or stay concerning her beauty and goodness; but be more than contented, as he [vice-chamberlain Burgartius] knoweth well, who saw her visage."[1] Thus Cromwell continued to insist that the face and accomplishments of Mary quite counterbalanced the defects of her title and fortune; but this marriage-treaty proved as futile as the preceding ones, and only served to introduce the unfortunate wedlock of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII.

The beloved friends of Mary's youth, the countess of Salisbury and her family, were, in the commencement of the year 1539, attainted without trial, and overwhelmed in one sweeping ruin. In the spring of the same year, lord Montague (the elder brother of Reginald Pole) was beheaded on slight pretences; and the elegant marquess of Exeter, Henry VIII.'s first cousin and former favourite, shared Montague's doom. The countess of Salisbury was immured in the Tower, and at the same time bereft of all property, even of the power of purchasing herself a warm garment to cover her aged limbs. Mary's other friend, the wretched widow, Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, involved in her husband's

[1] MS. Cott., Vitellius, C, fol. 287–296.

sentence, was imprisoned in the Tower, expecting daily execution; her captivity was shared by her little son Edward, the hapless heir of Courtenay, who was too young even to permit the pretence of having offended. As this utter desolation of these noble and semi-royal families was entirely attributed by their tyrannical oppressor to their relationship and friendship for Reginald Pole, whose chief crime was his firm support of the claims of Katharine of Arragon, it may be easily supposed how much the princess was agonized by their calamities.

At this juncture, so replete with peril to herself, Mary was dwelling at Hertford-castle, with her little sister Elizabeth; it appears she had had no establishment of her own since the jealousy had occurred respecting the hospitality she had afforded to distressed strangers at her dwelling. A tradition is actually prevalent at Hertford-castle, that a *queen* Mary was captive there for nearly two years, and a little room in one of the turrets is shown as the place where she used to read and study. Mary queen of Scots is the person whom common report has identified with this traditionary imprisonment; but it is scarcely needful to observe that she was never so far south, by many score miles, as Hertford town or castle. Local reports of this kind may usually be traced to some forgotten historical reality, and satisfactorily explained, if rational allowance is made for the confusion occasioned by similar names and station. Thus it may be observed that our biography loses the princess Mary of England at Hertford-castle in 1538, and finds her there again at the end of 1539, under a sort of palace-restraint; and when it is remembered that she was afterwards *queen* Mary, little doubt can exist that her durance has been attributed, by the Hertford traditions, to her fair and popular namesake of Scotland.

The low state of Mary's finances this year, obliged her to make the following representation to Cromwell by letter:[1]—"It hath pleased the king's majesty, my most gracious father, of his great goodness, to send me every quarter of this year 40*l.*, as you best know who were the means of it, as (I thank

[1] See Hearne's Sylloge.

you) you be for all my other suits; and seeing this quarter of Christmas must needs be more chargeable than the rest, specially considering *the house I am in*, I would desire you (if your wisdom thought it most convenient) to be a suitor to the king's said highness somewhat to increase the sum." She adds, "she is ashamed to be a beggar, but the occasion is such she cannot choose." The king, in consequence of this application, sent her 100*l.* by Mr. Heneage that month. In a preceding letter she wrote to Cromwell, she said,—

"My Lord,

"Your servant hath brought me the well-favoured horse that you have given me, with a very goodly saddle, for the which I do thank you with all my heart, for he seemeth to be indeed as good as I heard reported of him, which was, that he had all qualities belonging to a good horse. Wherefore I trust, in time to come, the riding on him shall do me very much good concerning my health."

She usually wrote in very affectionate terms to Cromwell, and took a rating from him, now and then, without much indignation; she had been used from her infancy, when he was Wolsey's factotum and universal man of business, to receive all her supplies from his hands, and to regard him as a person in practical authority.

Towards the close of the year 1539, the privy councillor Wriothesley came to Hertford-castle, for the purpose of informing Mary "that it was her father's pleasure she should instantly receive as a suitor duke Philip of Bavaria," who was at that time in England, announcing the approach of his kinswoman Anne of Cleves, the betrothed wife of Henry VIII.[1] The German wooer had for some time been the guest of lord Lisle, the governor of Calais, and was escorted to England by that nobleman. In the Lisle papers Philip is usually called 'the Palsgrave,' and some particulars relating to him are there preserved.[2] Lord Lisle wrote, by his desire, for a flagon of walnut-water, which Philip had left at Calais: it was required for the benevolent intention of curing his hostess' sore eyes. Lady Lisle obeyed the injunction, and forwarded, with a collection of other miscellaneous articles,

[1] Hearne's Sylloge. Sir Frederick Madden's comments on this letter are conclusive regarding the time of its composition.

[2] Edited by M. A. Wood, Royal Letters, vol. iii. p. 130.

a pasty of partridges and a baked crane, one of which was to be presented to the Palsgrave. Lady Lisle likewise meditated a delicate attention to the German prince, for the purpose of propitiating him against the time when he became the husband of the princess Mary. "My lord," she writes to her spouse, from Calais, "I send unto you my toothpicker: I thought to have given it to the Palsgrave whilst he was here, but it was not then at my hand. I beseech you present it to him, if it be your pleasure. I send it to him, because when he was here I did see him wear a pin to pick his teeth withal. And I pray you show him that it has been mine this seven years." No great recommendation for a propitiatory toothpick, which it is to be hoped was a silver one; but the lady concludes the subject of her present with self-congratulation on her own sagacity: "I think it will not be lost." She requests to be heartily commended to the Palsgrave in her next despatch, "and is glad to hear that he is merry,"—and if he were not at the offering of the toothpick, his German gravity was immoveable.

Wriothesley, in the following letter, describes his interview with Mary, when proposing to her the German prince:—

T. Wriothesley to Cromwell.

"Pleaseth your lordship to understand, that arriving here at Hertford-castle this afternoon, about two of the clock, *upon knowledge given of my coming, and desire to speak with my lady Mary's grace, I had immediately access to the same*, to whom, after the delivery of the king's majesty's token, with his grace's most hearty commendations, I opened the cause and purpose of my coming, in as good a sort as my poor wit had conceived the same. Whereunto she made me answer, that 'Albeit the matter were towards her of great importance, and besides, of such sort and nature as, the king's majesty not offended, she would wish and desire never to enter that *kind of religion*, but to continue still a maid during her life; yet remembering how, by the laws of God and nature she was bound to be in this and all other things obedient to the king's highness; and how, by her own bond and obligation, she had heretofore of her free will, according to her said bond and duty, obliged herself to the same, though she might by frailty be induced in this so weighty a thing to cast many doubts, and to take great stay with herself, yet wholly and entirely, without qualification, she committed herself to his majesty as her most benign and merciful father and most sovereign lord, trusting and most assuredly knowing that his goodness and wisdom would so provide in all things for her, as should much exceed her simple capacity, and redound to his grace's honour and her own quiet;' which thing she will this night write with her grace's own hand, to be sent by me to-morrow on my return. I assure your lordship here can be no more desire than, with all

humility and obedience, is offered; and because I must tarry all night for these letters, I thought meet to signify how far I had proceeded, to the intent the king's majesty, knowing the same, may further in all things determine as to his grace's high wisdom shall be thought meet and expedient."

The expression that Mary used to Wriothesley, that, "the king's majesty not offended, she would wish and desire never to enter that kind of *religion*, but to continue still a maid," has occasioned some difference of opinion between two historians; one taking it "that she declined religious vows," another "that she termed matrimony a species of religion." But, if this letter really refers to the courtship of Philip of Bavaria, it is a plain representation that she would prefer remaining single to marrying and owning as her lord one who was a supporter of the Protestant religion, and her words can bear no other meaning. Mary might venture this remonstrance to her father, who had committed such enormities in persecuting the tenets of the very prince to whom he was now disposing of her hand. Mary added another letter, addressed to Cromwell, signifying her entire submission in the matter declared to her by Wriothesley: it is dated "from Hertford-castle,[1] late at night, Dec. 17." The postscript breathes the languor of approaching illness: "I beseech your lordship to pardon me that I write not this letter with mine own hand. I was something weary with the writing of the other letter, and upon trust of your goodness I caused one of my men, in this, to supply the place of a secretary." A few days afterwards Mary removed to Enfield, where she remained till Christmas with her infant brother. Cromwell escorted Philip of Bavaria to pay her a visit there, December 22. Baynard's-Castle was destined for her Christmas residence, but she joined the royal festivities at Blackfriars-palace.

A few days after the date of Wriothesley's letter, the French ambassador Marillac, in a letter dated December 27th, 1539, says,—"I have heard from the same source touching the marriage of the eldest daughter of the king, the lady Mary, with this duke of the house of Bavaria. Three or four days ago, in the most secret manner which could be, he went to salute and visit her in a house of the

[1] From the Bodleian MSS., edited by M. A. Wood, Royal Letters, vol. iii. p 90.

abbot of Westminster, in the gardens of the abbey, one mile from this city,[1] where the said lady had been brought privately; and after having kissed her, which is considered here as a declaration of marriage, or of near kindred, and considering also, that since the death of the late marquess,[2] no lord, however great he may be in this kingdom, has presumed to do so, this seems to imply much. The said duke had a long discourse with her, partly in German, with an interpreter, and partly in Latin, of which she is not ignorant; and, in conclusion, he declared to the king his resolution to take her to wife, provided that his person be agreeable to the said lady."

At Blackfriars Mary became dangerously ill. Her own doctors knew not what to do for her restoration, and lady Kingston demanded a consultation of physicians, in the following note, which shows that her mistress was hovering between life and death at the beginning of the new year, 1539-40. It is remarkable, that lady Kingston does not, in her letters, deprive the princess of her royal title of 'grace,' even in the worst of times. She writes,—

"To certify you, sir, how my lady's grace doth,—she hath been sick ever since Christmas, insomuch upon New-year's day, after she was up in the morning she could neither sit nor stand, but was fain to go to her bed again for faintness. Yesterday, thanked be God, she was somewhat amended; notwithstanding, her physician would be glad to have more counsel before he administer any thing unto her. Wherefore, if it would please you to speak to my lord privy-seal, that it will please him to move the king's grace that Mr. doctor Butts may go thither, because he hath been with her in such cases in times past. And thus I commit you to God, praying him to send you many good new years, with much worship.

"January 3rd, at the Blackfriars."[3]

The day after Anne of Cleves made her public entry, king Henry invested Mary's German wooer with the order of the Garter,[4] an honour which he well deserved, on account of his gallant defence of Vienna against the Turks in 1529, when he won the cognomen of Bellicosus, or 'the warlike.' He was the first Protestant prince invested with the order of the Garter, but neither his renown in arms, nor his eloquent

[1] Meaning London, within the gates of which the ambassador was, it seems, abiding.

[2] Probably her unfortunate cousin, Courtenay marquess of Exeter.

[3] State-Paper office, Royal Letters; edited by M. A. Wood.

[4] Marillac's Despatches.

wooing in high Dutch and Latin, could atone, in the eyes of Mary, for his Lutheranism, or for his league against the emperor her relative. Philip had many opportunities of seeing Mary during the festivities which celebrated the ill-omened marriage of Anne of Cleves and Henry VIII. He departed from the court of England, January 27, with the intention of returning and claiming Mary as his bride, to whom he presented at his departure the love-token of a diamond cross. The important preliminaries of *dote* (or portion) and jointure were at that time already settled. Poor, indeed, they were, for the brave Bavarian was but a younger brother, and being an opponent of the Catholics, received Mary, of course, as a person of stigmatized birth. Henry VIII. named as her portion less than 7000*l.*, and duke Philip could offer her a jointure of but 800*l.* or 900*l.* per annum. The insults and injuries that were inflicted on the unoffending Anne of Cleves by Henry VIII., broke the troth between Mary of England and Philip of Bavaria. By her father's orders, Mary returned the diamond cross to the lord chancellor, who duly transmitted it to her rejected suitor, and Mary perhaps whispered, like Portia,—

"A gentle riddance."

Yet the brave German appears to have been sincerely attached to her, for he remained single, and renewed his suit six years afterwards, and being repulsed, died a bachelor,[1] as became a faithful knight and lover. Well had it been for Mary if her hand had been given to the brave and true-hearted German Philip, instead of to his cruel Spanish namesake!

The interrupted accounts of the princess commence again with the new year of 1540. Mary received many New-year's gifts, and was very liberal in her distribution of presents,[2] especially to her sister Elizabeth, to whom she gave a yellow satin kirtle, made with five yards of satin at 7*s.* 6*d.* the yard. The princess Mary, in her own hand, has marked against the item, "for a kirtle for my lady Elizabeth's grace."

[1] Philip of Bavaria died at Heidelburg in 1548; he was born in 1503, and was therefore a very suitable age for the princess Mary.

[2] Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary.

Seven yards of yellow damask, at the same price, is presented by Mary to the nurse of her brother Edward for a kirtle. Mrs. Cavendish, the woman of the princess Elizabeth, and Ralf, her chaplain, are given New-year's gifts of 10*s.* each; and Mary twice supplied her sister's pocket with money to "play withal," the sums being 10*s.* and 20*s.* The New-year's gift she presented to her brother Edward was a crimson satin coat, embroidered with gold "by the king's broiderers," and further ornamented with pansies formed of pearls, the sleeves of tinsel, with four gold aglets, or hooks and eyes. An inconvenient garment, stiff and cumbersome, it must have been for an infant little more than two years old; but young children were habited in garments modelled into miniature resemblances of costumes worn by grown persons, a practice which certainly continued till late in the last century with far more ridiculous effect.[1]

The princess spent some weeks at her father's court, and many items of high play, and even wagers lost by her, mark the manner in which she passed her time. She lost a frontlet in a wager with her cousin, lady Margaret Douglas, for which she paid 4*l.* These frontlets were the ornamented edges of coifs or caps, similar to, or modifications of, the costume familiar to the eye in the head-dress of Anne Boleyn; some were edged with gold lace,—and this, by the price, appears to have been of that class,—and others with pearls and diamonds. The princess Mary not only pledged caps, but lost breakfasts at bowls, which were among the games played by ladies on the greensward. To counterbalance these items, she paid this quarter for the education of a poor child, and binding him apprentice.

In the summer of 1540 Mary's privy-purse expenses suddenly ceased, and she was again suffering from severe illness, this

[1] Marie Antoinette was the first person who broke the absurd fashion of dressing infant boys as droll miniatures of their fathers. She attired the unfortunate dauphin in a simple blue jacket and trousers, for which she was reviled, as if little bag-wigs and tiny cocked-hats, and all the absurd paraphernalia of full dress, had been points of moral obligation. There are noblemen yet in existence who can remember, at six years old, joining the juvenile parties given by George III. and queen Charlotte, dressed after the models of their fathers' court costumes, with powdered side-curls, single-breasted coat, knee-buckles, and shoe-buckles.

time at her brother's residence at Tittenhanger. The last items recorded are her payments to the king's surgeon of one sovereign, for coming from London to bleed her, and 15*s.* to her old apothecary, John, for *stuff;* likewise alms to the poor of 40*s.*, and a gift of pocket-money to her sister Elizabeth. The diary of her expenses ceased a few weeks before the marriage of her father with Katharine Howard, and was not resumed for more than two years.

The disturbed state of England at this period, gives reason to suppose that Mary's household was broken up, and that she, though passive and unoffending, was placed where her person could be in more security than in her own dwellings. Among other indications of change in her establishment, her young favourite, the fair Geraldine, was taken from her service, and transferred to that of the newly married queen at Hampton-Court. It was here that Surrey first admired her, as may be ascertained by his interesting biographical sonnet, which traces, with singular clearness, her origin, and the events of her young life:—

"From Tuscany came my lady's worthy race,[1]
Fair Florence was sometime *her* [their] ancient seat;
The western isle,[2] whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat,
Fostered she was with milk of Irish breast.
Her sire an earl,[3] her dame of princes' blood,[4]
From tender years in Britain she did rest
With king's child,[5] where she tasted costly food.
Hunsdon[6] did first present her to mine eye,
Bright is her hue, and Geraldine[7] she hight;
Hampton[8] me taught to wish her first for mine,
Windsor, alas! doth chase me from her sight.
Her beauty of *kind*, her virtue from above,
Happy is he that can obtain her love!"

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[1] The Fitzgeralds trace their origin from the Geraldi of Florence.

[2] Ireland. [3] Earl of Kildare.

[4] Her mother was lady Elizabeth Gray, grand-daughter to queen Elizabeth Woodville, and of course of the princely blood of Luxembourg.

[5] With the princess Mary, after her father's execution in 1537.

[6] Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald lived there with the princess, where Surrey says he first saw her.

[7] This is no romantic name of Surrey's invention, but simply the designation of the Fitzgeralds in all the chronicles of England and Ireland in that day.

[8] Surrey had seen her at Hunsdon. It seems he was not struck with her charms till he beheld her at the court of his cousin, queen Katharine Howard:

Dreadful events took place in England in the years 1540 and 1541,—events which must have produced a fearful effect on the mind of the princess Mary, and prepared the way for most of the vengeful persecutions which disgraced her reign. This woful epoch saw the destruction of all her early friends. Her old schoolmaster, Dr. Featherstone, suffered the horrid death of treason, in company with Abell, her mother's chaplain, and another zealous Catholic. They were dragged to Smithfield, with fiendish impartiality, on the same hurdles that conveyed the pious Protestant martyr, Dr. Barnes, and two of his fellow-sufferers, to the flaming pile. Scarcely could the princess have recovered the shock of this butchery, when the frightful execution of her beloved friend and venerable relative, the countess of Salisbury, took place. She was hacked to pieces on a scaffold in a manner that must have curdled Mary's blood with horror, and stiffened her heart to stone. The connexion of these victims with Mary has never been clearly pointed out, nor the consequent effect of their horrid deaths on her mind properly defined, nor her feelings analyzed, which were naturally excited against those who were in power at the time of their destruction. Her murdered friends were persons of unblemished lives and unswerving integrity, against whom no crime was imputed, excepting their fidelity to the cause of her mother, and their disapproval of Henry VIII.'s spiritual supremacy.

When the explosion regarding the conduct of Katharine Howard took place, it will be found, by the State-Papers,[1] that Mary was resident at Sion with her cousin, Margaret Douglas, and the young duchess of Richmond, widow of Henry VIII.'s natural son. The princess and her companions

his love was of the Petrarchian character. The fair Geraldine evidently considered the passion of the earl a mere compliment; for, at the breaking up of the unfortunate Katharine's household, she married, at the age of sixteen, old sir Anthony Browne, who, notwithstanding his plebeian surname, was the representative of Neville marquess Montague. The fair Geraldine, after a most respectable wedlock of six years, lost her ancient husband, and retired once more to her early protectress, the princess Mary, with whom we shall meet her again. The only discrepancy in this memorial is, that Geraldine was considered but 61 when she died, in 1589; but it was no uncommon case, in the absence of registers, for a beautiful woman to be reckoned some years younger than she really was.

[1] Vol. i. p. 602.

were removed from Sion to make way for the wretched queen and her guards. They were escorted to the nursery palace of prince Edward by sir John Dudley, and some of Katharine Howard's servants were appointed to attend on them. The derelictions of Henry VIII.'s young queen gave Mary's partisans hopes that she would remain second in the succession, for so she was usually regarded, notwithstanding the acts of parliament still in force against her title. This improved prospect brought on an earnest negotiation for her hand, which was demanded by Francis I. for his second son, Charles duke of Orleans.[1] This treaty was conducted at Chabliz, in Burgundy, and the most important despatches regarding it are dated April 22, 1542.[2] The privy councillor Paget, a man of low origin, but deep in all the intrigues of Henry VIII.'s cabinet, was the ambassador from England. He was, it seems, a person who made his way by his facetious conversation, for his despatches are a diplomatic comedy, and he gives the dialogue with the high-admiral of France, respecting the princess and the duke of Orleans, in a droll, quaint style, calling the princess "our daughter," viz. daughter of England; while Bonnivet calls the duke of Orleans "our son."

On the matter of *dote*, or dowry, these two worthies were by no means likely to come to terms; and when Paget unfolded to the admiral that Henry VIII. only offered 200,000 crowns with Mary, while Francis I. required a portion of a million, "the French admiral," said Paget, "heaved twenty sighs, and cast up his eyes as many times, besides crossing himself, (for I marked him when he was not aware of it); then, sending forth one great sigh, he spoke his mind pathetically on the smallness of the lady Mary's *dote*." Paget declared "It was a fair offer, since the duke of Orleans was but a second son. Had king Louis XII. any more than 300,000 crowns with the princess Mary, her aunt,

[1] Henry (who formerly bore this title) had now succeeded as dauphin by the death of his brother Francis, while the third son of France had assumed the title of Orleans. Henry was at this time the husband of Catherine de Medicis.

[2] Burnet's Reformation, vol. i. p. 174. Likewise the same events are treated of, State-Papers, vol. i. pp. 732–740.

though a sovereign prince? And as for the king of Scots, he got only 100,000 with Margaret."

Next day the duke of Longueville, governor to the French prince, took Paget by the hand and led him to the apartments of his royal charge, where he was treated with an exceeding great feast and good cheer. About two o'clock, (this was certainly after dinner,) the admiral sent for Paget, and every man *avoided* out of the chamber. "Monsieur l'ambassador," quoth he, "let us devise some means of joining the lady Mary and our prince together. We ask your daughter," quoth he; "for her you shall have our son, a *genty* prince," quoth he, and set him out to sale. "We ask you a *dote* with her, and after the sum you will give, she shall have an assignment [of jointure] in our country. By my faith," continued he, "the *dote* you have offered is as nothing; and if the duke of Orleans were independent as Louis XII. and the king of Scots, he would rather take the lady Mary in her kirtle, than with the mean portion of 200,000 crowns." The treaty ended abortively, like all the preceding ones. It had the effect, however, of paving the way for a recognition (though an imperfect one) in parliament of Mary's rights in the succession.

It may be gathered from a letter, hitherto inedited, at the State-Paper office, written throughout in Mary's hand, that she was made the medium of pacification between her father and the emperor Charles V., when she was residing with her brother Edward and her sister Elizabeth at Havering-Bower. In all probability, the princesses occupied together the neighbouring palace of Pergo. It will be observed, that she mentions her sister as present with her at the audience she gave to the Spanish ambassadors.

LETTER OF THE LADY MARY.[1]

"MY LORD,

"After my most hearty commendations to you, these shall be to advertise you that this day, before dinner, the emperor's ambassadors came to Havering, where . . . . . [Here a provoking hiatus occurs from injury to the paper, but the lost words have reference to the little prince her brother, and she goes on to say,] . . . . . And after they had done their duty to him, they came to my sister and me, and showed me how they had taken their leave of the king's highness,

[1] State-Paper MSS.

my father, and by his licence came for the same purpose, declaring unto me 'what great amity they trusted should increase between the king and the emperor, and how glad he would be to do me good.' Upon occasion whereof, as much as I could, I spoke unto them the whole effect of your last letter, whereunto they answered, 'that they were sorry to enter into such communications with me, seeing they came but to take leave of me; and that the one of them, now going to the emperor's court, might, instead of thanks, tell complaints, and that it grieved them the more considering my modesty in so long time I had showed. . . . . They took it to be great wisdom in me that, seeing the matter of so long success, and the jeopardy that slowness causeth in such business, I would help myself, for they said that the help of God was won as well with diligence as with prayer.' Moreover, desiring me to give them leave to speak, they said 'that if they had time to understand the least part of the good-will that the emperor hath showed and beareth to the king's grace, my father, and to me also, because I am the daughter unto . . . . . [Here the words are gone, and whether the ambassadors mean Henry VIII., or Katharine of Arragon, is uncertain.] . . . . . to whom he oweth the love and obedience of a son; they could somewhat blame me for the unkindness laid to their master's charge, but they attributed all to the negligence and little care that I had to be informed in that matter, and they took my diligence now, for virtue; and because that in coming to particularize the fault and coldness that I put in them I might lay to persons to whom I owe reverence, and ministers to whom I owe good-will, which they would not, because the emperor's desire is that I should be always in the good-will and obedience of the most noble king my father, as I am now.' Leaving to dispute on their parts, they said, 'that the will which their master beareth me was, and is, and ever shall be, entire; as shall be seen by the effect that he shall ever offer, and shall always continue, both in this and the friendship which he hath ever borne to the king (as they said before), as well in the matter before said as in all things, that a good and a just friendship and alliance ought.' They said, 'that was the thing they most desired in this world, and would think it great felicity and good gain to be ministers and intercessors that this good and pure friendship may always continue, for the desire that they have to serve both parties, and the good-will they bear me.' This was our whole communication, as far as I remember, before dinner; and after dinner, when they came to take leave, I gave them as gentle words as my wit would serve me, according to your counsel, and they varied in nothing from the effect above said. And so I write this letter, for I could not be satisfied till I had fulfilled your desire in sending you word of all those things, as knoweth God, who keep you for evermore.

"From Portgrove,[1] this Tuesday, at nine of the clock at night.

"Your assured loving friend during my life,

"MARYE."

The very guarded language Mary uses in this letter injures its perspicuity, but its object is evidently to impress cautiously on the minds of her father and his ministers the importance of her position as a bond of union between the English government and her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. This curious epistle affords the first instance of a daughter of the royal family of England taking any part as a diplomatist.

[1] This must mean Pergo, a palace for the female royalty of England, which was close to Havering-Bower.

Mary came at Christmas, 1542, direct from young Edward's residence to her father at Westminster, as may be gathered from the recommencement of her privy-purse journal. To the care of mistress Finch were given her funds, and likewise her jewels. The New-year's gifts sent to the princess for 1543, are noticed in the renewed accounts: some of them possess biographical interest, others mark improvements in inventions, and in the state of female costume and occupations, at that era. The princess Elizabeth sent her sister a little chain, and a pair of hose made of silk and gold; the lady Margaret Douglas, a gown of carnation satin, of the Venice fashion; the duchess of Suffolk (Katharine Willoughby), a pair of worked sleeves and *pullers-out*[1] for an Italian gown; lady Calthorp, two pair of sleeves, whereof one pair was worked with silver, and the other with gold and *parchment lace:* this article occurs more than once, and was the first indication of Brussels lace.[2] Three Venetians sent the princess a fair *steel* glass: if this had been a mirror of polished steel, they would not have called it glass; but as Venice was the birth-place of looking-glasses, the accountant has supposed the quicksilver was polished steel put under glass. Another article occurs of the same kind directly after:—"My young lady of Norfolk, two pair of worked sleeves, half-a-dozen handkerchiefs, and a *steel* glass." Lady Anne Gray presented two artificial flowers; and her aunt, lady Kildare, mother of the fair Geraldine, a comb-case set with pearls. The fair Geraldine herself, under the designation of lady Browne, of London,[3] sent a New-year's gift to her patroness: its nature this year is not mentioned, but the following year it was a fuming-box, of silver. Sir Anthony Browne, the ancient bridegroom of this young lady, drew the princess for his Valentine, 1543, and received from her a

[1] These were the supporters to the ugly puffings worn on the shoulders of robes at that time, rivals in deformity to the stuffed sleeves recently the fashion.

[2] Among the stores of old families are still to be seen rolls of parchment with Brussels lace flowers and figures, worked in point-stitch with the needle; they were thus prepared previously to being transferred to trimmings or lace.

[3] There is another lady Browne, probably sir Anthony's mother, who sent presents to Mary, both before and after lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald's marriage.

gift of a brooch, set with four rock rubies round an agate enamelled black, with the story of Abraham. There is a previous instance of the princess being drawn as a Valentine by George Mountjoy, one of the gentlemen of her household, who received, in consequence, a present of money. The high collars with little ruffs, often seen in the portraits of this time, are described as being set on capes, and are called 'partlets,' because they parted in front, or closed at pleasure. Partlets were often presented as New-year's gifts. Likewise worked chemises, probably similar to the modern chemisette, are sent to the princess from many of her female friends; they are, however, registered by an old English word, which looks homely enough every where excepting in Shakspeare's enchanting spring lyric,—but who objects to "ladies' smocks all silvery white?" Several domestic animals are mentioned. Boxley, a yeoman of the king's chamber, was given by the princess 15*s.* for bringing her a present of a little spaniel. Sir Bryan Tuke likewise sent her "a couple of little fair hounds:" these are certainly white Italian greyhounds, frequently introduced in Mary's portraits, and in those of her contemporaries. A woman of London had 5*s.* for bringing her a "*brid* [bird] in a cage;" and the woodman of Hampton-Court took charge of a white lark the princess had left there, and he received 3*d.* for bringing it to her at Westminster, in April 1543.

Mary was present at her father's marriage with Katharine Parr: this fact, and the circumstances connected therewith, have already been narrated in the biography of that queen. She accompanied her father and his bride on a summer progress to Woodstock, Grafton, and Dunstable; but being seized with a violent return of her chronic illness, she was carried in the queen's litter to her mother's former abiding place, the Honour of Ampthill. From thence, after several removes, she was finally taken to Ashridge, where her brother and sister were sojourning, and with them she spent the autumn. Many of her attendants were at this time suffering under the influence of a sickly season, and were as ill as their mistress; for her slender income was taxed for lodging,

nursing, and medicine for them, at a distance from the bustle of the royal residences. Her faithful old servant Randal Dod was very sick, and one of her women, called Bess Cressy, was long chargeable during illness. Jane the Fool was indisposed in health, and on recovery was taken with a fit of industry, since a solitary article appears in the accounts of the princess Mary of 1*d.* expended for needles for "Jane the Fole."

A chair was worked for king Henry in the autumn by Mary and her maidens, as a New-year's gift for the king; it was of such ample dimensions that the materials cost twenty pounds. When king Henry and his bride returned to Westminster, the princess Mary joined them there at Christmas. She must have been greatly distressed for money, owing to her bounty to her sick servants and the expenses of her own long affliction, for she sold a pair of gilt-silver pots[1] for 37*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, and a fur of *budge* for 19*l.* 15*s.*[2] Soon after she received a very seasonable token of her step-mother's kindness, in the substantial form of a gift of 40*l.* The income of Mary was so small and precarious, that every one of her numerous benefactions must have been attended with some degree of self-sacrifice. Her early dignity as the sole offspring of the sovereign, and the great expenses lavished on her household and establishment in her infancy and girlhood, rendered the subsequent privations of a limited and precarious income more embarrassing. Those who sued for her bounty, expected her to bestow as munificently as if she were the eldest princess of England; those who supplied her income, apportioned it according to the law which had ranked her as an illegitimate and cast-off scion of the royal family. This harassing uncertainty of station, however, ceased with the close of 1543, and the ensuing year brought a favourable change in the prospects of the disinherited princess.

[1] Privy-purse Expenses, pp. 96–152.

[2] This species of fur cannot be traced by our antiquaries; the great price proves that it was a precious material.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

Mary's restoration to her rank as princess—Court dress—Her popularity—Influence of Katharine Parr—Mary's translation of the paraphrase of St. John—Her privy-purse expenses—Her horticultural importations—Her clocks—Portrait—Wagers—Her jewels—Gifts to her sister—Death-bed charge of Henry VIII. to the princess Mary—Mary's illness—Letter from the princess Elizabeth—Mary's disapproval of the Protestant church of England—Controversy with Somerset—Visit to St. James's-palace—Fall of lord Thomas Seymour—Mary's long illness—Contest with Somerset on her recusancy—Somerset's fall—Hints of Mary's regency—Marriage-treaties—Her expected elopement—Singular visit to court—Her servants ordered to control her—They prefer imprisonment—Mary's discussion with the chancellor—Intrigues to disinherit her—Lady Jane Gray's visit—Bishop Ridley's—Mary's Christmas visit to the king—His death—Mary disinherited by his will—She approaches London—The Dudley faction deceive her—Warned by Throckmorton—Her flight—Received at Sawston-hall—It is burnt in her sight—Reaches Kenninghall—Her despatch to the council—Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen—Mary retreats to Framlingham-castle—Assumes the royal title.

An auspicious change took place in the situation of Mary a few months after the sixth marriage of her father. Although her restoration to her natural place in the succession was not complete, yet the crown was entailed on her after prince Edward, or after any son or daughter which Henry might have by his wife Katharine Parr or any succeeding wives, by act of parliament,[1] passed Feb. 7th, 1544.

Mary assisted, ten days afterwards, at a grand court held by the queen her step-mother for the reception of the duke de Nejara, a Spanish grandee of the highest rank, whose secretary has preserved minute particulars of the ceremonial. When the noble Spaniard had been presented to the queen, he essayed to perform his homage to the princess Mary by

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 179.

kissing her hand; but she prevented him, and very graciously offered him her lips,—a proof that he was her relative, and privileged thus to salute her.[1] Mary danced at a court ball given on the same occasion: her dress was extremely splendid, being a kirtle, or close-fitting under-gown, made of cloth of gold, over which was worn an open robe of three-piled violet velvet; a coronal of large precious stones completed this brilliant costume. Her magnificence of attire and her public appearance at the reception of a grandee who was the accredited agent of Charles V., may be considered as the effects of her restoration to royal rank. The Spanish secretary of the duke de Nejara wrote, that Mary was pleasing in person, and so popular in England as to be almost adored. "Among other praises that I heard of her," adds he, "is, that she knows how to conceal her acquirements, and surely this is no small proof of wisdom."

Either the religious prejudices of Mary were not so invincible as have been supposed, or the influence of Katharine Parr was indeed extraordinary; for, by the entreaty of that queen, she undertook the translation of the Latin paraphrase of St. John, by Erasmus. The original, which comprehended all the gospels, was a work very precious to those who wished for reformation in the Christian church, founded on a more intimate knowledge of Scripture; but, like Scripture itself, the luminous paraphrases by Erasmus were locked in a learned language from the approach of general readers. It was the erudition and industry of the princess Mary that rendered into English the whole of the important paraphrase of St. John. She meant to have laboured further in the good work, when a recurrence of her chronic illness laid her once more on a bed of sickness, and her chaplain, Dr. Francis Mallet, revised and prepared for the press the manuscript she had completed. It was comprised in the same volume with the other paraphrases of Erasmus, which were rendered into English by several celebrated reformers. Those who mistake Henry VIII. for a patron of the Reformation, instead of what he really was, (and still continues to be,) its impediment, its shame, and its

[1] See Marillac's Despatches previously quoted, p. 372.

sorrow, have supposed that Mary undertook this task to please and propitiate her father. But that such a course was not the way to his good graces, is apparent from the anger which was excited in his mind against Katharine Parr, on account of the theological works patronised by her,—anger which had nearly been fatal to that queen soon after the publication of these paraphrases. Mary's translation, therefore, must have been undertaken wholly to please Katharine Parr, who, in her letter from Hanworth, Sept. 1544, entreated her to get her translation of St. John with all care and diligence revised, and then with speed "to send this, her most fair and useful work," to her, that she might, with the rest, (viz. the translations of Kay, Cox, Udall, Old, and Allen,) commit it to the press, desiring withal, to know of her whether it should be published in her name or anonymously. Katharine Parr added, on this point, "that in her opinion she would do a wrong to the work, if she should refuse to send it to posterity with the advantage of her name; because, in her accurate translation, she had gone through much pains for the public good, and would have undertaken more had her health permitted. I see not why you should reject the praise which all deservedly would give you; yet I leave all to your own prudence, and will approve of that which seems best to you."[1] In conclusion of the same letter, she thanks Mary for a purse which she had made and sent her.

Mary did not append her name to her translation, but she permitted Dr. Udall to say what he pleased concerning her labours in his preface, which was to the following effect:—"England," he said, "can never be able to render thanks sufficient; so it will never be able (as her deserts require) enough to praise the most noble, the most virtuous, and the most studious lady Mary's grace, for taking such pains and travail in translating this Paraphrase of Erasmus on the gospel of St. John." Dr. Mallet, who superintended the progress of this work through the press, could not have been

[1] See preceding biography of queen Katharine Parr. The further particulars quoted here are drawn from Udall's preface to the Paraphrases, and Strype's Memorials.

long in the service of the princess Mary, having been chaplain to the late unfortunate queen Katharine Howard. He was highly esteemed by queen Katharine Parr for his deep learning: his principles appear to have been mild and liberal, if he may be judged by his co-operation with some of the fathers of the Reformation in a work of general Christian utility. The persecution and severe imprisonment he met with in the succeeding reign, did not, perhaps, encourage him in this happy frame of mind, since his name occurs in Fox's list of persecutors,—a solitary instance among the personal friends of Mary, who are almost all excluded from that black catalogue.

The manuscript which has been preserved of the princess Mary's privy-purse expenditure closes with the year 1544: it has afforded a curious insight into her real manner of spending her time, her tastes, and pursuits. Among other remarkable points, it shows how small a portion of her means was bestowed on any of the prevalent devotional observances of the times. If she had been inclined to spend her income on attentions to the dead, instead of active charity to the living, she might have done so with impunity, as the masses for the soul of her friend, queen Jane Seymour, indubitably prove that such rites still formed part of the then established church. But no other expenditure of the kind occurs, and, with the exception of a yearly trifle offered at Candlemas, the expenses of Mary might have passed for those of a Protestant princess.

Many items occur in the course of Mary's diary which bespeak her love of flowers, rare seeds, and roots; she was a horticulturist and an importer of foreign plants, for her father gave 10*l.* in reward to a person, because he had brought safely to England many trees from Spain, commissioned by "his daughter the lady Mary's grace."[1] She had a decided taste for clocks, like her illustrious relative Charles V.,[2] for they form a prominent article in her yearly expenditure:

[1] Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., edited by sir Harris Nicolas.

[2] It is well known that he diverted himself with clock-work in his retirement at St. Just, after his abdication, and that there his mighty mind convinced itself

sometimes she had as many as four repaired and regulated at once; sometimes she gave and received presents of clocks. Gloves were sent her from Spain, as presents; she gave a gentleman in the suite of the lord admiral 30*s.* for bringing her, from a duchess in Spain, a coffer containing twelve pair of Spanish gloves. Gloves of this kind bore a great price as late as the middle of the last century, and were probably some of the relics of Moorish industry; they were made of exquisite leather, and embroidered with silk, gold, silver, and even with gems, and highly perfumed. The wicked suspicions of that age of crime often supposed that the perfumes of Spanish gloves were poisoned.

Painting was not one of the arts encouraged by Mary while princess, owing to her slender finances; but she paid John Hayes handsomely for drawing her work-patterns, and gave "one John 4*l.*, who drew her likeness"[1] on a table; that is, it was a portrait painted on wood. There is a good portrait, by Holbein, in the collection at Hampton-Court, representing a princess about the age of twenty-four, supposed, rather too hastily, to be Elizabeth. The outline of the face is wholly different from the pear-shaped form of Elizabeth's visage, instead of which, it is short and round; and though sufficiently regular to excuse the praises of Mary's person, which formed the constant theme of her contemporaries in her youth, shows a slight indication of the squareness on the upper lip, which was afterwards so violently caricatured in the prints executed in the reign of her successor. If other tokens were wanting to identify it, the costume is sufficient, which had materially changed before Elizabeth had attained the age of the person represented. The colour of the hair has occasioned the mistake, which is of a red cast of auburn, when it is probable that Mary had the dark hair, as well as the dark eyes, of her Spanish ancestors. But most of the portraits of that era are embellished with red or sandy hair: it is supposed that,

of the futility of religious persecution, by observing the difficulty of making two of his clocks strike simultaneously. He reasoned, "that if unresisting and unthinking matter was so hard to regulate, how could men be tortured into exact unison of thought?" But this noble lesson he learned too late for the good of mankind.

[1] It is possible this John was *Hans*, or John Holbein.

out of compliment to the rufous complexion of Henry VIII., the locks of his dutiful courtiers were sprinkled with gold dust or red powder, in order that those who had not been gifted by nature with the warm hue fashionable at court, might at least have the appearance of possessing that enviable tint. Holbein's genuine works have a very deceptive quality, leading the beholder into much false criticism on his stiffness and hardness. The laborious finish of the flesh and draperies induces those who look at his pictures to examine them as near as possible, and the closer they are surveyed the flatter they appear; but let the spectator walk into the middle of the room, and the picture assumes a marvellous effect of roundness and *vraisemblance*. Thus it is with the famous group of Henry VIII. and family, which is one of the treasures of Hampton-Court.[1] On a close inspection it seems as flat as a map, and as highly finished as an enamelled tea-cup; but as the spectator retreats from it, and looks at it from the centre of the room, the pillars move into panoramic perspective, the recess deepens, the glorious roof glows with lozenges of ruby and gold, the canopy juts out, and the royal group beneath assume lifelike semblance. Thus it is with the young portrait of Mary. If it is viewed from the window-seat to the right, its effect is full of nature and reality: the face is delicate and pleasing; the complexion pale and pure; the fragile figure shows the ravages of recent illness; the expression of the features is mild and reflective; and the whole design gives the idea of a lady student engaged in peaceful meditation. A book, with vellum leaves, is on a stand to the right, and the princess holds another, velvet-bound and clasped with gold, in her hands; the fluted curtains partially open from the back-ground. These accessaries Holbein has finished with Flemish patience: the book on the stand appears as if the studious princess had recently been writing therein. Her dress is square at the bust, taper in the waist, girded with a *cordelière* of gems, and made of rose-coloured damask: the head-dress is of the round hood form.

[1] It is said to be a copy by Remi; but, on comparison with other copies of Holbein by that artist, the difference of tone and touch is most striking.

"Mary," according to the Italian of Pollino,[1] "was small, fragile, and of a singularly beautiful complexion, but of a very different tint from that of her father. When a girl, she was much celebrated for her beauty; but the troubles she underwent in her father's reign faded her charms prematurely, though she was very far from ugly. Her face was short, her forehead very large, her eyes dark and lustrous, and remarkably touching when she fixed them on any one." The portrait engraved by Houbraken, with an axe, fasces, and a mourning Cupid, entitled 'queen Katharine Howard,' is indubitably the princess Mary, about the age of thirty. It is nearly a fac-simile in features, dress, and attitude with her portrait in the family group at Hampton-Court, only at a more advanced age.

The tone of the privy-purse journal of the princess altered considerably when Katharine Parr presided over the English court. All card-playing and betting vanish from the pages of this document; but in the preceding year Mary had lost the sum of 10*l.* in a bet with Dr. Bill. A divine so called was distinguished among the fathers of the Protestant church of England in the reign of Edward VI., but whether he is the same to whom the princess Mary lost the wager is a curious question. Such an incident is as much at variance with all preconceived ideas of the gloom and unbending sternness of Mary's routine of life, as it would have been of the primitive simplicity of that of Dr. Bill. If one could see a grand-inquisitor playing at dice or betting at a horse-race with Calvin or John Knox, the sight would scarcely be more startling and anomalous than the plain item in the account-book of Mary, noting cash thus won and lost.

Strange indeed are the revolutions when a sudden flash of light affords a transitory view into the realities of life, just at the commencement of the great religious warfare which has raged since this period; the mind is tantalized with an earnest wish to know more of the private life and daily mode of conduct of those, who are only known to the world as persecutors on one side, or as martyrs or theological champions

[1] Page 396.

on the other. Vain is the wish! the struggles of rival creeds for supremacy take the place of all other information, either personal or statistical; individual character, arts, science, and even the historian's absorbing theme—arms, are alike a blank in the annals of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary; yet all were undergoing changes as striking as those of religion. In this dearth of general information, assiduous examination of the documents which time and accident have spared becomes a more imperative duty.

The remaining leaves of the book containing the accounts of the princess Mary, are filled up with the list of her jewels. Many interesting marginal notices, in her own hand, are added to it. The jewels were placed in the care of Mary Finch, and at the bottom of every page is the signature of the princess; and on each side of it four long scratches, to prevent any more writing being added. Among these jewels was a "book of gold, with the king's face and that of her grace's mother," (Katharine of Arragon). This is retained in Mary's possession; but the next article, a round tablet, black enamelled, with the king's picture and that of queen Jane, was given by Mary as a present to Mrs. Ryder, at her marriage with judge Brown. "A pomander of gold, having a *dial* in it," was given "to the lady Elizabeth's grace." This must have been a watch. Another item occurs of a plain tablet of gold, with a *dial* in it, given to lady Kingston. Among Mary's valuables were miniature paintings, set in brooches and tablets, evidently meant to be worn on the person; their subjects were mostly from Scripture history, but one given to the princess Elizabeth had on it the history of Pyramus and Thisbe. The king presented his daughter with a considerable number of jewels the 1st of January, 1543; six months before his death, (the 20th of July,) he presented her with many more. The number and value of his last gift leads to the supposition that they were her mother's jewels. Among them occurs another miniature of Katharine of Arragon, set with one of the king, opening like a book of gold.[1] Against one gold necklace, set with pearls,

[1] Many beautiful historical miniatures set in this mode were seen among the

Mary has written, "given to my cousin Jane Gray," little thinking, when she gave her young kinswoman a share of her ornaments, that the fair neck would be mangled by her order, round which these pearls were clasped. Many rich presents were distributed by Mary among her female relations; the names of lady Frances (mother to lady Jane Gray), lady Eleanor Clifford, and lady Margaret Douglas (married to Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox), frequently occur, familiarly named as "my cousin" Frances, Eleanor, or *Marget*.

Mary had been suffering with severe illness in the early part of 1546, and was, in the spring, at the court of her step-mother. A letter is extant from her brother, prince Edward,[1] dated from Hunsdon, May 1546, in which he congratulates her affectionately on her recovery, affirming "that God had given her the wisdom of Esther, and that he looked up to her virtues with admiration." He desires her to give his love to lady Tyrwhitt, lady Lane, and to lady Herbert: these were ladies of queen Katharine's household, and the last her sister,—circumstances which prove that Mary was then resident at court. The princess, indeed, usually occupied a large portion of her young brother's thoughts, as may be ascertained by his Latin exercises, written in the form of epistles addressed to her, to his father, and to queen Katharine Parr. In one of these last, he takes the pains to entreat his step-mother "to preserve his dear sister Mary from the enchantments of the Evil one, by beseeching her to attend no longer to foreign dances and merriments, which do not become a most Christian princess."[2] The exhortation perhaps really originated from the princely boy's tutor, Richard Cox, who, though a Protestant, was, like many of his contemporary reformers, imbued with the asceticism of the cloister. Yet the cares of a brother, who had not seen his tenth summer, regarding the superabundant dances of his sister, then turned of thirty, possessing withal the historical reputation for sternness of Mary Tudor, will be considered a curious anomaly in historical incident.

Strawberry-hill Collection, though they chiefly belonged to the seventeenth century.

[1] Quoted in Strype's Memorials.

[2] Letters of the Kings of England, edited by J. O. Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 8: translated from the Latin original, Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Lib.

Mary retained her father's favour to the close of his existence, though, just as he was on the verge of the grave, her name was strangely implicated in the mysterious offences for which the accomplished Surrey was hurried to the block. General history repeats, perpetually, that Surrey's principal crime was an intention of aspiring to the hand of the princess Mary; his own family history, however, proves that this was impossible, for his hand was already given to a wife whom he tenderly loved, and who survived him many years.[1] Henry VIII. in his will confirmed Mary in her reversionary rights of succession, and bequeathed to her the sum of 10,000*l.* towards her marriage-portion, if she married with the consent of the council of regency. While she continued unmarried, she was to enjoy an income of 3,000*l.* per annum, which it appears arose from the rents of her manors of Newhall or Beaulieu, Hunsdon, and Kenninghall. This last was part of the illegal plunder of the noble house of Howard, which she honestly returned, on her accession, to its rightful owner.

The silence of all English writers regarding any communication between Henry VIII. and his eldest daughter when he was on his death-bed, obliges us to have recourse to the testimony of continental historians, and to translate the following passage from the Italian of Pollino:—"One day, when the king felt convinced that his death was approaching, he ordered his daughter Mary to be sent for. He addressed her with great tenderness and affection, and said, 'I know well, my daughter, that fortune has been most adverse to you; that I have caused you infinite sorrow, and that I have not given you in marriage, as I desired to do. This was, however, according to the will of God, or to the unhappy state of my affairs, or to your own ill-luck; but I pray you take it all in good part, and promise me to remain as a kind and loving mother to your brother, whom I shall leave a little helpless child.'"[2] It is very probable that Mary actually made her

[1] See Howard Memorials, by Henry Howard, esq., of Corby-castle.

[2] Pollino, p. 191. This writer must have had access to the muniments of history in those reigns, since we find repeatedly, in his pages, information derived from sources (as Privy-council Journals, State-paper Letters, &c.) which were unknown to the contemporary English historians, and have only been recently opened to the public.

father such a promise, because, in all the stormy movements of the succeeding reign, though it will be presently shown that snares and temptations were not wanting to induce her to seize the reins of government, she never gave, either secretly or openly, the least encouragement to any rebellion against the successive regents who governed in her brother's name,—happy if she could preserve her own home from molestation, which was not always the case. Her brother's first employment, on his accession, was to write her, from the Tower, a Latin letter, dated Feb. 8, 1546-7, of condolence on their father's death, concluding with these affectionate words: "So far as in me lies, I will be to you a dearest brother, and overflowing with all kindness."[1] The mind of the boy-sovereign must have been deeply and tenderly intent on his sister Mary, for a few days afterwards his royal hand recorded the only memorial existing of an attempt on her life, made in 1546. It is very remarkable that he alludes to it as occurring in the preceding summer, during the life of their father. The letter is one of thanks to an officer in her household: accident had brought the incident to the knowledge of king Edward, and in the warmth of his fraternal love he thus wrote to sir Edward Browne:—"It has been represented unto us, that in the course of the last summer you did, at your own imminent peril, and at the peril of your life, protect the house wherein our dearest sister was residing at the time, from being entered in the night by a bloodthirsty and murderous villain, who might, perchance, have done an incredible damage to our said sister, or at least to her attendants. We are desirous of requiting the service, and for that purpose we will and command you to repair without delay to our court at London. From the Tower, this 13 day of February."[2] Such was the warmth of affection towards Mary felt by her cherished nursling and brother at the period of his ascending the throne. Small doubt can exist that the sister mentioned by the young monarch was Mary, as Elizabeth was resident

[1] Letters of the Kings of England, edited by J. O. Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 21: translated from the Latin original, Bodleian Library.

[2] Ibid, p. 27.

with him at Hertford-castle some time before the death of his father; therefore he would have become intimately acquainted with all that had befallen her in the previous summer. Besides, Elizabeth's age, and position regarding the succession, did not provoke the rage of political fanatics who were murderously disposed.

The princess lived in retirement at her country-seats in the ensuing spring. The great changes which took place in religion immediately after the decease of Henry VIII. had, as yet, produced no collision between her and the protector Somerset. The following letters bespeak her on terms of great familiarity and friendship both with him and his wife:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO MY LADY OF SOMERSET.

"MY GOOD GOSSIP, (1547, April.)

"After my very hearty commendations to you, with like desire to hear of the amendment and increase of your good health, these shall be to put you in remembrance of mine old suit concerning Richard Wood, who was my mother's servant when *you were one of her grace's maids*. As you know, by his application, he hath sustained great loss, almost to his utter undoing, without any recompence hitherto, which forced me to trouble you with his suit before, whereof (I thank you) I had a very good answer, and desire you now to renew the same to my lord your husband, for I consider it impossible for him to remember such matters, having such a heap of business as he hath. Wherefore I heartily require you to go forward in this suit till you have brought it to an honest end, for the poor man is not able to abide long in the city.

"And thus, my good Nann, I trouble you with myself and all mine; thanking you with all my heart for your earnest gentleness towards me in all my suits hitherto, reckoning myself out of doubt of the continuance of the same. Wherefore, once again I must trouble you with my poor George Brickhouse, who was an officer of my mother's wardrobe and beds from the time of the king my father's coronation, whose only desire is to be one of the knights of Windsor, if all the rooms be not filled; and if they be, to have the next reversion in obtaining, whereof (in mine opinion) you shall do a charitable deed, as knoweth Almighty God, who send you good health, and us shortly meet, to his pleasure.—From St. John's, this Sunday in the afternoon, being the 24th of April.

"Your loving friend during my life,

"MARY."

Mary's requests for provision for her mother's aged servants were duly remembered by her "good Nann," for, some months later, a letter of thanks in her hand occurs to the protector:—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO THE PROTECTOR.

"MY LORD,

"I heartily thank you for your gentleness showed touching my requests late made unto you, whereof I have been advertised by my comptroller; and though

I shall *leave* [omit] to trouble you at present with the whole number of my said requests, yet I thought it good to signify to you my desire for those persons who have served me a very long time, and have no kind of living certain. Praying you, my lord, according to your gentle promise, that they may have pensions, as my other servants have, during their lives; for their years be so far passed, that I fear they shall not enjoy them long.

"Thus, with my hearty commendations, as well to yourself as to my gossip, your wife, I bid you both farewell, praying Almighty God to send you both as much health and comfort of soul and body as I would wish myself.—From Beaulieu, the 28th Dec."

yowr assured frend
to my power Mary

In June, lord Thomas Seymour wrote to her, requesting her sanction to his marriage with her friend and step-mother, Katharine Parr: her letter has already been given.[1] It is sensibly written, though somewhat prudishly worded, disowning all knowledge "in wooing matters;" and she evidently insinuates, that a six months' widowhood was rather too short for the widow of a king of England, though perhaps Mary knew as well as the parties themselves that they were already married. The princess dated her letter from Wanstead,[2] and soon after she notified to Katharine Parr that she was about to try the air of Norfolk for the restoration of her infirm health, and from that time she sojourned frequently at her manor of Kenninghall. She required the attendance of her chamber-woman Jane, during an attack of illness that seized her in the autumn. This damsel had given her hand to William Russell, a servant in the household of her sister, on which occasion Mary received the following familiar letter[3] from the princess Elizabeth. We find, by its contents, that it is one of a numerous and affectionate series, which passed between the royal sisters at this period of their lives:—

FROM THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH TO THE PRINCESS MARY.

"To my well-beloved sister Mary.

"Good sister, as to hear of your sickness is unpleasant to me, so it is nothing fearful, for that I understand it is your old guest, that is wont oft to visit you,

[1] See preceding memoir of Katharine Parr.

[2] After the attainder of sir Giles Heron, in the time of Henry VIII., his manor-house at Wanstead remained royal property. Heron was a son-in-law of sir Thomas More.

[3] Ellis's first Series of English Letters.

whose coming, though it be oft, yet it is never welcome; but, notwithstanding, it is comfortable, for that *jacula prævisa minus feriunt.*

"As I do understand your need of Jane Russell's service, so I am sorry that it is by my man's occasion *letted*, [hindered]; which, if I had known afore, I would have caused his will to give place to need of your service, for, as it is her duty to obey his commandment, so it is his part to attend your pleasure; and as I confess it were meeter for him to go to her, since she attends upon you, so indeed he required the same, but for divers of his fellows had business abroad that made his tarrying at home.

"Good sister, though I have good cause to thank you for your oft sending to me, *yet I have more occasion to thank you for your oft gentle writing; and you may well see, by my writing so oft, how pleasant it is to me.* And thus I end to trouble you, desiring God to send you as well to do as you can think or wish, or I desire or pray.—From Ashridge, scribbled this 27th of October.

"Your loving sister,

"ELIZABETH."

The last will and testament of Henry VIII. was as replete with seeds of strife for his subjects, as the capricious acts of his life had been. The monarch who had, on the suppression of the monasteries, desecrated so many altars, and scattered the funds of so many mortuary chapels and endowed chantries, in utter disregard of the intentions of the founders, whose very tombs were often violated, left by his will 600*l.* per annum for masses to be said for his soul! He had likewise enjoined his executors to bring up his son in the Catholic faith; by this he probably meant the cruel church of the six articles which he had founded. This will was a serious impediment to the reformed church of England, for the establishment of which Somerset and Cranmer took decided steps directly Henry expired. Before the parliament met in November, bishop Gardiner, the chief supporter of Henry's anti-papal Catholic church, was deprived of his see, and imprisoned in the Fleet. Some time in the same autumn a controversy, by letter, took place between the princess Mary and Somerset,[1] which appears to have been commenced by her earnest entreaties for the performance of her father's will,

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. pp. 14–37. For the will of Henry VIII. see Heylin's Reformation, p. 302, where it is printed at length. The original document is well worth perusal, as it bears striking evidence of the recurrence of the religious tenets which had been impressed in youth on the royal testator's mind. We have seen the original at the Chapter-house, (by the favour of Mr. F. Devon,) and remain convinced that it was signed by the hand of Henry himself, at least the signature on the margin at the commencement, for the up-strokes of the H are tremulous, an effect which could not be connected with the impression from a stamp.

especially that part which related to the education of her brother. Somerset's answer to the princess is alone preserved; it contains assertions regarding the Protestant principles and intentions of Henry VIII. wholly contradicted by facts. Far wiser would it have been for the Protestant protector to have boldly founded his opposition on the obvious truth, and argued on the inconsistency of Henry's testimony and his deeds; but Somerset, like most politicians, sacrificed the majesty of truth to expediency, which conduct, of course, involved him in a labyrinth of disputation and self-contradiction.

In the course of the correspondence that ensued between Somerset and bishop Gardiner, on the same subject, a remarkable fact appears; which is, that the paraphrases of Erasmus, among which the translation by the princess Mary held so conspicuous a place, was reprinted by the founders of our reformed church, and was provided in all churches throughout England as a companion to the Bible, being considered next in efficacy to the sacred volume itself for the promotion of religious faith. It likewise appears that Gardiner's attack on this very work was the ultimate cause of his imprisonment.[1] Mary's connexion with the publication forms a singular incident in the history of this controversy, and, indeed, in her own career. Thus did Mary's opposition to the reformed church of England commence at the very moment that church was taking for one of its bulwarks the work of her own pen. The princess was invited to court by an affectionate letter from the young king, her brother, who was, before religious controversy occasioned variance, exceedingly fond of her. The royal family passed the Christmas succeeding their father's death in each other's society, on the most affectionate terms. From that time, however, the visits of Mary to court were few; as she could not agree with the tenets of the Protestants, she held herself as much in retirement as possible. The country was, the succeeding summer, in a state of insurgency from east to west, and from north to south, chiefly on account of the utter misery into which the

[1] Burnet, vol. ii. pp. 26–35.

tyranny of the latter years of Henry VIII.'s government had thrown it. It ought to be noted, that not one of these insurgents implicated Mary's name in their proceedings, though, if she had given them the slightest encouragement, there cannot be a doubt but that they would joyfully have done so. Mary certainly limited her religious zeal, whilst she was a subject, to the narrow circle of her own chapel and household, for which she claimed only toleration; this she was the less likely afterwards to practise, since no example was afforded her that it formed a principle of any creed established in Christendom.[1]

Notwithstanding all Mary's caution, the protector addressed to her some communication, accusing her servants of encouraging the rebels in Devonshire. She answered him by a letter,[2] in which, after proving that her servants were not near the scene of action, she concludes with these words:—

"My lord, it troubleth me to hear such reports, especially where there is no cause given; trusting my household shall *try* [prove] themselves true subjects to the king's majesty, and honest, quiet persons, or else I would be loath to keep them. And whereas you charge me, that my proceedings in matters of religion should give no small courage to many of these men to require and do as they do, that thing appeareth most evidently to be untrue, for all the rising about this part [*i.e.* Norfolk] is touching no point of religion. But even as ye ungently, and without desert, charge me, so I, omitting so fully to answer it as the case doth require, do and will pray God that your new alterations and unlawful liberties be not rather the occasion of these assemblies than my doings, who am (God I take to witness) disquieted therewith. And as for Devonshire, no *indifferent* [impartial] person can lay the doings to my charge, for I have neither land nor acquaintance in that country, as knoweth Almighty God; whom I humbly

[1] It is a lamentable trait in human nature, that there was not a sect established at the Reformation that did not avow, as part of their religious duty, the horrible necessity of destroying some of their fellow-creatures (mostly by burning alive) on account of what they severally termed heretical tenets. The quakers were absolutely the first Christian community since that era who disavowed all destructiveness in their religious precepts. How furiously these friends to their species were persecuted, the annals of New England can tell; and Great Britain, though more sparing of their blood, was equally wasteful of their lives, for they were penned, by Cromwell and Charles II., by hundreds in gaols,—such gaols as were provided then, rife with malignant fevers and every horror. James II. declared to the hon. Mr. Bertie, that he had released 1230 quakers, confined in different gaols at his accession.—Original letters of Bertie, Retrospective Review, second Series.

[2] Burnet, vol. iii. Hist of Ref.; Records iii. p. 198. This letter is supposed to be answered by Somerset in a letter preserved by Burnet, but the subjects do not agree.

beseech to send you all as much plenty of his grace as I would wish to myself. So, with my hearty commendations, I bid you farewell.—From my house at Kenninghall, the 20th of July.

"Your friend, to my power,

"MARY."

Mary came to London in the autumn of 1548, and paid a visit to her brother at his private residence of St. James's-palace. Here she must have occupied a regular suite of reception-rooms, for she had a great concourse of her friends to visit her, and made especial good cheer for their entertainment. The comforts and luxuries of the table were not, it is evident, forbidden at court, but the sound of musical instruments was wholly banished from the royal residences; nor did the first lady in the realm venture to indulge her favourite taste, by touching virginals, lute, or regals, whilst sojourning under the roof of the young sovereign of England.

The widower of Katharine Parr, lord Thomas Seymour, was among the guests of Mary during her residence at St. James's-palace, which is apparent by a letter he addressed to her, in which he returned thanks for her hospitality; at the same time he required her testimony (as related in the preceding biography) respecting the rich jewels her father had given to the late queen Katharine Parr. In the conclusion, he alluded to Mary's total deprivation of music while she abode at St. James's, and insinuated that she must wholly have lost her practice. In order to obviate such a misfortune, he offered the services of his man, Walter Earle, to give her lessons, this person being well skilled on her favourite instrument, the virginals. The inquisitors of the Star-chamber, who soon after carefully sifted all the proceedings of the unfortunate Seymour, found that he had had a long consultation with his man, Walter Earle, the night before he set out on his errand to Mary. They shrewdly suspected that Walter was directed to intersperse, with his musical lessons, some words calculated to raise the ambitious widower in the good graces of the princess. Great jealousy was excited in the mind of the protector, that his brother, if he failed in his matrimonial projects regarding Elizabeth, or lady Jane Gray, meant to

offer his hand to the princess Mary. Nor were these suspicions wholly unfounded.

THE LORD ADMIRAL (SEYMOUR) TO THE LADY MARY.

"After my humble commendations to your grace, with most hearty thanks for the great good cheer I (amongst others) had with you, at your grace's late being here. It may hereof please you to understand, that had it not been that the little time of your late abode did rather require to be absented from *suits*, [not troubled with applications,] than to be at any time *impeached* [impeded] of the entertainment of so many of your grace's friends which then came to visit you, I had, even then, by mouth desired knowledge of the thing, which now I am suitor for by writing.[1]

* * * * * *

"I have sent your grace this bearer to wait on you this Christmas, and to renew and bring to your remembrance such lessons as I think you have forgotten, because, at my late being at St. James's, I never saw a *pair* of virginals stirring in all the whole house; wishing I had some other thing that might be more pleasant and acceptable to your grace, whom for this present I commit to the good governance of God.—From Seymour-place, this 17th of December."

But one little month intervened between the penning of this letter and the impeachment of the hapless writer, and in still less time he was hurried, without trial, to the block, by virtue of a warrant signed with the hand of his fraternal foe. He employed his last moments in writing to the royal sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, one of whom regarded him with feelings of friendship, the other with those of love.

Mary's health was so very infirm in the spring of 1550, that her death was generally expected: she herself felt convinced that her end was near. Had she died at this time, how deeply venerated would her name have been to all posterity! how fondly would her learning, her charities, her spotless purity of life, her inflexible honesty of word and deed, and her fidelity to her friends have been quoted and remembered by her country! Even her constancy to the ancient church would have been forgiven, as she was as yet innocent of the greatest offence a human being can commit against God and man,—persecution for religion's sake. If she had never reigned, the envenomed hatred between Protestants and Catholics would have been less, and many horrid

[1] Here is omitted the passage regarding Mary's knowledge of the disputed jewels, which has been already quoted in the preceding biography of Katharine Parr: the whole is in Haynes's Burleigh Papers, p. 73.

years of persecution and counter-persecution would have been spared.

She wrote a meditation on her severe illness in 1549, and sent it to her kinswoman, lady Capel, with these words:—"Good cousin Capel,—I pray you, as often as you be disposed to read this writing, to remember me and pray for me, your loving friend, MARIE." The cousin, whose relationship the princess claims so frankly, was daughter to the lady Manners, descended from Anne duchess of Exeter, sister to Edward IV., by her second husband St. Leger, and of course a descendant of the royal line of York.[1]

The sickness Mary referred to laid long and heavily on her at Kenninghall, and it seems to have been greatly aggravated by the arduous letters she had almost daily to write to the protector, respecting her required conformity with the recently established church of England. In the course of this correspondence she frequently alluded to her sinking health. The point of contest was, her refusal to deliver up her chaplain, Dr. Hopton, her officer, sir Francis Inglefield, and her comptroller, Rochester, for the examination of the privy council regarding her domestic worship. In her letter she rather appealed to the former friendship between her and Somerset, than used harsh language:—

"I intend, with God's grace, to trouble you little with any worldly suits, but to bestow the short time I *think* [expect] to live, in quietness, praying for the king's majesty and all of you.

"Moreover, your desire seems that I should send my comptroller [Rochester] and Dr. Hopton [chaplain] to you. It is not unknown to you that the chief charge of my house resteth only on the *travails* of my said comptroller, who hath not been absent from my house three whole days since the setting up of the same, unless it were for my letters-patent; so that if it were not for his continual diligence, I think my little *portion* [income] would not have stretched so far. My chaplain, by occasion of sickness, hath been long absent, and is not yet able to ride; therefore, as I cannot *forbear* [spare] my comptroller, and my priest is not able to journey, I desire you, my lord, if you have any thing to declare to me *except matters of religion*, to send me some trusty person with whom I shall be contented to talk; but assuring you, that if any servant of mine, man, woman, or chaplain, should move me contrary to my conscience, I would not give ear to

[1] Parke's Royal Authors, and Strype. The present ducal house of Rutland, and its branches of the name of Manners, derive descent from the legitimate line of York through this source.

them, nor suffer the like to be used in my house. And thus, my lord, with my hearty commendations, I wish unto you and the rest [of the council] as well to do as myself.—From my house at Kenninghall, 22nd of June, 1549.

"Your assured friend to my power,
"MARY."

The dispute gathered strength as it proceeded, and, in a letter written a few days after, she says, "Her poor sick priest, Hopton, has set out in obedience to their orders, though the weather was cold and stormy, and he likely to fail by the way."

This controversial correspondence with Somerset was suddenly interrupted by his deposition from the protectorship. The faction which had deposed him (the leaders of which were Dudley, Cranmer, and Northampton) addressed an extraordinary memorial to Mary, giving their own version of the transaction, written with natural partiality to their own cause and conduct. From this singular document we abstract the following particulars:—

TO MY LADY MARY'S GRACE AND MY LADY ELIZABETH'S GRACE.

"It may please your *grace*,[1] with our most humble and hearty commendations, to understand, that whereas some trouble hath chanced between us of the king's majesty's council and the duke of Somerset, and because the same may be diversely reported, we have thought it our parts to signify to your *grace* briefly how the matter hath grown, and by what means it hath now come to this extremity."

Many sentences then occur, accusing Somerset indefinitely of pride, ambition, and impracticability in business, and at last, with flying into violent courses because he suspected a cabal against him. As addressed to the princess Mary, the following narrative of the only misdemeanour that could be alleged against the hapless Somerset is very curious:—

"We," resume his accusers, "had not dined together above twice, but immediately he took the Tower, and raised all the country about Hampton-Court, *bruiting* and crying out 'that certain lords had determined to destroy the king's majesty,'—whom we pray to God on our knees to make as old a king as any of his progenitors! And when he had thus gathered the people together at Hampton-

[1] A duplicate of this state-paper was certainly sent to both sisters, as it is superscribed to both, but is only pertinent to Mary, as the contents will show. It is printed at length in Mr. Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol i. p. 248. Our readers are only offered the passages relative to Mary; the whole we earnestly recommend to the perusal of those really desirous of historical truth.

Court, he brought his majesty into the base-court there, and to the gate, causing him (good prince) to say to the people crowded round the gate, 'I pray you be good to us and our uncle!'"

The scene of this stirring historical drama, we consider, is that antique quadrangle in Hampton-Court which opens on the river, the bridge, and offices; this, we think, agrees with the term 'base-court.' It is little injured by the hand of innovation; and here imagination can picture the royal boy, with his noble-looking uncle, supplicating through the grate the motley crowd (assembled from the banks of the river and the adjacent hamlets) "to be good" to them. But this did not form the whole of the protector's harangue, which chiefly turned on a political intrigue he suspected his rivals meant to agitate with the princess Mary. The document proceeds,—

"When he, Somerset, began his oration to the people, and, among his other untrue and idle sayings, declared 'that we wanted to remove him from his office, because we were minded to have your grace [princess Mary] to be regent of the realm; dilating on what danger it would prove to his majesty to have your grace (who are *next in succession and title*) to be in that place, and that therein was meant a great treason,—which, as God knoweth, we never intended, and consider all laws touching the government provide to the contrary; neither have any of us all at any time, by word or writing, opened any such matter to your grace, as your honour knoweth."

This singular communication bears every appearance of a snare laid for Mary by Dudley. It opened to her a prospect, which she had never previously contemplated, of governing England as princess-regent, by the aid of his faction after the deposition of Somerset. Had she given way for one instant to the temptation of ambitious vanity, and encouraged Dudley by replying, "That, as *next in succession and title*, her appointment as regent was by no means an unreasonable step," she had been lost, for the same party afterwards conspired to invalidate her title and right of succession to the throne. She knew them well, and gave no encouragement to the subtle hint. The whole transaction has, till very recently, slept in the dim twilight of the State-Paper office. Most wisely does Mr. Tytler observe "that historical truth is progressive, of slow attainment, and to be found, if any where, in the original letters of the times." To this may we add that History, separated from the companionship of her sister

Biography, is an inexplicable riddle; for in the individual characters of rulers and princes, in their passions, interests, and good or bad principles, can alone be traced the springs of the outward and visible actions which history records. Dudley's despatch, after detailing many curious particulars relative to Edward VI. and Somerset, irrelevant here, concludes with the following strong canvass to enlist Mary on their side:—"We trust your grace, in our just and faithful quarrel, will stand with *us*, and thus shall we pray to Almighty God for the preservation of your grace's health."

It may be inferred, from Mary's kindness on her accession to Somerset's down-trodden and persecuted family, after his enemies had wreaked their final vengeance on him, that she by no means approved of his ruin and execution; and it is certain, from the immediate renewal of aggravated severities against her for the practice of her domestic worship, that "her grace did not stand" with his enemies, according to their earnest request. Indeed, Mary's utter retreat from all political agitation in her brother's stormy minority, was a respectable trait in her character, and coincides entirely with Pollino's narrative regarding her father's death-bed charge. Whenever she was at issue with the ministers of Edward VI., her disagreement was wholly personal, and never of a public nature. It was passive and defensive, and limited to repelling their interference with her domestic altar and worship; and when she resisted their attacks, she neither meddled with their intrigues, fomented their factions, nor encouraged their enemies.

When the Dudley regency arrested her chaplains for officiating in her chapel, she appealed to the emperor on the subject;[1] and his ambassador, April 19th, 1550, demanded of the privy council "that the lady Mary might have her mass, which was denied," says her royal brother, in his journal.

[1] Several of her letters to Charles V. are extant in the Burleigh Papers, (Haynes's Collection). They are inconsequential, being merely complimentary, and are not worth translating. Her confidential letters were in the Escurial. Great numbers of them were destroyed, in the beginning of the present century, by being used as waste paper, together with letters of the sisters and aunts of Charles V.

The denial was in ambiguous terms, since the imperial ambassador understood that "permission had been granted." Yet molestation to the princess continued during the whole year, and towards the autumn assumed a serious aspect. Meantime the duke of Brunswick became a suitor for her hand, but was informed by her brother "that don Louis, the infant of Portugal, was engaged in a marriage-treaty for the princess Mary, and when that was determined, he should be answered." The duke of Brunswick was the second illustrious wooer Mary had had from among the champions of the Protestant faith, and the marquess of Brandenburgh soon after offered her his hand. There seems, during the reign of Edward, to have been as many overtures for her marriage as when her father was alive. She gave her consent to the allegiance with don Louis of Portugal, but the match was never concluded.[1]

The emperor threatened England with war, if the lady Mary was not exempted from all penal law against nonconformity, which was at this time severe;[2] and when the young king positively refused to permit mass to be said in her chapel, the emperor Charles sent ships (commanded by one of his Flemings, named Scipperus) to hover off the east coast, to receive Mary on board and carry her to the protection of his sister, the queen of Hungary.[3] King Edward ordered sir John Gates to watch that his recusant sister was not stolen away from Newhall (which is situated near the mouth of the Blackwater, in Essex) to Antwerp. This measure was expected, because it was said at court "that more than one of her gentlemen had been to the coast, and examined the best places for her embarkation." Thus it appears her favourite

[1] Strype's Notes to Hayward's Edward VI. W. Kennet, vol. ii. p. 315.

[2] The first of these acts of parliament, enforcing conformity with the Protestant church of England under cruel penal laws, was just carried into effect. Joan Bocher was under sentence of the fiery death she afterwards suffered. Several Dutchmen, condemned to the flames, bore fagots to St. Paul's, and one was burnt to death. Sir Anthony Browne, a faithful and honest servant of the crown, and several more, were imprisoned in the Tower for catholicism. It must be remembered, that the great bulk of the English Catholics who had complied with the measures of Henry VIII. were not in communion with the pope, but it would be an historical absurdity to call them *papists* because they would not use the Common-Prayer.

[3] King Edward's Journal. Burnet, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 9–16.

seat of Newhall, or Beaulieu, was regarded with jealousy by the court.

The privy council endeavoured to entice Mary from the forbidden ground of Newhall, by amiable representations that the air of Essex was bad for her health, and the cause of a fit of illness which attacked her in the November of 1550; in answer, she wrote the following letter, which is pleasantly worded, and from which may be gathered information regarding her health and residences. It was probably addressed to the lord privy-seal, Bedford, with whom she was always on friendly terms:—

"My Lord,

"I most heartily thank you for your gentle and kind letters. And whereas it should seem to you, and others my friends, that the soil and air of this house might be the reason of my sickness, for recovery whereof you think it good I should remove from the same. My lord, the truth is, neither the house or the air is herein to be suspected, but the time of the year, being the fall of the leaf, at which time I have seldom escaped the same disease these many years; and the rather, to prove the air is not the evil, I have not at present (thanks be to God) any of my household sick. Notwithstanding, I had made my provisions at Wanstead and St. John's[1] this two months past, where I intended to have been all this winter; but by reason of one departed at Wanstead of the plague, who was buried in the churchyard, very near to my gate, I was driven from that house; and then my disease coming on me so sore, (hearing also that the air at St. John's was not clear,) I durst not venture to take so far a journey, the *stay* [delay] whereof was a grief to me, because the chief intent of the same was to see the king's majesty.

"So having no house of my own near hand, I thought it not meet to make more provision in any other, but determined to rest here[2] till Christmas was past, and caused mine officers to provide accordingly. Moreover, for the better amendment of my health, you so gently offer me the choice of any of the king's majesty's houses, or any other man's house, being meet, to be had, you would give order for the same. My lord, your gentleness in this, or in any other of my causes, doth appear so unfeignedly, that I have just occasion to think you my very friend; and not being otherwise able to recompense you, I shall pray for you.

"Hereafter, if I shall espy any house meet for my purpose, I shall make bold to require your favour therein; for I mean, if strength and health will suffer me, to change the air and house here for the cleansing of the same, and borrow my lord chancellor's house for ten or twelve days, who very gently hath offered me the same. And thus, with my most hearty commendations, I wish you well to do as myself.—From *Beaulieu*, [Newhall,] the 23 of November.

"Your assured friend to my power,

"Mary."

[1] St. John's is always alluded to as the town-house of the princess. It seems to have been St. John's, Clerkenwell, where the Hospitallers had been dispossessed of a magnificent mansion by Henry VIII.

[2] At Beaulieu, now Newhall, near Chelmsford.

This letter was so represented, that it produced the observation from the young king, in his journal, "that the lady Mary refused to come to him."

Throughout the winter a controversy continued regarding the ritual used in her chapel, which, at last, became so serious, that she resolved to appeal to her brother in person. The offence given by Mary was, that she did not have her service celebrated with closed doors, but permitted her neighbours to come in crowds to share in her worship. Mary was likewise accused of usurping the parish churches near her residences, occupying them with her chaplains, and causing mass to be celebrated therein; but bishop Ridley, in his narrative of his subsequent discussion with her, exonerates her from the charge by declaring that when he pressed the subject of preaching to her, she referred him "to the parish church at Hunsdon, as the proper place for his ministry."[1]

Familiar intercourse took place in the following year between the princess Mary and her kinswoman Frances Brandon, duchess of Suffolk, and her daughters. "In the fourth year of Edward VI., the duchess Frances came with a great retinue from Bradgate to Tilsey.[2] Ten gentlemen arrived from London to escort her to my lady Mary's grace, and after breakfast, November 21, the duchess Frances, with my lady Jane Gray, my lady Katharine Gray, and my lady Mary Gray, repaired to my lady Mary's grace. The first days of December lady Katharine Gray came back with her sister Mary to Tilsey, but lady Jane Gray was left at court as the guest of her cousin the princess Mary until the 16th of that month. When the princess bade farewell to her guest, lady Jane Gray departed in company with her father, her mother, and her uncles, the lord John and lord Thomas Gray, and rode with them to spend the Christmas at Tilsey.[3] The princess Mary sent one of her gentlemen with a message to the family party of the Grays, and he dined with them."

[1] Strype, vol. ii. part 2, p. 334.

[2] These extracts are from a precious unprinted MS. book belonging to lord Middleton, being a set of extracts made by capt. Willoughby, in December 1702, from the family papers in his brother's study at Wollarton, in Nottinghamshire.

[3] A seat of the Willoughbys. Lady Willoughby was lady Jane Gray's aunt, being lady Anne Gray, sister of the duke of Suffolk.

When the princess Mary was resident at Wanstead-house in the year 1552, she paid a state visit to the court of Edward VI. She rode from Wanstead, attended by a noble cavalcade of ladies and gentlemen, through Fleet-street to Westminster. Her intention was to make a personal appeal to her brother on the subject of the interruption his ministers were then offering to her domestic worship. Every one of her numerous retinue wore a black rosary and cross hanging at the girdle, a display which naturally gave rise to irritation, and caused infinite offence to the Protestant court of the young king.[1] "At the great gate of the palace she alighted, and Mr. Wingfield, comptroller of the king's household, and many lords, attended her there. And so she was brought through the hall unto the chamber of presence, and so she tarried there two hours, and ate a goodly banquet." Succeeding years have drawn the veil from "the two hours' conference," which was Mary's concern at court rather than the goodly banquet.

"The lady Mary, my sister," says young Edward, in his journal, "came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called with my council into a chamber, where was declared how long I had suffered her mass *against my will*,[2] in the hope of her reconciliation; and how, (now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters,) except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it." He told her, moreover, "she was to obey as a subject, not rule as a sovereign." Mary answered, "that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary words." She likewise offered "to lay her head on the block in testimony of the same." To which it appears the young king answered with some tender and gracious words. They are, however, recorded by his sister, and not by himself.

It is singular, that the same historians who have loaded young Edward with undeserved praise, have here accused him of designs on his sister's life. The truth is, no one talked of

[1] March 18. This Cottonian chronicler (edited by sir F. Madden, Privy-purse Expenses, p. cx.) dates Mary's visit to court a day earlier than her brother does in his journal. Strype's edition of the same adds the incident of the black rosaries.

[2] The king scored these words through in the journal, as if to expunge them.

cutting off her head but herself, and there exists her own evidence that her brother received her ardent proposals of martyrdom with gentle and soothing expressions.[1] Some alarm was evidently felt for the princess by the populace, whose idol she then was; but she seems to have parted on friendly terms with the king, whatever resentment she bore to the council, since she obtained leave to visit her favourite seat of Beaulieu (Newhall), in Essex. The chronicler before quoted continues, that after the goodly banquet, the same afternoon "she took horse and rode back to St. John's, Clerkenwell, and there she lay all night; and on the morrow her grace rode to Newhall, in Essex, and there bides with grace and honour,—thanks to God and the king her brother."

The king, it may be perceived by his journal, was personally aggrieved by the reluctance his sister Mary manifested at visiting his court; yet, had there existed no religious differences, the ceremonial imposed upon every one who approached the Tudor sovereigns must have been difficult for an invalid to support. "When one of the king's sisters eats with him," says the Florentine ambassador, Ubaldini, "she may not sit on a chair, but a mere bench, and so far distant from the head of the table and the king, that the canopy does not overhang her. The ceremonies observed before sitting down to table are truly laughable. I have seen, for example, the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, ere she took her place." The king was answered on the knee every time he addressed any one, even of the highest rank. Laughable it certainly was that the representatives of Owen Tudor should exact from their court almost oriental prostration, when it is evident, from the minute descriptions of Froissart, that the mightiest of the majestic Plantagenets, Edward III., required no such servility; but the law had been so altered by the slavish parliaments of Henry VIII., that the national high spirit of the English was crushed in the dust.

The very day after Mary's visit, the emperor's ambassador declared, that "If his master's kinswoman was any further

[1] See her letter, which is subsequently quoted at p. 412 of this volume.

molested in her religious rites, he should quit the country, preparatory to a declaration of war." The ministers, and even the bishops, of the young king assured him that war with the Low Countries would be utter ruin to England, and that he must wink at his sister's mass for awhile,—whereat he wept.[1] The enforced toleration did not last long; for Francis Mallet, the head chaplain to the princess's household, was seized, and confined rigidly in the Tower; a person was placed in his cell, night and day, to watch what he said and did. This was the more to be deplored, since Mallet had shown, by aiding Mary in the translation of Erasmus, a tendency to liberality of principles; and when such persons meet persecution, the mischief done to the general cause of Christianity is great, since all the tendencies to kindliness and mutual forbearance are changed into polemic fury. Mary's imprisoned chaplain had been esteemed by queen Katharine Parr: he was a retiring character, but a man of great learning and sincerity. He had been long in the service of the princess Mary, and it was to him she addressed the following words, at the end of a prayer she composed: "Good Francis, pray that I may have grace to obtain the petitions contained in this prayer above written. Your assured loving mistress, during life,—MARIE."[2]

When her old and tried friend was dragged from under her roof to prison, Mary wrote earnest letters of remonstrance to her brother and his council, but in vain. She continued, however, to have her religious service celebrated by her remaining chaplains, although, in the following August, another attempt was made to prevent it. The princess was at Copthall, Waltham, Essex, when the king and council sent for the comptroller of her household, Mr. Robert Rochester, with Mr. Walgrave and sir Francis Inglefield, her two other principal officers; and, after using many menaces and persuasions, charged them to return to their mistress, and inform her and her remaining chaplains that mass should not be continued; in short, these officers were charged to control the princess in

[1] Edward's Journal, as quoted in Lingard and Madden.

[2] Sir F. Madden's Privy-purse Expenses, p. cxxxvi.

her own house by altogether putting a stop to her religious service,[1] and if, in consequence, she discharged them from her service, they were to stay nevertheless, and enforce the king's orders.

Most unwillingly, and with heavy hearts, did Mary's officers receive the orders of the privy council, and return home charged with commissions to execute them. How they sped in their attempts to control their mistress their own words will best testify:—"We arrived at Copped-Hall, August 15, late in the evening; but as the following day was Sunday, and her grace was to receive the sacrament, we abstained from delivering the letters before noon, lest she should be disquieted." After dinner, they presented the letters delivered to them at Hampton-Court on the 14th; and when the princess had read them, they prayed her to be contented to hear the commission they had received of the council. To which her grace made answer, "that she knew right well that their commission agreed with the letters before her, therefore they need not rehearse it." They implored her to permit them to obey the council. "At last she consented to hear their message, but was marvellously offended when she heard it, and forbade them to declare the same to her chaplains and household; if they did, they must no longer consider her as their mistress,—moreover, she would leave the house directly." As during this interview they all observed "that her colour often altered, and she seemed passioned and unquiet, they forbore to trouble her farther, fearing that the troubling her might bring on an attack of her old disease;" they therefore begged her "to consider the matter within herself, and pause upon her answer to the council till the next Wednesday, when they would wait upon her grace again to hear further her pleasure;" adding that they did this, hoping "to find her more conformable." On Wednesday they found her any thing but conformable, for she would not permit them to declare their charge from the council to her chaplains and family, saying, "Her household were enjoying the completest peace and quiet; and if they chose to disturb her and them, and any ill should

[1] Privy Council-book. Likewise Ellis's Letters, first Series.

arise, they, the said Rochester, Inglefield, and Walgrave, must answer for the blame of it."[1] After this exhortation from their mistress, they preferred returning to the council without performing their commission, contenting themselves with bringing to Windsor, for his majesty, "letters from the lady Mary's grace, as followeth:"—

"My duty most humbly remembered to your majesty. It may please you to be advertised that I have by my servants received your most honourable letter, the contents whereof do not a little trouble me; and so much the more, for that any of my servants should move or trouble me in matters touching my soul, which I think the meanest subject in your realm could evil bear at their servants' hand, having, for my part, utterly refused heretofore to talk with them in such matters, and of all other persons least regarded them therein.

"To them I have declared what I think, as she which trusteth your majesty would have suffered me, your poor humble sister and bedeswoman, to have used the accustomed mass which the king, your father and mine, with all his predecessors evermore used, wherein also I have been brought up from my youth; and thereunto my conscience doth not only bind me, (which will by no means suffer me to think one thing and do *another*,) but also the promise made to the emperor by your majesty's council was an assurance to me, that in so doing I should not break the laws, although they seem now to qualify and deny the thing. And at my last waiting on your highness I was so bold as to declare my mind and conscience, and desired your highness, rather than constrain it, *to take my life;* whereunto your majesty made me a *very gentle answer*.

"And now I beseech your highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. Indeed, they may be signed with your own hand, and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known, that heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness that, though (our Lord be praised) your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion; and therefore I take it that the matter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves, by whose doings, your majesty not offended, I mean not to rule my conscience.

"And thus, without molesting your highness any farther, I humbly beseech the same ever, for God's sake, to bear with me, as you have done; and not to think that by my doings or example any inconvenience might grow to your majesty, or to your realm, for I use it not after any such sort, *putting* [having] no doubt but in time to come, whether I live or die, your majesty shall perceive mine intent is grounded upon a true love towards you; whose royal estate I beseech Almighty God long to continue, which is and shall be my prayer, according to my duty.

"And after pardon craved of your majesty for this rude and bold letter, if, neither at my humble suit nor for regard of the promise made to the emperor, you will suffer and bear with me as you have done till your majesty may be a

[1] See the original MS. Harleian, 352, fol. 186. It is printed, with some acute comments, in sir Henry Ellis's first collection of English Letters. The narrative of the unfortunate officers is drawn from a MS. belonging to the collection of sir T. Phillipps, at Middle Hill.

judge herein yourself, and right understand their proceeding, (of which yet I despair not,) rather than to offend God and my conscience I offer my body at your will, *and death shall be more welcome than life* with a troubled conscience.

"Most humbly beseeching your majesty to pardon my slowness in answering your letters, for my old disease would not suffer me to write any sooner. And thus I pray Almighty God to keep your majesty in all virtue, and honour, and long life, at his pleasure.—From my poor house at Copped-Hall (Essex), the 19th of August.

"Your majesty's most humble sister,

"MARY."

Edward VI. and his council took four days for the consideration of this letter, nor could they devise a more rational scheme of reducing the recusant princess to conformity, than by continuing to excite her own servants to control her; "who, being accustomed to render her implicit obedience," were, as she shrewdly remarked, "the last persons likely to enforce it." And so it proved; for when Robert Rochester, her principal officer, was brought before the king and council in order to receive a second code of instructions on his return to his vocation in the household of the princess, he flatly refused to carry any more messages, vowing "he had had enough of his first commission. They might send him to prison if they liked, but as to face his mistress on any such errands, he would *not*."[1] Sir Francis Inglefield and Mr. Walgrave were precisely in the same mind, refusing to intermeddle with the religious rites in the household of their lady, saying it was against their consciences.

The resolution of Mary's officers to endure any infliction rather than return to their mistress's residence with fresh orders for controlling her, placed the privy council in a dilemma; and they actually found no expedient, except carrying out their own enactments in person. Accordingly, a deputation of their body set off for the purpose of reducing the princess to obedience. The persons composing it were the lord chancellor Rich, sir Anthony Wingfield, (comptroller of the king's household), and Mr. Petre; they likewise brought a gentleman, who meant to favour Mary with his service in place of the impracticable Robert Rochester,—that faithful servant of the princess having been, on his refusing

[1] Privy Council-book, reign of Edward VI.

to exercise coercion, consigned prisoner, first to the Fleet, and then to the Tower. The proceedings of the privy councillors at Copt-hall cannot be better narrated than in the words of the lord chancellor[1] himself, who, in a very tragic tone, thus relates a scene, which, contrasted with the sad and tearful events of those times of terror, positively ends with a tinge of comedy:—"I, the lord chancellor, delivered his majesty's letters to the lady Mary, who received them on her knees, saying, that she would kiss the letter because the king had signed it, and not for the matter contained therein, which was merely the doings of the council. Reading it to herself, she said these words, in our hearing: 'Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much pains here.'" When they began to exhort her on the business they came on, she prayed them to be brief; "For," said she, "I am ill at ease in health, and I shall, mayhap, make you a short answer, having written my mind to his majesty with mine own hand."

Nevertheless, they proceeded in their exhortation, and offered to show her the names of all the council who had resolved she should not have the private mass in her house. "She cared not," she said, "for the rehearsal of their names, for she knew they were all of one mind therein. And," added she, "rather than use any other service than that ordained during the life of my father, I will lay my head on the block; but," she continued, "I am unworthy to suffer death in so good a cause. And though his majesty, good sweet king, have more knowledge than any other of his years, yet it is not possible for him, at present, to be a judge of all things; for instance, if ships were to be sent to sea, I am

[1] Privy Council-book, and Ellis's Letters, first Series. This lord chancellor Rich, on account of ill health, resigned the seals a few months afterwards.–See Edward VI.'s Journal. He was the same person who climbed into favour by the persecution of sir Thomas More, and whose perjured testimony was the only shadow of witness against him. He is the man who is accused by Fox of throwing off his gown and aiding Wriothesley in working the rack that tortured poor Anne Askew, in order to wring from her evidence to destroy queen Katharine Parr. Yet, in 1551, he voluntarily went to harass Mary into conformity with the very religion, for the profession of which he almost tore the tender frame of Anne Askew to pieces. Who will believe that this inconsistent persecutor had any real religion? He evidently had none, excepting a worldly idolatry for the will of the reigning sovereign.

sure you would not think him able to decide what should be done, and much less can he, at his age, judge in questions of divinity. Howbeit, if my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none, no more can my poor servants. As to my priests, they know what they have to do, if they refuse to say mass for fear of imprisonment; they may act therein as they will, but none of your new service shall be said in any house of mine, and if any be said in it I will not tarry in it an hour." They then told her how the king had commanded her comptroller, Mr. Robert Rochester, to enforce his council's orders, and how ill and inefficiently he and his colleagues had done the errand, and of their flat disobedience when commanded to return with a second message.

As might be expected, this information gave the princess Mary extreme satisfaction: friendless and oppressed she might be, but it was evident she was still absolute mistress in her own domicile, and her servants preferred gainsaying a king and his council to the task of contradicting her under her own roof. With true woman's wit she rejoined,—"It was not the wisest of all councils that sent her own servants to control her, in her own house; for, of all persons, she was least likely to obey those who had been always used to obey her implicitly. As for their punishment, the lords must use them as they thought fit;[1] but if they refused to do your message," added she, "they were the honester men, I wis."

Then the chancellor opened at length regarding the message of Charles V. in her behalf to the privy council, to which she replied,—"I have the emperor's letter, in his own hand-writing, testifying that an actual promise was made by the council that the mass should be permitted me, nor can you marvel that I credit the emperor's writing more than your words; and though you esteem the emperor so little, yet should ye show me more favour than ye do, even for my father's sake, who made the most of ye what ye be now,

[1] They were kept in prison during the remainder of the reign of Edward VI. (at least, Mr. Walgrave's family annals—see Burke's Peerage—affirm that he was found in prison by Mary at her accession). Mary remembered the fidelity with which they suffered in her cause, and bountifully rewarded them for all they had endured.

almost out of nothing." This observation must have been peculiarly cutting to those in her presence, since Henry VIII. had really raised them from the lowest rank of English gentry; and they were remarkable for no talent, excepting the art of skilful compliance with every persecuting whim of the sovereign that happened to be reigning, whether directed against Protestants or Catholics.

"As for the emperor," continued the princess, "were he dead, I would do just as I do now: notwithstanding, to be plain with you, his ambassador shall know how I am used."—"After this," resumes lord chancellor Rich, "she was told that the king had appointed a person to supply the place of her impracticable comptroller, Rochester, who was sent to prison for refusing to carry the messages of the council. 'I shall appoint mine own officers,' quoth she, 'for my years are sufficient for the purpose; and if ye leave your new comptroller within my gates, out of them I go forthwith, for we twain will not abide in the same house. And,' added she, 'I am sickly, yet will I not die willingly; but if I chance to die, I will protest openly that ye of the council be the cause of my death.' And having said this, she on her knees delivered a ring as a token to the king, saying, 'that she would die his true subject and sister, and obey him in all things except matters of religion; but this,' she added, 'will never be told his majesty.' And having said this, she departed into her bedchamber." Then the lord chancellor called the chaplains of her household before him, and commanded and threatened them if they said aught but the service contained in the Common-Prayer book. "The chaplains, after *some take*,[1] promised to obey."

When departing, the lord chancellor and his company went down into the court-yard and waited a few minutes, while search was made for one of the chaplains, who had got out of the way of the exhortation. Just then the princess, who, perhaps, was willing to divert their attention, opened a little window close by them; and though they offered "to return

[1] Perhaps 'some talk.' There is, however, an Anglo-Saxon idiom 'to take on,' signifying querulous lamentation.

to the house, to hear what she had to say," "she would needs," says my lord chancellor, "speak out of the window. 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'ask the lords of the council that my comptroller [Rochester] may shortly return; for since his departing I take the accounts myself, and, lo! have I learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat! I wis my father and mother never brought me up to brewing and baking; and, to be plain with you, I am a-weary of mine office. If my lords will send mine officer home again, they shall do me a pleasure; otherwise, if they send him to prison, beshrew me if he go not to it merrily, and with a good will. And I pray God to send you well in your souls, and in your bodies too, for some of you have but weak ones.'" It cannot excite surprise that the deputation waited not to hear any more of this address, to which the princess certainly gave a comic turn that few will expect from her. Thus she remained victor in the whole discussion, for it is not mentioned that the absentee chaplain was found; therefore, when the unwelcome visitors departed, this chaplain doubtless came out of his hiding-place, and performed the forbidden service as usual in the chapel.

These events took place just before the arrest and condemnation of the duke of Somerset to the scaffold: he had previously lost every shadow of power. Among other accusations, he was charged with having proclaimed to the people "that the Dudley faction had sown strife between the king and the princess Mary." In the succeeding April,[1] the united attacks of the small-pox and measles left a blight on the constitution of the young king, which too truly prognosticated his early death. Projects, in consequence, began to be formed for excluding Mary from the throne. The long fits of illness which afflicted her gave probability to the reports the Dudley faction raised, representing her, according to the Italian of Pollino, "as a poor, miserable invalid, fit for nothing but to be shut up in her palace;" nevertheless, many of the principal

[1] April 2, 1552. "I fell sick of the small-pox and measles. April 15. The parliament broke up, because *I* was sick and unable to go abroad. *I* signed some bills, and sent the lord chancellor, &c. to dissolve them."—Edward VI.'s Journal. Burnet, vol. ii part 2 p. 45.

lords of the kingdom were anxious for their daughters to serve her and be her companions, to whom she replied, "Do not marvel that I am obliged to decline receiving them, for my fortunes are such that I could neither benefit their prospects in life, or give them pleasure; and, though you kindly offer them, I could not receive services without rewarding them."[1]

The visits of the princess Mary to her brother, in the last year of his life, had become few and far between, and when they took place, were conducted according to the solemnest etiquette. One of these visits took place in June 1552. She previously spent some days in London, at her palace of St. John's, Clerkenwell, "from whence she rode with a goodly company of ladies and gentlemen, June 11th, to the Tower-wharf; there she took her barge, and was rowed to Greenwich-palace." Her interview with the king was, to take leave of him previously to his progress to Guildford.

The princess Mary received lady Jane Gray as her guest at Newhall, July 1552, during the king's progress. An anecdote connected with this visit proves that the religious rites of catholicism were, notwithstanding all opposition, still celebrated in Mary's domestic chapel; for lady Wharton, passing through the chapel at Newhall in company with lady Jane Gray, at a time when service was not proceeding, curtsied to the Host, which was in its usual place on the altar. Lady Jane asked, "If the lady Mary was present in the chapel?" Lady Wharton said, "No."—"Why, then, do you curtsy?" asked lady Jane Gray. "I curtsy to Him that made me," replied lady Wharton. "Nay," said lady Jane Gray, "but did not the baker make him?" Lady Wharton[2] reported this dialogue to the princess Mary, who never after loved lady Jane as she had done before. The

[1] Pollino, p. 75.

[2] Fox's Martyrology; but the dates and place are from Biographia Britannica. Lady Wharton is called, in the usual indefinite versions of this anecdote, lady Anne Wharton, and is supposed to have been a young companion of lady Jane, the difference between Anne lady Wharton, and lady Anne, not being in those days properly distinguished. She was, however, a lady of the princess's household, wife to sir Thomas Wharton, who, as one of Mary's officers, offered soon after the stirrup-cup to bishop Ridley. The second anecdote is recorded by Aylmer, Jane's tutor.

princess had previously presented lady Jane Gray with a rich dress, and her observations on the sinfulness of wearing it, mentioning Mary "as one who left God's word," probably found their way to the princess's ear, as well as into the narrative that recorded them.

It is possible that these incidents caused lady Jane Gray to be nominated as the successor of Edward VI.—a choice replete with calamity to her. The mad ambition of John Dudley, who had lately created himself duke of Northumberland, destined the English crown for his youngest son, lord Guildford Dudley, by means of marriage with one of the ladies of the blood-royal descended from the Protestant branch of Suffolk. At first, lady Margaret Clifford, the grandchild of Mary Tudor, the sister of Henry VIII. (by descent from her youngest daughter,) was the mate chosen for Northumberland's favourite boy.[1] Subsequently the faction became more daring or more desperate, as the king's illness took the form of consumption; and Guildford Dudley was matched three degrees nearer the throne with the fair and learned lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter of Frances duchess of Suffolk, who was heiress to the sister of Henry VIII. and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

The ensuing September was spent by the princess Mary at Hunsdon; and to this place, on the 8th of that month, the eloquent and zealous Ridley, then bishop of London, went from his seat of Hadham, close by, to pay her a pastoral visit. "He was courteously entertained by sir Thomas Wharton, and the other officers of the princess, till about eleven o'clock, when she came forth into her presence-chamber. He saluted her grace, and said he was come to pay his duty to her. The princess received the bishop courteously, and conversed with him right pleasantly for a quarter of an

[1] The jealousy of Dudley was low enough to make the opinion of a female servant a matter of state discussion. A woman belonging to the unfortunate duchess of Somerset (then a wretched widow, unjustly detained in the Tower,) was charged with having said, when this projected marriage was mentioned, "Have at the crown, by your leave!" and accompanied the words "with a stout gesture." The anger of Dudley shows that this surmise was detection. It is all the memorial that such a match was ever intended.—From MS. Harleian, edited by sir F. Madden, Privy-purse Expenses, p. 114.

hour." She told him "she remembered him when he was chaplain to her father; that she recollected a sermon he preached before the king, on occasion of the marriage of my lady Clinton[1] to sir Anthony Browne." She concluded by inviting him to dinner.

After dinner bishop Ridley told her "he came to do his duty by her as her diocesan, and to preach before her next Sunday." The princess blushed when she answered, (for emotion, it has been before noticed, always brought a lively colour to her cheeks,) and bade him "make the answer to that himself." Upon which he became more urgent, and she answered, "That the parish church would be open to him, if he had a mind to preach in it; but that neither she nor any of her household would be present." He said, "He hoped she would not refuse to hear God's word." She replied, "She did not know what they called God's word now, but she was sure it was not the same as in her father's time."—"God's word," replied Ridley, "was the same at all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other." She answered, "He durst not have avowed his present faith in her father's lifetime;" and asked, "if he were of the council?" He said he was not. When he retired, she said, "She thanked him for coming to see her, but not at all for his intention of preaching before her."

Before the bishop left Hunsdon, sir Thomas Wharton, steward of the household, according to the custom of the times, took him to the cellar,[2] or to the buttery-hatch, and presented him the usual stirrup-cup. When bishop Ridley had drunk, he said, "He had done amiss to drink under a roof where God's word was rejected; for he ought to have shaken the dust off his feet for a testimony against the house, and departed instantly." With these words he went his way, leaving all that heard him in the utmost consternation at his manner. Heylin,

[1] This was the fair Geraldine. It proves the princess Mary was at her wedding. These incidents are from Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, and were drawn from Dr. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley.

[2] This custom was in vogue in the middle ages as a trait of old English hospitality; persons of the highest quality were taken into the cellar to taste draught wine or ale, fresh from the cask, as Cavendish says the duke of Buckingham did in Wolsey's cellar.

in his version of the story, affirms that "they declared their hair stood on end at his denunciations."

The sincerity of both these opponents was unquestionable. Mary, pure in life, and unswerving in principle, was ready to lay her head on the block to testify her love for the faith in which she had been reared. Ridley was ardent in piety, and as poor (though bishop of London) as the apostles, to whom he compared himself,—so bountiful was he in charitable distribution. In a milder age, such persons would have respected each other's virtues, and tolerated difference of belief; but the mainspring of all the horrors of that dismal era was the fact, that if the word toleration was in use, it only served, on both sides, to nominate a crime. Nor was it till after as much Catholic blood had been shed by Elizabeth as would have fairly extinguished the hideous fires of the Marian persecution, that one glorious light of the reformed catholic church of England discovered the great Christian truth, that odious comparisons, bitter sarcasms, and other fruits of polemic argument excite combative anger, rather than feelings of Christian benevolence or veneration. It was holy George Herbert, the mild beams of whose tolerant faith were only diffused over *one* rural parish, who thus addressed his countrymen, just preparing, after a short breathing time, to rush into another religious civil war:—

> "Be calm in arguing, for fierceness makes
> Error a crime, and truth discourtesy.
> Why should I blame another man's mistakes,
> More than his sickness or his poverty?
> In love I may; but anger is not love,
> Nor reason neither, therefore gently move."[1]

As the young king's health declined, the homage offered to the princess Mary increased; and when she paid one of her state visits to him at Westminster, on occasion of the new year of 1553, her *cortège* was crowded with the principal nobility. An eye-witness[2] thus enumerates the leading persons who thronged to do her honour:—"My lady Mary's grace rode from St. John's, [Clerkenwell,] through Fleet-street, unto the king at Westminster, with a great number of

[1] George Herbert's "Temple, and other Poems," published in 1635. See his beautiful biography, written by a man of similar mind, Izaak Walton.

[2] Machyn's Diary, p. 30; Camden Society.

lords and knights, and all the great ladies. The duchess of Suffolk [Frances Brandon], the duchess of Northumberland [Anne Stanhope], my lady marquess of Northampton, and lady marquess of Winchester, and the countesses of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Arundel, my lady Clinton [the fair Geraldine], and my lady Browne and Browne,[1] and many *mo* ladies and gentlemen. At the outer gate of Westminster-palace there met her my lord [duke] of Suffolk, my lord [duke] of Northumberland, lord Winchester, lord Bedford, lord Shrewsbury, the lord chamberlain, the lord admiral, and a vast train of knights and gentlemen. And so she went up to the chamber of presence," which at Westminster must have been the Painted-chamber, "and there the king met my lady princess, and saluted her." It is worth remarking here, that the names of the political leaders who seemed most solicitous to do the honours of the court to the princess Mary on occasion of her visit to her declining brother, will subsequently be found prominent on the list of the council which strove to exclude her from the succession.

Mary retired, a day or two after this grand demonstration of her popularity at court, to her favourite seat of Newhall, where she passed the spring in tranquillity. In May the princess received false intelligence that the king was better, and addressed to him, in consequence, the following letter of congratulation :—

THE PRINCESS MARY TO EDWARD VI.[2]

"My duty most humbly presented to your majesty, it may please the same to be advertised, that as hearing of your highness's late rheum and cough was as much grief as ever was any worldly thing, even so the hope which I have conceived since I received your majesty's last token by my servant hath not been a little to my comfort, praying Almighty God, according to my most bounden duty, to give your majesty perfect health and strength, with long continuance in prosperity to reign, besecching your highness to pardon my bold and rude writing, and if in the same I do trouble your majesty at this present, (which I hope I do not,) that my humble duty and *nature* [natural feeling] which enforceth me thereunto, may excuse my default. Thus most humbly taking my leave of your majesty, I do, and shall, daily pray for the prosperous preservation of your royal estate as, of all others, I am most bound.—From Beaulieu [Newhall], the 16th of May, scribbled with a rude hand. [No year given.]

"Your majesty's most humble sister,

"MARY."

[1] One was the mother of sir Anthony Browne, the other the wife of sir Edward Browne.

[2] Strype, vol. ii. part 2, p. 110.

This was the last communication that passed between the princess Mary and her dying brother: his real situation was sedulously concealed from both his sisters, who, in distrust of the prevalent court faction, kept at some distance from the metropolis. At the end of May a splendid bridal festival was held at Durham-house, Strand, while the king was extremely ill; his accomplished kinswoman, lady Jane Gray, was married to lord Guildford Dudley, and her sister, lady Katharine Gray, to the heir of the earl of Pembroke.

King Edward expired at Greenwich-palace, little more than a month afterwards. He disinherited, by an illegal will, not only the sister whose religion he hated, but his Protestant sister Elizabeth, in order to bestow the crown on lady Jane Gray. It is a point that will admit strong historical controversy, whether, in this transaction, Edward was Northumberland's dupe or his victim.[1] The dominant faction, by means of doubling the guards round the royal apartments, contrived to keep Edward's death a secret from the public for two days, for the better arrangement of their plans. Meantime, one of the young Throckmortons was in the service of Dudley duke of Northumberland, and as he waited in his chamber at Greenwich-palace, he overheard a conference between him and sir John Gates, which took place when the duke was in bed, early in the morning after the death of the young king. These two confederates were discussing the destination of the princess Mary, when young Throckmorton heard sir John exclaim sharply, "What, sir! will you let the lady Mary escape, and not secure her person?"[2] No more met the listener's ears, but those words fell not unheeded.

When the council met, a deceitful letter was agreed upon

[1] A contemporary, sir John Hayward, declares, that in his decline king Edward suffered agonies of regret for the deaths of both his uncles, the Seymours. The unfeeling expressions in his egotistical journal, by no means agree with this sensibility, and his personal evidence was murderous against both. All this might have been done under strong coercion. The MS. of the Throckmorton family confirms Hayward's assertions; viz. that the young king abhorred Northumberland, on account of his uncles' deaths; and, as sir Nicholas Throckmorton was a close attendant on Edward's person, (the only one who was not Northumberland's spy,) the tradition he left deserves great attention. Sir James Melville, another contemporary, gives similar evidence.

[2] Bishop Goodman's Memoirs, 161.

and written to Mary, saying "that her brother, who was very ill, prayed her to come to him, as he earnestly desired the comfort of her presence, and likewise wished her to see all well ordered about him." Mary, who had watched over his infancy, appears to have been melted by this appeal; she returned a tender message, expressive of her pleasure "that he should have thought she could be of any comfort to him." She set out immediately from Hunsdon, and got as far as Hoddesden, when a mysterious messenger met her, sent, some historians say, by the earl of Arundel, some by sir Nicholas Throckmorton: she learned, however, that her sisterly affection had been imposed on, that the king was dead, and that she was destined to imprisonment in the Tower. The private memorials of the Throckmorton family describe how this was effected.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who had been present at the king's death, came in great grief to Throckmorton-house, in the city, where his father and three brothers were assembled, to whom he revealed the king's death, and the intended proclamation of Northumberland's daughter-in-law as queen. To this information the brother, who was in the household of the duke of Northumberland, added what he had heard pass between his master and sir John Gates. At the same time sir Nicholas Throckmorton must have obtained the intelligence that it was Northumberland's strong detestation of the princess Elizabeth, rather than "dislike to Mary," that was his motive of action.[1]

The Throckmortons, agreeing in enmity to the aspiring house of Dudley, resolved that timely notice should be given to the princess Mary, and therefore called into consultation her goldsmith, who undertook to carry the important message: he set out accordingly to meet her, and was undoubtedly the man who intercepted her at Hoddesden, and revealed the real state of affairs.[2] Mary showed indications of great per-

[1] Throckmorton Despatches, Hardwicke Papers. The remark was made to queen Elizabeth herself, and probably had some connexion with her attachment to young Robert Dudley.

[2] Cole's MS. vol. xl., British Museum, fully confirms the statement that Mary's goldsmith gave her the warning, and the whole of the facts quoted above.

plexity at the information. She asked her goldsmith, "How he knew for a certainty that the king was dead?" He answered, "Sir Nicholas knew it verily." His authority was exceedingly mistrusted by Mary, for as sir Nicholas Throckmorton[1] had assumed the phraseology of the most violent Calvinists at the court of Edward VI., she could not believe that his intentions were friendly to her cause. She dreaded that a trap was laid to seduce her into an overt act of treason, by proclaiming herself the sovereign of England while her brother was living. After musing some time, she said to her informant, the goldsmith, "If Robert had been at Greenwich, I would have hazarded all things, and gaged my life on the leap."[2] She meant the elder brother of sir Nicholas, sir Robert Throckmorton, for whom she had always the greatest esteem. The deliberations of the princess were settled by the elder Throckmorton,[3] who had taken the resolution of meeting the princess, and confirming the message his sons had sent by her goldsmith. Mary then diverged from the London road towards Suffolk, with all her train. These events must have occurred on the afternoon of the 7th of July.

The fugitive heiress of England bent her flight in the direction of Cambridgeshire, as the nearest way to her seat of Kenninghall, through Bury St. Edmund's. As the soft shades of a July night fell round her hasty course over those desolate plains which are intersected by the eastern road,—once so familiar to the pilgrims bound to the Lady shrine of Walsingham, and since as much traversed by the frequenters of Newmarket,—the ladies and cavaliers of her faithful retinue began to discuss the recent death of the young king. They were all Roman-catholics, and, of course, viewed the

[1] In Jardine's State Trials the above statement is corroborated by the affirmation that Mary received this timely warning through Throckmorton; and in Mr. Tytler's acute examination of all the windings of Cecil's duplicity, it appears, from a document at the State-Paper office, that Cecil adroitly shifted the proclamation of queen Jane on Throckmorton's back, saying, in his paper of apologies, "I refused to make the proclamation, and turned the labour on Mr. Throckmorton, whose conscience I saw was troubled therewith."

[2] Sir Charles Throckmorton's MS.

[3] Goodman, 161: he adds that Mary, in acknowledgment of this service, made the elder Throckmorton chief-justice of Chester; and that, in remembrance, after her death he always prayed for her soul when he said grace at his dinner.

changes of the eventful times wholly according to their prejudices. They recalled, with awe, that the only heir-male of the line of Henry VIII. had expired on the very anniversary of the lawless execution of sir Thomas More.[1] It was in vain that king Henry had overthrown all existing impediments, and set at nought the lives of thousands in his wilfulness, since his frantic desire of continuing his name and sceptre by heirs-male was now as much blighted as if the divorce of Katharine of Arragon and the awful bloodshed which stained his latter years had never taken place.

Wearied and worn, the whole party arrived at the gate of Sawston-hall, in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, and by the advice of Andrew Huddleston, one of Mary's gentlemen, craved the hospitality of Mr. Huddleston, its owner, his kinsman. That gentleman, like his namesake, who in after times watched the royal oak at Boscobel so well, was a zealous Roman-catholic. He knew, though Mary might not, how inimical his neighbours of the town of Cambridge were to her cause, as lineal heiress of the crown. Huddleston was, nevertheless, too true a gentleman to refuse shelter to the way-wearied princess and her harassed retinue, though there can be little doubt but that he must have foreseen the perilous consequences which threatened himself and his Lares and Penates.

Mary lodged that night under the hospitable roof which was never more to shelter a human being. She was astir, with her ladies and retinue, before sunrise. There was need, for the alarm came that the Protestants had risen in Cambridge, and were marching to destroy her. Her party were forced to disperse in different disguises from the devoted hall of Sawston, but they commenced not their arduous journey till they had offered up their devotions according to the rites of their religion.[2] Very early in the morning, Mary set out

[1] Heylin's Reformation, p. 154. The names of Mr. and Mrs. Bassett, the son-in-law and daughter of Margaret Roper, soon after occur in the list of queen Mary's household; and this incident makes it probable they were in her service at this crisis.

[2] See Fox's Martyrology, who mentions, in his biography of Dr. Edwin Sandys, "that popish books, used in celebrating mass when queen Mary lodged

on her journey to Kenninghall. Some Cambridge traditions say that the princess left the house in the disguise of a market-woman, riding behind Mr. Huddleston, who was dressed in the livery-coat of one of his own servants;[1] but it is more probable that the cavalier who escorted her was his kinsman Andrew Huddleston, as she made him for his services captain of her guard.[2] When Mary gained the rise called the Gogmagog hills, she turned her steed, and looked back on Sawston-hall.[3] At that moment it burst into flames, for the party from Cambridge adverse to her cause had mustered early in the morning, to attack the house that harboured her. If they had not amused themselves with plundering and burning Sawston-hall, they might have seized Mary, so close were they on her traces. She gazed on the flaming pile undauntedly. "Let it blaze," she said; "I will build Huddleston a better." She kept her word; the present Sawston-hall was built by her order, and at her expense.

Mary was received loyally at Bury St. Edmund's, yet she made no further stay there than for the noon refreshment. The news of the death of Edward VI. had not yet reached that town, and Mary's retinue accounted for their hurried journey by asserting "that one of the household at Hunsdon had died suddenly, suspected of the plague; therefore the fear

near Cambridge, at Mr. Huddleston's, during her flight into Suffolk, were captured at the destruction of the said person's house." In this passage does Fox fully confirm some of the leading facts of the above narrative, which is drawn from the local history of Sawston, and the traditions of the Huddleston family. Thus, from the narrative of the Protestant martyrologist, and the history of an ancient Catholic family, the movements of queen Mary, during the important forty-eight hours which occurred between the noon of July 7th and that of July 9th, (when she dates from Kenninghall,) are satisfactorily identified.

[1] Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. p. 177.

[2] He was the husband of her favourite god-daughter, Mary Hutton, of Hutton John, in Cumberland, and the direct ancestor of father John Huddleston, o faithful memory.

[3] Sawston is a pleasant village about seven miles from Cambridge, seated in a fertile valley, shaded with groves of rich foliage. The north is bounded by the Gogmagog hills, which, contrasted with the extensive plains spreading on that side of England, appear to the eye of the traveller as miniature Apennines. On a green in this romantic village stood a beautiful cross, where justice is said to have been administered anciently. This structure was so much venerated, that it even survived the religious civil wars of England, but was demolished in the present century.

of communicating that disease prevented them from tarrying in populous neighbourhoods, and caused their retreat into the depths of the country."[1] The same night Mary crossed the river which separates Suffolk from its sister county, and arrived safely at her seat of Kenninghall, in Norfolk. There was little rest for her, either in mind or body. By that time the news of the death of the king, her brother, was generally known, and it was necessary for her to take immediate steps for the assertion of her title to the throne. She instantly penned a remonstrance to the privy council, mentioning her brother's death with feeling, and further declaring that she was aware of their inimical projects; but she concluded with the offer of amnesty and favour if they relinquished the same, and proclaimed her in London as their sovereign. This despatch was dated Kenninghall, July 9th.[2] The council proclaimed lady Jane Gray queen on the 10th of the same month. Their reply to Mary was peculiarly aggravating: they branded her in gross terms with illegitimacy, and advised her to submit to her sovereign lady queen Jane.

Mary immediately took prompt measures for maintaining her right, and certainly displayed, in the course she pursued, a union of courage and prudence. She had neither money, soldiers, nor advisers: sir Thomas Wharton, the steward of her household,[3] Andrew Huddleston, and her ladies, were her only assistants in the first bold step she took. Had she been surrounded by the experienced veterans in arms and council that rallied round her sister Elizabeth at Tilbury, more sagacious measures could scarcely have been adopted; and had Elizabeth been the heroine of the enterprise instead of Mary, it would have been lauded to the skies as one of the grandest efforts of female courage and ability the world had ever known. And so it was, whether it be praised or not.

Sir Henry Jerningham and sir Henry Bedingfeld brought their Norfolk tenantry to her aid before she left Kenninghall, which she did on the representation that the country was too

[1] Bishop Godwin's Life of Mary.

[2] See document and answer, in Holinshed. Some historians say lady Jane was proclaimed on the 9th.

[3] Bishop Godwin's Life of Mary. White Kennet, vol. ii. p. 330.

open, and the house not strong enough to stand a siege. She resolved to fix her head-quarters within an easy ride of the eastern coast, whence she could, on emergency, embark for the opposite shores of Holland, and seek the protection of her kinsman, the emperor Charles V. With this intention she left Kenninghall July 11th, mounted on horseback; and, attended by her faithful knights and ladies, she never drew bridle till she reached the town of Framlingham, which is deep embosomed in the Suffolk woodlands, and situated about twenty miles from Kenninghall. The treble circle of moats which girdle the hill-side, town, and fortress of Framlingham were then full and efficient, and the whole defences in complete repair. Mary arrived there after nightfall, at the head of a little cavalry force destined to form the nucleus of a mighty army. The picturesque train of knights in warlike harness and their men-at-arms, guarding equestrian maids of honour with the heiress of the English crown at their head, wended their way by torchlight up the woodland eminence on which the Saxon town of Framlingham is builded. Thus they passed the beautiful church where the bones of the noble poet Surrey have since found rest,[1] and ascended the mighty causeway over two deep moats, and paused at length beneath the embattled gateway, surmounted then, as now, by the arms of Howard.

Directly Mary stood within the magnificent area formed by the circling towers of Framlingham-castle, she felt herself a sovereign; she immediately defied her enemies, by displaying her standard over the gate-tower, and assumed the title of queen-regnant of England and Ireland.

[1] It has been a disputed point whether the body of Surrey was ever transferred from its ignoble place of sepulture in Aldgate church, where it was interred after his execution, because the vault of Framlingham church, beneath the tomb reared to his memory by his grandson, was found clean swept and empty. In a recent examination, however, the bones of a man were found enclosed in the tomb itself, directly beneath the fine portrait statue of Surrey, which reclines above the slab. The tomb is a large square structure, capable of containing several coffins.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER IV.

Queen Mary raises her standard at Framlingham—Her Suffolk partisans—Revolution in her favour—Her triumphant progress to London—Reception—Arrival at the Tower—Releases prisoners—Religious contests—Lady Jane Gray's letter to queen Mary—Queen's conduct to the princess Elizabeth—Her engagement to Philip of Spain—Bell named in her honour—Her wish to resign church supremacy—Letter of Charles V.—Queen rewards her friends—Restores the duke of Norfolk—Queen's musical establishment—Preparations for coronation—Procession through the city—Coronation—Queen opens parliament—Remits taxes—Repeals her brother's religious laws—And her father's criminal laws—Her legitimacy confirmed—Lady Jane Gray tried and condemned—Queen's dialogue with Gardiner—She pardons Dr. Sandys—Parliamentary objections to her marriage—Discontents regarding Elizabeth—Queen dissolves parliament—She sceptres her acts of parliament—Count Egmont negotiates the queen's marriage—Articles made public—Extensive rebellions thereon—Wyatt's insurrection.

The royal standard of England had not floated many hours over the towers of Framlingham-castle, before the chivalry of Suffolk mustered gallantly round queen Mary. Sir John Sulyard, the knight of Wetherden, was the first who arrived to her assistance, and to him was given the honourable post of guarding her person.[1] Sir Henry Bedingfeld's Suffolk tenants[2] came in, completely armed, to the amount of 140 men, and Mary appointed their zealous master knight-marshal of her hourly increasing host. The young grandson of the imprisoned duke of Norfolk, lord Thomas Howard,[3] then seventeen, appeared as one of the queen's defenders, and there is no question but that the adherents of his house

[1] Green's History of Framlingham, p. 77; likewise bishop Godwin's History of Mary.

[2] He had possessions at Ridlington, near Framlingham, as well as in Norfolk.

[3] Lingard.

crowded round the banner of the disinherited heir of the murdered Surrey. Meantime, sir Henry Jerningham undertook a most dangerous commission at Yarmouth, the success of which finally turned the scale in Mary's favour.

One of the reasons that prompted Mary to raise her standard in Suffolk, was the detestation in which the usurper Northumberland was held, on account of the tremendous cruelties he had perpetrated when Kett's rebellion for the restoration of the ancient ritual was crushed in blood in the eastern counties.[1] Sir William Drury, knight of the shire for Suffolk, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, high sheriff, soon joined the queen's muster at Framlingham; likewise sir John Shelton and sir John Tyrrel, both very zealous Roman-catholics. An extraordinary misapprehension exists, that Mary's recognition as queen was chiefly enforced by the Protestants of Suffolk; yet the leaders of her Framlingham force were not only Roman-catholics, but most of their descendants are so to this day. Her army soon amounted to 13,000 men, all voluntarily serving without pay, though the queen prudently directed, "that if any soldier seemed in need of aught, his captain was to supply his wants as if by way of gift, and charge the expense to her." In an incredibly short time a populous camp rose around the ancient walls of the castle, within whose mighty circle the queen herself sojourned.

Framlingham-castle was founded, in the Saxon heptarchy, by king Redwald; it remained a royal demesne till Henry I. granted it to earl Bigod, to whom the present structure is attributed. Subsequently it was given by Edward I. to his second son, Thomas of Brotherton, and from him it descended to the Howards, the dukes of which race made it their principal residence. The site of the castle is a high mound, from whence springs the source of the river Orr. This stream supplied the three moats, which are in the summer season gaily enamelled with golden irises. On the edge of the mound is reared a magnificent circle of walls and towers,

[1] To this fact Fox bears evidence, though it is in direct contradiction to his preceding words; for, if the Protestant interest were prevalent in Suffolk, why should the Dudley faction have been so abhorred for the suppression of this rebellion?

enclosing an area of more than an acre. These walls remain to this day nearly entire; they are forty feet in height, and more than eight feet in thickness, and are studded with thirteen square towers. Within the area surrounded by these bulwarks once stood the baronial residence occupied by queen Mary; the fragments existing are small, yet the traces of the state apartments are, as it were, curiously mapped upon the mighty walls which once sustained them. After crossing a walled causeway over the double moat,[1] and passing through the gate-tower, the spectator enters the spacious area. To the right, nearly opposite, are seen several chimneys, whose summits are hollow pillars of wreathed brickwork, very elaborately wrought. The chimney of the state bedchamber, on the second floor, still remains; on one side of it is a recess about the size of a dressing-room, with an arched window looking towards the east: this is declared by tradition to have been Mary's chamber, but it is evidently the oriel or private oratory pertaining to her state chamber, which, of course, was the room to which the chimney belonged.

At the time Mary took refuge in the castle, every thing was in the same order as when the old duke of Norfolk surrendered it into the hands of his ungrateful master, Henry VIII. When he found the Seymours[2] bent on the downfall of his house, he requested that the king would be pleased to bestow his possessions on the royal children, "because," as he said, "it was stately gear." At the same time, the experienced statesman calculated shrewdly on its restoration, a result that he actually lived to effect. Framlingham appears

[1] For most of the topographical information relating to the spot, the author is indebted to the excellent History of Framlingham by Mr. Green, who likewise courteously aided the writer in the examination of the castle, giving such valuable explanation of the scene as alone can be afforded by one who has carefully studied the localities.

[2] The Seymours had marked this noble property as their prey, and were much disappointed at its disposal. The disgusting rapacity with which the duke of Somerset and his younger brother Henry divided the wearing-apparel of the earl of Surrey, (who was sacrificed to their faction,) raises a feeling of loathing stronger even than the other iniquities connected with his death. The shirts and stockings of the victim were not deemed beneath the consideration of "these *new* nobles," as Surrey contemptuously called them. Certainly, whatever new nobles might do, no real gentleman would have worn his old caps, doublets, and stockings, nor are there such instances of personal meanness to be found excepting in that age.

to have been retained in the hands of Edward VI.; but its governor, Thomas Sheming, evidently adhered to the ancient ritual, and was consequently willing to surrender it to Mary, as queen. A Roman-catholic priest, named sir Rowland, still officiated in the private chapel, where a lamp burnt perpetually. The chapel was hung with tapestry, representing the life of Christ. The size of the gable of the chapel, and the form of its crockets, may be plainly traced on the wall; likewise a few small windows, belonging to a gallery leading from the state chamber occupied by Mary to the chapel. The tapestry which hung in the state apartments was transferred from Framlingham to Audley-End, by lord Howard of Walden; and even in the succeeding century was so good and rich, that William III. sent it to one of his palaces in Holland,[1] where it is, perhaps, at this day.

The local traditions of Suffolk affirm that queen Mary came to Framlingham on the 10th or 11th of July, and remained there till the 31st: many circumstances prove their correctness. None of her Kenninghall despatches and state papers are dated later than the 9th of July; and as she was certainly proclaimed queen at Norwich on the 12th of the same month,[2] she naturally retreated to a place of security before that hazardous step was taken. From the steeple of the church of Framlingham the sea-port of Aldborough may be seen. The castle stands at a much greater elevation, and its highest watch-tower, when entire, commanded a view of the German ocean, and all that passed near the coast, which circumstance was likely to prove of great utility to Mary, who meant to retreat, in case of danger, by the nearest road to the sea. To this day a lane, about a mile and a half from

[1] Green's Framlingham.

[2] See Speed, a contemporary. All local authorities declare that Mary was not proclaimed queen till she went to Framlingham-castle; but, as she was indubitably proclaimed at Norwich on the 12th of July, the author is convinced the 11th was the true date of her removal from Kenninghall, and not the 16th, as stated in history. In fact, the struggle was decided on the 19th, and there was not time for the events to have happened between the 16th and the 19th which settled Mary on the throne, or for the news to have reached London, and to have the effect there of causing her proclamation; therefore the author prefers her native topographical records.

the castle, leading to the coast, is called 'bloody queen Mary's lane,' because it is reported she used to walk there,—that is, like a prudent general, she surveyed the roads by which retreat was to be made, if needed. The close and winding lanes which led through the forest surrounding Framlingham-castle, were rendered impassable by trees felled and thrown across them.[1]

The crisis of extreme danger occurred about five days after Mary had retired to Framlingham, when six ships of war were seen to sail past the Suffolk coast, making for Yarmouth-roads. Now there were stout hearts and strong hands at Framlingham, but no other artillery or instruments of war than those carried by the cavaliers at their belts or saddle-bows, while the infantry had to depend on push of pike, or blow of axe or brown-bill. The ships seen passing had been despatched by the privy council to carry cannon and warlike stores for the siege of Mary's castle, and likewise to intercept her if she attempted to retreat to the emperor's dominions. Sir Henry Jerningham was at Yarmouth when the fleet, under pretence of stress of weather, came close to the harbour, and he boldly went out in a boat to hail them. "Upon which," says Speed, "these sea-soldiers demanded 'what he wanted?' 'Your captains,' replied the intrepid knight, 'who are rebels to their lawful queen, Mary.'—'If they are,' replied the men of war, 'we will throw them into the sea, for we are her true subjects.' Upon which the captains surrendered themselves, and sir Henry and the Yarmouth burgesses took possession of the ships."

Another favourable incident to Mary's cause occurred simultaneously with the surrender of the fleet. She had, among her numerous letters written on the 9th of July, before she left Kenninghall, sent one claiming the allegiance of sir Edward Hastings,[2] who had been commissioned by the adverse party to raise four thousand men for queen Jane, in Middlesex and Buckinghamshire. Sir Edward was brother to

[1] An Italian authority, quoted by Sharon Turner, reign of Mary, p. 360.

[2] This document, printed by Strype, in his Notes to bishop Godwin's History, is dated July 9th.

the earl of Huntingdon, (who was closely allied by a marriage, or contract, with a daughter of Northumberland,) but they were, at the same time, great-nephews to cardinal Pole, being grandsons to the murdered lord Montague, whose heiress had married the late earl of Huntingdon.[1] When sir Edward Hastings had raised a large force in the name of Jane, he proclaimed Mary as his rightful queen, and thus placed at her disposal a great body of militia close to London. The defection of the fleet at Yarmouth could scarcely have reached lady Jane Gray's privy council when this revolt, so near to them, struck terror through their hearts. The first indication of good-will the metropolis showed towards Mary's right of succession, was on the morning of the 16th of July, when a placard was found posted on Queenhithe church, importing that she had been proclaimed queen of England and Ireland in every town and city therein, excepting London. The same day the earl of Sussex and the earl of Bath seceded from the council; they took their way to Framlingham, at the head of their armed vassals.

The queen had, directly on her arrival, formed a privy council at Framlingham-castle, who were soon in active correspondence with the municipal authorities at Harwich, Thetford, Norwich, and Ipswich. So early as July 16th, Mr. Smith,[2] the clerk of the Framlingham council, reported a despatch from Mr. Brande, "that sir Edward Hastings, and 10,000 of the militia of Oxford, Bucks, Berkshire, and Middlesex, had mustered on July 15th at Drayton, lord Paget's seat, with intention of marching to seize the palace of Westminster and all it contained, in behalf of the queen's right and title." The mayor and corporation of Thetford begged for aid from the queen's head-quarters at Framlingham, but were answered, by Mary's orders, "that the pride of the enemy they would see in short time abated; therefore they of Thetford will be out of all doubt of their conceived fear." The same day "all the ships in the harbour of Har-

[1] See Milles' Catalogue of Honour, Burke, and every genealogical work.

[2] We think this early adherent of Mary is the same sir Thomas Smith who occupied the post of clerk of the privy council in the reign of Elizabeth.

wich declared for the queen, having deposed sir Richard Broke, and other captains, from their command." The queen directed stores of ammunition to be instantly forwarded to Framlingham from these ships, and commissioned one of the captains, John Basing, to resume the command of his vessel. "The day after, John Hughes, the comptroller of the customs at Yarmouth, and John Grice, captain of a ship of war, called the Greyhound, submitted *themselfs* to the queen's mercy, and were sworn in her service." She ordered all the ordnance and shot from the Greyhound to be brought to Framlingham that could be possibly spared from its own defence. The same day she sent orders for certain chests, containing church plate and money, at Norwich, to be opened in presence of the mayor, and the treasure conveyed to her at Framlingham by Austin Steward, at whose house the chests had remained; likewise she demanded a number of bakers to be sent from Norwich, and 300 quarters of malt were brewed at Orford. Three brass pieces of ordnance, which were at Aldborough, ready mounted, the queen required to be sent from thence. A proclamation of defiance to Northumberland was issued forth, July 18th, from Framlingham-castle, offering 1000*l.* in land to any noble, 500*l.* to any gentleman, and 100*l.* to any yeoman, who brought him in prisoner to the queen.[1]

Five hundred men were appointed to guard the queen within the walls of her fortress of Framlingham;[2] and no persons, whether coming to submit themselves or otherwise, were permitted to approach her without order from the council. She commanded all prisoners in the gaols of Suffolk and Norfolk to be freed,—a very doubtful policy in an unsettled time; it is, however, pretty certain they had been crowded with persons who had committed no other crime than expressing themselves favourably to her title while Edward VI. was declining. The queen likewise had the temerity to order, as early as the 22nd of July, sir Edward Hastings to dismiss his militia, and come to her, with lord Windsor. She seems

[1] Privy Council Journal, at Framlingham-castle. Haynes, pp. 155–160.
[2] Journal, Privy Council. Haynes, p. 159.

to have had from the first an extraordinary dislike to standing armies: perhaps they did not suit her rigid notions of state economy.

Northumberland, though at the head of an army at Cambridge, had employed himself rather in polemic than military warfare. He had requested Dr. Edwin Sandys,[1] the vice-chancellor of the university, and a very zealous Protestant, to preach a sermon against Mary's title and her religion. Whilst the sermon was proceeding, a yeoman of the guard held up to the public scorn a Roman-catholic missal and a *grayle*,[2] which had been captured the preceding night at Mr. Huddleston's house, where Mary had slept and heard mass during her late rapid journey into Suffolk. The next day news arrived of the revolution in London; and Northumberland, struck with terror, made a clumsy attempt to imitate his colleagues, by personally proclaiming queen Mary in Cambridge market-place, tossing up his cap, while the tears ran down his cheeks. Dr. Sandys, who stood by him, was a man of indomitable courage, mental and physical; he could scarcely conceal his scorn when the duke said to him that "queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that, doubtless, all would receive the benefit of her general pardon." Dr. Sandys bade him "not flatter himself; for, if the queen were ever so inclined to pardon, those who ruled her would destroy him, whoever else were spared." Then occurred a disgusting scene of treachery: sir John Gates, one of Northumberland's most guilty agents, arrested his master when he was personally helpless, with his boots half on and half off. This was a true specimen of the dishonourable spirit of the era. In a few hours Northumberland was again set at liberty: at last, all this anarchy was settled by the entry into Cambridge of the earl of Arundel with a body of the queen's troops. He arrested Northumberland, Gates, and Dr. Sandys, and sent them to the Tower.

[1] Afterwards made archbishop of York by Elizabeth.

[2] Fox's Martyrs, book iii. p. 763. The word 'grayle' is an old English corruption of the word *graduale*, and means a liturgical book, containing those passages of the psalms and holy writ sung between the chanting of the epistle and gospel. The desk at which the clerks were stationed who chanted this part of the service being raised by steps, it was called a *graduale*, and, in process of time, the books from which the chants were sung were known by the same name.

Several of Northumberland's party, after the arrest of their chief, hastened on to Framlingham in order to excuse themselves to queen Mary, under the plea that they were but obeying the orders of the privy council. Among these visitors were the marquess of Northampton and lord Robert Dudley. Bishop Ridley likewise presented himself at Framlingham, but was evilly received, and sent back, Fox declares, "on a halting horse." He was really arrested, and, with Northampton, sent to the Tower from the queen's camp on the 26th of July, on account of a sermon he had recently preached against her title, at St. Paul's-cross. The camp broke up at Framlingham the last day of July, when queen Mary commenced her triumphant march to the metropolis, from whence her sister Elizabeth set out the same day to meet her, at the head of a numerous cavalcade of nobility and gentry, amounting to a thousand persons. Among these were, in all probability, the privy council, who, it appears, met their sovereign at Ingatestone.

The queen's approach to her capital was gradual, and in the manner of a peaceful royal progress, receiving the homages of her faithful or penitent subjects at her various resting-places on the road. She arrived the first day at Ipswich, where she gave audience to Cecil, who had been despatched by the council with tidings, after the departure of Arundel and Paget; here he made such fluent excuses for all his turnings and tricks, and what he called "pardonable lies,"[1] that the queen told his sister-in-law, Mrs. Bacon, that "she really believed he was a very honest man." It is worthy of notice, that Mrs. Bacon, who was a learned Protestant lady, belonged to the queen's bedchamber, then and afterwards, and had access to her in private conversation. The queen, however, still required further explanation of some of Cecil's double dealings in the late usurpation. She moved next day to her favourite seat of Newhall, where Cecil presented her with a list of excuses, lately given entire to the world, which will remain

[1] He had previously forsaken Somerset, his benefactor, in the hour of adversity. His intercessor with the queen was his sister-in-law, wife of Nicholas Bacon, mother of the celebrated lord Bacon, and daughter to sir Anthony Cooke, the Protestant tutor of Edward VI.: she was lady Cecil's sister. He had previously married a daughter of sir John Cheke.

an example of the shamelessness of a climbing statesman to all futurity.[1] The queen next proceeded to the seat of sir William Petre, at Ingatestone, where the council, who had lately defied and denied her, were presented to her for the purpose of kissing her hand. Cecil kissed the royal hand "before any other of the council-men,"—so far had his apology satisfied the queen through the intercession of Mrs. Bacon, but his favour went no further; and, notwithstanding his sedulous compliances with catholicism, Mary never would listen to his ardent aspirations for office. The queen arrived at her seat of Wanstead on the 3rd of August, where she disbanded her army, excepting a body of horse,[2]—a bold measure, considering all that had recently been transacted in the metropolis; nevertheless, it was only a proper observance of the ancient laws and privileges of London.

Lord Arundel had previously arrived at the Tower, on the 27th of July, with Northumberland and the other prisoners brought from Cambridge. He received orders to arrest the duke of Suffolk and his daughter, lady Jane Gray, and lodge them in prison-rooms in the Tower. Frances, duchess of Suffolk, directly her husband was taken from her, hastened to meet the queen, and throwing herself at her feet, she lifted up her voice in piteous lamentation; she told the queen "that Suffolk was very ill, and would die if shut up in the Tower."[3] Mary was softened by her plaints, and granted the liberation of her husband,—"a wonderful instance of mercy," bishop Godwin observes. Thus unharmed in body or estate, Suffolk paid the penalty of but three days' imprisonment for his conspiracy with Northumberland. No pleadings are recorded of the

[1] This account of Mary's progress on her accession is gleaned from a curious document, edited by Mr. Tytler, among his state-papers of Edward VI. and Mary. It was written in the year 1573, at the request of Cecil, when he was prime-minister to queen Elizabeth, by his secretary, Roger Alford; and if the memorial of Cecil's conduct appears so disgusting to the lovers of truth thus compounded under his own eye, how would it appear if written by any one else? We have no concern with Cecil at present, excepting as he has interwoven himself with the progress of Mary, of which there is no other record; but those who wish to form a true estimate of him, must carefully peruse Mr. Tytler's second volume.

[2] Godwin. Martin's Chronicle.

[3] Holinshed. Godwin, p. 333. The plea of illness is mentioned in the narrative of Baccardo, published at Venice, 1558.

duchess Frances for her hapless daughter, lady Jane Gray, who might have been liberated on her parole with far less danger than her wrong-headed father. It was notorious that the duchess Frances was a very active agent in the evanescent regality of her daughter Jane; she had urged her unfortunate marriage, and had carried her train as queen.[1] She must, nevertheless, have fabricated some tale of coercion, since she was always treated with great distinction by her cousin, queen Mary, in the worst of times.[2]

The ladies who had accompanied the princess Elizabeth from London, were at Wanstead introduced formally to queen Mary, who kissed every one of them. Such is the tradition in a family whose ancestress attended that antique royal drawing-room. The queen was, on the 3rd of August, escorted from Wanstead by great numbers of nobles and ladies, who came to grace her entrance into her capital. A foreigner, who was an eye-witness, thus describes her appearance on this triumphant occasion:[3] "Then came the ladies, married and single, in the midst of whom rode madame Mary, queen of England, mounted on a small white ambling nag, the housings of which were fringed with gold. The queen was dressed in violet velvet; she seemed about forty years of age, and was rather fresh-coloured." The old city portal of Aldgate, at which the queen made her entrance into the metropolis, was hung with gay streamers from top to bottom; over the gateway was a stage with seats, on which were placed the charity-children of the Spital, singing sweet choruses of welcome to the victorious queen. The street of Leadenhall, and all down to the Tower, through the Minories, was clean swept and spread with gravel, and was lined with all the crafts in London, in their proper dresses, holding banners and streamers. The lord mayor with the mace was ready to welcome her, and the earl of Arundel with the sword of state. A thousand gentlemen, in velvet coats and richly embroidered cloaks, preceded queen Mary.

Next the queen, rode her sister Elizabeth; then the duchess

[1] Machyn's Diary.

[2] Fox complains that she took precedence of the princess Elizabeth at court.

[3] Perlin. Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 228. Mary was but thirty-seven.

of Norfolk and the marchioness of Exeter followed, and other noble dames, according to their connexion with the crown and precedence. The aldermen brought up the rear, and the city guard, with bows and javelins. The guard which accompanied Mary,—being 3000 horsemen, in uniforms of green and white, red and white, and blue and white,—were dismissed by the queen with thanks, and all departed before she passed the city gate.[1] Mary acted according to the intre pidity of her character in trusting her person wholly to the care of the civic guard; thus implicitly relying on the fidelity of a city where a rival had reigned but a few hours before. She bent her way direct to the Tower, then under the care of sir Thomas Cheyney, warden of the Cinque-ports. Here she meant to sojourn, according to the ancient custom of her predecessors, till the funeral of the late sovereign.

When Mary entered the precincts of the Tower, a touching sight presented itself to her. Kneeling on the green, before St. Peter's church, were the state-prisoners,—male and female, Catholic and Protestant,—who had been detained lawlessly in the fortress during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. There was Edward Courtenay, the heir to the earl of Devonshire, now in the pride of manly beauty, who had grown up a prisoner of the Tower from his tenth year; there was another early friend of the queen, the wretched duchess of Somerset; there was the aged duke of Norfolk, still under sentence of death; there were the deprived bishops of Durham and Winchester—the mild Cuthbert Tunstall and the haughty Stephen Gardiner, which last addressed a congratulation and supplication to the queen, in the name of all. Mary burst into tears as she recognised them, and, extending her hands to them, she exclaimed, "Ye are my prisoners!" She raised them one by one, kissed them, and gave them all their liberty.

The bishops were instantly restored to their sees; Gardiner was sworn into the queen's privy council (according to the evidence of its journal) so early as the 5th of August. The duke of Norfolk and earl of Devonshire were immediately

[1] Strype, vol. iii. p. 27.

restored to their rank and estates. The duke took his place with so little delay, that he sat as high-steward at the trial of the duke of Northumberland. Gertrude marchioness of Exeter, mother of Courtenay, was made lady of the bedchamber, with so high a degree of favour that she shared the bed of her royal kinswoman. The duchess of Somerset was liberated, and comforted by the preferment of her family,—her son, an infant minor, being restored to his rights,[1] and her daughters, lady Jane, lady Margaret, and lady Mary Seymour, (which last was one of the queen's numerous godchildren,) were appointed maids of honour. They were considered the most learned and accomplished ladies in Europe, excepting the queen herself, and her hapless rival in sovereignty, lady Jane Gray. The heirs of the three unfortunate gentlemen who had suffered with the protector Somerset were reinstated in their property; and, as Somerset's adherents were zealous Protestants, these actions of Mary, which indubitably sprang from her own free will, being at this juncture uncontrolled by council or husband, ought to be appreciated by those who are willing to test her character by facts.

The queen remained in privacy, sojourning at the royal apartments of the Tower, till after the funeral of her brother, which was performed with great magnificence. Many historical controversies exist regarding the religious rites of that funeral; but it appears that Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, performed the ceremony for the lamented Edward at Westminster-abbey, according to the ritual of the church of England. At the same time the queen and her ladies assisted at a solemn dirge and requiem for the repose of his soul, in her private chapel in the Tower. This arrangement, in which each party showed their respect for the memory of

[1] Not to the dukedom of Somerset. This was a royal title, to which the protector had ambitiously helped himself. He had caused his fairest daughter, lady Jane Seymour, to be elaborately educated, in hopes of matching her with Edward VI. (which intention the young king greatly resented). She died unmarried; so did her sisters, lady Katharine and lady Margaret. Lady Mary, the queen's godchild, married sir Henry Peyton. After the fall of their father, these ladies had been cantoned on their relations, being allowed, from the wreck of Somerset's fortune, miserable annuities.—Strype, vol. ii. p. 8.

the deceased according to their different modes of belief, was far too rational a method to suit the furious spirits of that dreadful era, and the religious war recommenced in the Tower chapel. A chaplain of the court, one Walker, approached with the censer to cense the queen, when Dr. Weston thrust him on one side, exclaiming, "Shamest thou not to do this office, being a priest having a wife? I tell thee the queen will not be censed by such as thou!"[1]

The queen, directly she arrived in London, published a pacific manifesto, exhorting each party to refrain from reviling by the epithets of idolater and heretic. Two proclamations of the kind had been published within a short time. The first promised liberty of conscience unconditionally; in the last a clause was introduced, which declared religion was to be settled by "common consent," meaning by act of parliament. Mr. Dobbs had previously presented a petition from the reformers of Ipswich, claiming protection for their religion on the faith of the queen's first proclamation; but Mr. Dobbs was set in the pillory for his pains,—a strange way of answering a petitioner. That, and several other deeds of the kind, emanated from the violent zeal of the privy council, which governed in London in the queen's name.[2] The most nefarious of their proceedings was the imprisonment of judge Hales, which brought great obloquy on Mary, though all she had to do with it was righting the wrong when it became known to her. Judge Hales had positively refused to have any concern in the disinheriting of Mary: he had boldly declared to Northumberland and his faction that it was against English law. With equal conscientiousness he had, at the assizes held at the usual time, in the last days of July, given a charge from the bench to the people of Kent, advising them to observe the laws made in king Edward's time, which were certainly in force while unrepealed. For thus doing his duty, he was committed to the Fleet prison by the officious privy council.[3]

[1] Strype, from Bale, vol. iii. p. 31.

[2] Machyn's Diary records the inflictions of poor Mr. Dobbs in these words: "The 29 of July, 1553, was a fellow set in the pillory, for speaking against the good qwen Mare." This was five days before the queen's arrival.

[3] Toone, the professed English chronologist, dates these outrages before the 3rd

Hales, despairing that justice would ever again visit his country, attempted his own life, but ineffectually. The queen's attention was drawn to Hales' unmerited sufferings, and she sent for him to the palace, "spoke many words of comfort to him," and ordered him to be set at liberty honourably.[1] He seemed composed and happy, but his mind had received an irremediable wound, for he destroyed himself soon after.

The violent party spirit that distinguished this council of interregnum, which governed the metropolis from Mary's proclamation to her arrival at the Tower, is extremely well portrayed by Mr. Edward Underhill, an accomplished Worcestershire gentleman, who, for his zéal in the Calvinistic religion, was called 'the hot gospeller.'[2] He belonged to the band of gentlemen pensioners. He had penned a satirical ballad against "papists," and for this squib was summoned before the council in authority, whilst the queen was in Suffolk. After much brow-beating, Edward Underhill was committed to Newgate. He was an elegant lutanist, and was advised by his friends to play much on the lute while in prison, and eschew polemics. He probably took this advice, and being withal a man of family, had no difficulty in obtaining access to the ear of the queen, since he was released from Newgate a few days after her arrival in London; and, finally, she restored him not only to his place in the band of gentlemen pensioners, but, as he notices with great satisfaction, to

of August. They were transacted by the council in London, at a time when Mary had not received the homage of all the privy councillors. They seem the fruits of that officious zeal, often assumed by persons desirous of wiping out the stains of recent misconduct. Neither the name of Hales nor Dobbs occurs in the journal of the council acting under the immediate directions of Mary, as may be ascertained by reference to its transactions, printed in Haynes's Burleigh Papers.

[1] Martin's Chronicle, and Holinshed, (black letter, first edit.) though indefinite in dates, both expressly relate the queen's personal conduct, in rectifying the intolerable wrong done to judge Hales.

[2] Lady Jane Gray was preparing to stand godmother to his child, (born in the Tower during her short sway,) when her authority ceased. Strype has published rich fragments of Underhill's MS., the whole of which would be a most precious document, if recoverable. Underhill, in the reign of Elizabeth, offered the loan of it to Fox, for his Martyrology, but it was returned to him without any use being made of it. The 'hot gospeller,' though ardently attached to his religion, admits the *pour et contre* with a *naïve* simplicity and individualizing detail, delightful to the inquirer into facts, but by no means pleasant to a partisan historian

his salary, without deduction of the time of his arrest. Mary showed some judgment in acting thus; for this brave man, though he scorned to disavow his principles, was ever, in time of danger, an intrepid defender of her person.

Several instances are to be found of the queen's interference to save persons from the cruelty of her privy council. Those who were of rank or consequence sufficient to find access to her, were tolerably sure of her protection. This peculiarity gave a tone to her reign which renders its character singular in English history, for examples of political vengeance were made chiefly on persons whose station seemed too lowly for objects of state punishment, because, being poor and obscure, they were not able to carry their complaints to the foot of the throne. Thus the council sent orders to the town of Bedford "for the punishment of a woman (after due examination of her qualities) by the cucking-stool, she having been arrested for railing and speaking unseemly words of the queen's majesty." These awards of personal punishment without regular trial, emanated from a certain junta of the privy council, whose business it was to sit in the Star-chamber in Westminster-palace, and apportion the inflictions which seemed good in their eyes, as vengeance on personal affronts offered to the reigning monarch. Most of the extortions of the reign of Henry VII., and the bloodshed of that of Henry VIII., may be attributed to the operations of this illegal and inquisitorial tribunal;[1] but when it condescended to doom an old scold of a distant provincial town to the cucking-stool, it might have been thought that derision would have disarmed its terrors for ever. Such would have been the case, had the periodical press of the present day been in operation at the

[1] Yet its functions may be traced to an earlier day. It was certainly in activity in the reign of Henry VI., since Owen Tudor was evidently summoned before some such tribunal; then, again, the well-known incident of Edward IV. putting to death, illegally, the vintner, for the joke of saying "that he would make his son heir to the crown," (ostensibly meaning the sign of his house, but with a side sneer at the recent coronation of the king,)—this exploit was in the true spirit of the Star-chamber. The proceedings of Louis XI. on the other side of the Channel, with his two or three low-born privy councillors and his pet executioner, seem to have offered an exaggerated example to the government of Edward IV. and Richard III., whose vice-constable, sir James Tyrrel, was the instrument of the murders and tortures devised in this secret conclave of the crown.

time. In the latter part of Mary's reign, when she was utterly incapacitated by mortal sufferings from interference with their proceedings, her cruel ministers inflicted more tragic punishments on old women who "railed against the queen's majesty."

Mary remained at the Tower till after the 12th of August. This is apparent from the following minute from the privy council book: "The council delivered to the lord mayor and recorder these words, from the queen's own mouth,[1] yesterday at the Tower, being the 12th of August, on occasion of a riot at St. Paul's-cross about preaching: Albeit her grace's conscience is *staid* [fixed] in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel and constrain other men's consciences, otherwise than God shall (as she trusteth) put into their hearts a persuasion of the *truth that she is in*, through the opening of his word by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers;" but she forbade the lord mayor to suffer, in any ward, "open reading of the Scriptures in the churches, or preaching by the curates, unless licensed by her." Such was the first blow aimed at the Protestant church of England. Mary was empowered to inflict it, as head of the very church whose ministers she silenced by force of her supremacy. It is an instance of the manner in which that tremendous power worked, and explains the mystery why the great body of the English nation,—albeit, not composed of the most flexible of elements,—changed their ritual with magic celerity, according to the differing opinions of four successive sovereigns; but the truth was, in that evil century each sovereign was empowered, unfettered by parliament or synod, to change the entire ministration of the clergy throughout the realm by the simple act of private will. Thus, the religious tuition of the parish churches in London the Sunday before the 12th of August was according to the Protestant church established by Edward VI., and the next Sunday according to Henry VIII.'s anti-papal church of the six articles. While queen Mary continued head of the church in England, a reconciliation with the see of Rome was an impossibility.

[1] Privy Council Journal: queen Mary. Haynes's Burleigh Papers, p. 172.

The trial of Northumberland and his coadjutors took place August 18th. If we may trust the public records, he and his fellow-prisoners all pleaded guilty.[1] Eleven were condemned to die, but three only executed,—the smallest number ever known, either before or since, of the partisans of a usurpation. It is affirmed[2] there was great difficulty in inducing Mary to consent to the death of Northumberland, because of the former friendly intercourse there had been between them, of which friendliness many instances may be proved from her privy-purse expenses when princess. Northumberland, with his two dependants, Gates and Palmer, were nevertheless put to death on August 22. Northumberland professed himself a Catholic at his death, and spoke very earnestly against the Protestant religion, which could receive no injury from lips false as his. An affecting incident occurred on the evening of his death. The Lancaster herald, who had been an old retainer of the duke, begged an audience of queen Mary, and, "respectful to the dead," implored her to grant him the head of his master, that it might be decently interred. The queen told him, "In God's name to take the whole body as well, and give his lord proper burial."[3] Mary was, at the time of Northumberland's execution, resident at Richmond-palace: here most of the acts of the privy council are dated, during the rest of August and part of September.

The imperial ambassadors urged the queen to bring lady Jane Gray to trial at the same time with her father-in-law, Northumberland, since she could never reign in security while that lady lived, for the first faction, when strong enough, would set up her claims again. Mary replied, "she could not find it in her heart or conscience to put her unfortunate

[1] Baga de Secretis, pouch xxi. [2] Holinshed.

[3] Peerage of England, (published 1709,) vol. ii. p. 406. John Cock was the name of this faithful man. The same authority declares that Northumberland was buried at St. Peter's in the Tower, by the side of his victim the duke of Somerset. The conduct and character of Northumberland appear the more hideous, when it is known that, if he possessed any private sense of religion, he leant to the ancient ritual, for his profession on the scaffold is only in unison with a profligate speech he made to sir Anthony Browne, who was remonstrating with him on some inconsistent measure, when he declared that "he certainly thought best of the old religion; but seeing a new one begun, run dog, run devil, he would go forward."—Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 261.

kinswoman to death, who had not been an accomplice of Northumberland, but merely an unresisting instrument in his hands. If there was any crime in being his daughter-in-law, even of that her cousin Jane was not guilty, for she had been legally contracted to another, and therefore her marriage with lord Guildford Dudley was not valid. As for the danger existing from her pretensions, it was but imaginary, and every requisite precaution should be taken before she was set at liberty."[1]

The friendly intentions of queen Mary towards lady Jane coincide with a letter of explanation sent by that lady from the Tower, which contains an extraordinary narrative of her brief royalty.[2] Lady Jane commenced this narrative with the declaration that she was willing to extenuate her fault, if such great faults may be extenuated, by a full and ingenuous confession; she described her consternation and confusion when her father and mother, her mother-in-law, the duchess of Northumberland, and the duke, announced to her the death of Edward VI., and at the same time, doing her homage as queen, informed her that, by virtue of his will, she was left heiress to the crown. She fell to the ground and swooned, as one dead, overcome with grief at tidings she too truly felt to be fatally disastrous to her, and with tears and shuddering remained the passive victim of their ambition. She declared to her royal cousin, to whom her domestic griefs seem told familiarly, "that when she was brought to the Tower, as queen, the marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer, brought her the crown[3] to try on her head, to see how it would fit her, and that he brought it of his own accord, unsent for by her, or any one in her name; and when she scrupled to put it on, the marquess said, 'she need not do so, for he would have another made to crown her husband withal.'" To this exal-

[1] Renaud's Despatches, edited by Griffet. Renaud is by no means willing to praise Mary for conduct which must raise her in the estimation of every feeling heart, but rather is telling tales of her weakness and contradiction to politic advice; therefore the fact may be depended on, without dread of heeding a mere flattering story. [2] Pollino, Istoria dell' Ecclesia d'Inghilterra, p. 73.

[3] This appears to have been the state crown, kept, with other regalia, at the Tower, and not St. Edward's crown, then always given in charge of the dean and chapter of Westminster-abbey.

tation of her husband Jane firmly objected, which drew on her scenes of coarse violence from him, and his mother the duchess of Northumberland. They appear to have used personal ill-treatment to her, for she says, with indignant emphasis, "I was *maltreated* by my husband and his mother." This curious narrative exists in the pages of three contemporary Italian writers, with slight variations; which prove they collected the same facts from different sources, all agreeing in essentials. One of our contemporary chroniclers relates an anecdote of the marquess of Winchester, the time-serving lord treasurer above named, who, with the shamelessness peculiar to the officials of that era, when preparing for the coronation of queen Mary, came to the unfortunate prisoner lady Jane, and told her "that several valuable jewels were missing from the state crown, and that she was accountable for them." On this pretence all the money and jewels of lady Jane and her husband were confiscated.

The accession of queen Mary had not altered her affection for the princess Elizabeth; whatever were their after jealousies, their first difference had yet to take place, for, at the present time, wherever Mary went, she led her sister by the hand,[1] and never dined in public without her. Mary likewise distinguished Courtenay earl of Devonshire with great attention: she endeavoured to form his manners, and appointed a nobleman to guide his conduct. He is said to have contracted habits of low profligacy at the Tower, which she was exceedingly desirous of seeing altered; but he was too late in life for any very rapid improvement, being turned of thirty. His noble person was not, however, deteriorated by the vices with which he is charged, for his portrait, by sir Antonio More, presents all the grand outline of our ancient royal race,—the commanding Plantagenets. The expression of his face is penetrating and majestic, the features high, and exquisitely moulded, the forehead lofty and noble, and decorated withal by a magnificent *chevelure* of light brown curls.[2] Courtenay inherited sufficient

[1] Fox: Memoir of Elizabeth. Mackintosh's History of England.

[2] An engraving from this portrait is to be seen in Horace Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.

ambition to desire a marriage with the queen, and the English people ardently wished the match: it has been said that Mary loved him, and was refused by him,—an assertion directly contrary to all existing documents. If she ever loved her cousin Courtenay, she must have relinquished him within a very few days of her accession, since in the middle of August she had a private interview with Commendone, the pope's envoy, in which she told him "that she had concluded her league with the emperor, and had entirely resolved on her marriage with his heir, prince Philip."[1] Commendone had privately entered the kingdom from Flanders: he obtained his first audience with difficulty, and in disguise. Mary assured him of her inviolable attachment to the religion in which she had been educated, and of her desire to restore the pope's supremacy in her kingdom; but she entreated him to act with caution, and to conceal his identity. She gave him a letter to pope Julius III., declaring her wish that her kingdom might be reconciled to Rome, and entreating that cardinal Pole might be instantly sent to her.

Public opinion had already named this attached kinsman as one of the three suitors for the hand of the queen; but, if the pope was willing to dispense with the vows of a prince of the church, it was not probable that the rigid principles of either the queen or Reginald Pole would suffer them to accept such dispensation. The counsel Pole gave to Mary was, to remain single,—counsel which was seconded by another of her friends of tried sincerity, his intimate associate, friar Peyto. This churchman was by birth a gentleman of Devonshire: his bold sermon at Greenwich, in defence of Mary's mother, had startled Henry VIII. in his pitch of pride. Peyto had survived Cromwell's proposal of putting him in a sack, and throwing him into the Thames; and, unaided by any power save his calm contempt of life, had proved victor in the contest, and lived to be a cardinal. He had resided with Reginald Pole since he had retired from England. To queen Mary Peyto now tendered his advice, with the same uncompromising integrity which had led him to thunder the principles of

[1] Tytler's Reign of Mary, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

moral justice in the ears of her terrific father. "Do not marry," he wrote to the queen, "or you will be the slave of a young husband. Besides, at your age, the chance of bringing heirs to the crown is doubtful, and, moreover, would be dangerous to your life." Unvarnished truths were these, yet it is a respectable point in Mary's character that she testified no displeasure either to her kinsman or his plain-spoken friend, when counsel was offered so little soothing to female vanity.

Violent struggles took place, throughout the month of August, between the partisans of the rival rituals for possession of churches and pulpits, which were frequently decided by the prevalence of personal strength. For the ostensible purpose of putting an end to scenes disgraceful to religion in general, the queen issued another proclamation, forbidding any person to preach without her licence, "till further order by common consent was taken,"—meaning by act of parliament. Thus were all preachers silenced who promulgated doctrine contrary to the royal will. One of the earliest compliments paid to the queen on her accession, was the baptism of the great bell at Christchurch (which had been re-cast) by the name of Mary. The learned Jewel, whose office it was to write the congratulatory letter from Oxford on the queen's accession, was reading it to Dr. Tresham, a zealous Catholic, for his approbation, when the newly hung bell set out in an earnest call to the first mass that had been celebrated in Oxford since the establishment of the Protestant church of England. Dr. Tresham broke into an ecstacy. "Oh, sweet Mary!" he exclaimed, "how musically, how melodiously doth she sound!"—"That bell then rung," adds Fuller, impressively, "the knell of gospel truth in the city of Oxford, afterwards filled with Protestant tears."

However ample her power as head of the English church might be, it was the wish of queen Mary to resign it, and restore supremacy to the pope; but bishop Gardiner, her lord chancellor, was opposed to her intentions. So far from wishing any reunion of England with the see of Rome, he was

extremely earnest that queen Mary should retain her title and authority as head of the English church.[1] Her answer to him was a remarkable one:—"Women," she said, "I have read in Scripture, are forbidden to speak in the church. Is it, then, fitting that *your* church should have a dumb head?"[2] Bishop Gardiner had been transferred from a prison-room in the Tower to the lord chancellor's seat on the wool-sack with marvellous celerity. Until Gardiner received the seals, Cranmer was not only at liberty, but officiating in his high functions as archbishop of Canterbury; but, in obedience to an order from the queen's council, delivered a schedule of his effects, August 27, and received a command to confine himself to his house at Lambeth.[3]

In one opinion did all the polemic antagonists agree, which was, in the detestation of the queen's engagement with the prince of Spain. They were heartily joined in it by cardinal Pole, whose dislike to the Spanish match was so well known to the emperor Charles, that he intercepted him in his journey to England, and detained him in a German convent till after the marriage had taken place. One class in England alone was desirous of the match: these were the political economists, chiefly belonging to the moneyed and mercantile interests. They were alarmed at the marriage of Mary queen of Scotland with the heir of France, and they earnestly wished the balance of power to be restored, by the wedlock of Mary queen of England with the heir of the Low Countries. Charles V. had resolved on this marriage despite of his son's reluctance, who, at twenty-six, entreated that his father would

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary: Despatches of Renaud, ambassador of Charles V.

[2] Narrated in Dodd's History of the Church, edited by the rev. Mr. Tierney, who confirms the opposition of Gardiner to the reunion of England with the see of Rome. The original authority was queen Mary's funeral sermon, preached by the bishop of Winchester before queen Elizabeth.

[3] Biographia Britannica. Much indignation had been excited among the Protestants, by rumours that Cranmer was once more about to join the ranks of their enemies, (*i. e.* the anti-papal Catholic church,) which induced him to publish an explanation of his present creed. This being construed into an attack on the government, he was, by the queen's council, sent to the Tower on the 13th September, and was kept in captivity till his horrid martyrdom, three years afterwards.

give him a wife younger than himself, instead of one eleven years older.[1] But union with England was too favourable a step towards the emperor's scheme of universal dominion, to be given up for notions of mere domestic happiness; therefore he made a final tender of the hand of the unwilling Philip, in a letter written to queen Mary on the 20th of September, in which he says, "that if his own age and health had rendered him a suitable spouse, he should have had the greatest satisfaction in wedding her himself; but as he could not make such proposal, he had nothing more dear to offer to his beloved kinswoman than his son, don Philip."[2] When it is remembered that this great emperor had been formerly solemnly betrothed to Mary, and was now a widower, an apology for not marrying her himself was far from superfluous; yet it must be owned, that the style in which he proposes his son as his substitute, bears an amusing resemblance to the solemn gallantry of his illustrious subject, the knight of La Mancha. The emperor entreated that Mary would not, at present, communicate her engagement to her ministers. The reason of this request was, that some among them wished her to marry his nephew, the archduke, whose possessions were not considered formidable to English liberty, and because he knew they were all opposed to prince Philip.

The queen, meantime, bestowed some attention on forming her household, and rewarding the personal friends who had remained faithful to her in her long adversity. It has been stated that she found the three gentlemen who had incurred the displeasure of the council rather than gainsay her commands, captives in various prisons, but the records of the State-Paper office lead to the conclusion that Robert Rochester[3] at least was serving her in the spring of 1553. Mary made him comptroller of the royal household, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; she carried her gratitude so far as to make him knight of the Garter, and one of her privy council.

[1] Strype's Memorials. [2] Mackintosh's Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 296.

[3] He was son of sir John Rochester, of Tarling, Kent. The receipt of Robert Rochester, in the spring of 1553, is given for moneys allowed by the crown for repair of injuries done by the fury of waters in the year 1552 at Newhall. Walgrave was found in prison, according to the annals of his own family.

His nephew, Edward Walgrave,[1] she honoured with knighthood, and gave him the profitable office of master of the great wardrobe. Sir Francis Inglefield, their fellow-sufferer, was given a place at court, and was appointed a privy councillor.[2] The queen likewise made her faithful protector, Mr. Huddleston of Sawston, a member of her privy council; and at the same time gave orders for rebuilding his mansion, destroyed by fire in her cause. She contrived to punish and to humiliate the town of Cambridge when she rewarded Huddleston, for she granted him the materials of Cambridge-castle for the re-construction of Sawston-hall.[3]

The queen's gratitude took a very odd form in the case of the earl of Sussex: he was a valetudinarian, who had a great fear of uncovering his head; and, considering that the colds he dreaded respected no person, he petitioned queen Mary for leave to wear his nightcap in her royal presence. The queen, in her abundant grace, not only gave him leave to wear one, but two nightcaps, if he pleased. His patent for this privilege is, perhaps, unique in royal annals:—

"Know ye, that we do give to our well-beloved and trusty cousin and councillor, Henry earl of Sussex, viscount Fitzwalter, and lord of Egremond and Burnell, licence and pardon to wear his cap, coif, or *nightcap*, or any two of them, at his pleasure, as well in our presence as in the presence of any other person or persons within this our realm, or any other place in our dominions wheresoever, during his life. And these our letters shall be his sufficient warrant in his behalf."

The queen's seal, with the Garter about it, is affixed to this singular grant.

Mary reinstated the old duke of Norfolk in his rank, and restored the bulk of his immense possessions, confiscated by the crown without legal attainder. Indeed, as the offence given by the duke and his murdered son was a mere quibble regarding heraldic bearings,—such as an English sovereign, centuries before, would have scorned to consider as a crime,—the duke was restored on petition to the queen; in which he says,

[1] He is the direct ancestor of the present earl Waldegrave. He was uncompromising in his adherence to the Roman-catholic religion, and died a prisoner in the Tower early in the reign of Elizabeth. As his offence is not defined, he was probably a Star-chamber prisoner.

[2] After the death of his royal mistress, he emigrated into Spain on account of his religion.—Aungier's Hist. of Sion. [3] Fuller's Worthies, vol. i. p. 177.

pathetically,—"Sovereign lady, the offence wherewith your said subject and supplicant was charged was only for bearing arms which he and his ancestors had heretofore of long continuance borne, as well in the presence of the late king as in the presence of divers of his noble progenitors, kings of England." The grandson of the injured noble, Thomas, heir to the earl of Surrey, was distinguished by queen Mary with great favour, and received the appointment of her page of honour, a post his youth and beauty well qualified him to fill.[1]

The queen now indulged the musical taste for which she was noted, and which the extraordinary manifestation of melody in her forehead proves to have been a ruling passion. She established the musicians of her chapel-royal with more than usual care; the names of our best English composers are to be found among them. A letter extant from Grace lady Shrewsbury[2] to her husband, (who was absent, guarding against an inbreak from the Scotch border,) gives some insight regarding the manners of Mary in the early days of her sovereignty, and describes her as in high enjoyment of her taste for sacred music: "September, 1553.—Yesternight the queen's majesty came from evensong, which was sung in her chapel by all her singing men of the same, with playing of organs in the solemnest manner. Her highness called me unto her, and asked me, 'When you rode to the north?' And when I told her grace 'that you were there,' she held up her hands, and besought God 'to send you good health, and that she might soon see you again.' I perceived her grace to be little doubtful of the quietness of the northern counties. Her highness was so much my good lady as to tell me, 'that whatsoever I wished I should come to her for, since she would be my husband till your lordship came home.'"

The whole attention of queen Mary and her court was now fixed on the approaching coronation. Deep were the cogita-

[1] His portrait-statue at Framlingham church, kneeling at the feet of his father's recumbent statue, proves him to have closely resembled his relative, queen Anne Boleyn. His dark eyes and dark curls, and the beautiful outline of his face, rendered him more like her than was her own daughter.

[2] Wife of Francis earl of Shrewsbury. Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 228.

tions of heralds and royal chamberlains; they were at a loss regarding precedents, since neither Saxons nor Normans had owned a sovereign *regina*. Britain had been occasionally governed by female monarchs, and the venerable Common Law of the land not only recognised their right of succession, but the law itself is traced to a female reign.[1] Yet these fair civilizers had existed in an antiquity so dim, that no clear ideas could remain of their coronations, nor was it very certain that they had been crowned. The Norman nobility and their descendants, through evident distaste to female authority, had refused to recognise the lineal heiresses, Matilda the empress, Eleanora of Brittany, and Elizabeth of York, as sovereign ladies. The effects of ferocity, which interminable wars had rendered national, had destroyed the promising heirs-male from every branch of the great stem of Plantagenet, and it was now matter of curiosity to note how completely the throne was surrounded by female claimants. If the life of queen Mary failed, nature and an act of parliament made her sister Elizabeth her successor, on whose failure the young queen of Scotland had undoubted rights to unite the island crowns, the sceptre of north, as well as that of south Britain, being then swayed by a queen Mary. If the young queen of Scotland died without heirs, then a procession of female claimants, long as that of Banquo's kings, appeared. There was lady Margaret Douglas, who had, however, two infant sons, but neither she nor her offspring had ever been recognised as claimants. Then Frances duchess of Suffolk, and her daughters, lady Jane Gray, lady Katharine Gray, and their younger sister, the deformed lady Mary: next to them, the sister of Frances Brandon, Eleanor lady Clifford, and her two daughters, were the representatives of the royal line. Thus our combative forefathers, if they meant to preserve the succession in the royal family, had no alternative but to submit to the domination of a female; this they did with the worst grace in the world, and if they did not term their sovereign, as the Hungarians did theirs, "king Mary," they

[1] See Introduction, page 5, vol. i., regarding the Martian laws established by a female regent from which Alfred's laws were derived.

insisted on her being encumbered with spurs, and girded with swords and other implements of the destructiveness in which their souls delighted; for the result of all the cogitations on her coronation was, that their *regina* was to be inaugurated, in "all particulars, like unto the king of England."

There was, however, one thing needful, without which a coronation, like most other pomps, must remain a dead letter, —there was not one penny in the royal purse; and queen Mary was forced to borrow 20,000*l.* from her loyal London citizens before she could be crowned. When the requisite supply was obtained, the coronation "was all the care,"[1] and was finally appointed for the 1st of October. Previously to that day the queen was to pass in grand procession through the city, which it was the citizens' province, by old custom, to adorn for the occasion. Three days before the coronation, the queen removed from St. James's to Whitehall; she then took her barge at the stairs, accompanied by her sister the princess Elizabeth and other ladies, and proceeded to the Tower: this was by no means a private transit, but attended with all the gaiety of a city procession by water, the lord mayor and companies meeting her in their barges, with streamers, trumpets, waits, shawms, and regals. At the Tower, the queen was received with discharges of ordnance, which continued some time after her entry. The next day, September 29th, she made fifteen knights of the Bath, who did not receive the accolade from her royal hand; they were knighted in her presence by the lord steward, Henry earl of Arundel.[2] The most noted among these knights were her cousin, Courtenay earl of Devonshire, and the young earl of Surrey.

About three o'clock next day the queen set forth from the Tower, in grand procession through the streets of the city of London, a ceremony which custom imperatively required the sovereign to perform, as a prologue to the coronation; it has

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. iii.

[2] Mr. Planche's erudite Regal Records is the chief authority for this coronation. He has there edited the particulars from official MSS. (never before printed) in the college of Arms, and the Society of Antiquarians. Some particulars of this ceremony are drawn from the Italian, being narrated in Baoardo's History of Mary. That Venetian had obtained minute information, though this work was printed in 1558.

now been commuted for a royal dinner at Guildhall, which, it may be observed, always precedes the coronation. Queen Mary's city procession was splendid, the more so on account of the great numbers of her own sex, who ever surrounded her. It must be owned that some personal courage was required to be lady of honour to queen Mary, for, in the dangerous struggles for the crown, she was always accompanied by her female attendants. This was, however, one of her halcyon days, and the procession was distinguished by seventy ladies riding after the queen on horseback, clad in crimson velvet. Five hundred gentlemen, noblemen, and ambassadors preceded her, the lowest in degree leading the way. Each of the ambassadors was accompanied by a great officer of the crown,—the French ambassador, Noailles, by lord Paget, and Renaud, the emperor's resident, (who took precedence of Noailles,) by lord Cobham. The chief sewer, the earl of Sussex, bore the queen's hat and cloak between two squires of honour, who had robes of estate rolled and worn baldrick-wise over the shoulder and round the waist, and wore the caps of estate of the dukedoms of Normandy and Guienne. The lord mayor, on the left of Garter king-at-arms, carried the sceptre.

The queen headed the lady-procession, seated in a most splendid litter, supported between six white horses, covered with housings of cloth of silver. She was dressed in a gown of blue velvet, furred with ermine; on her head was a caul of gold network, beset with pearls and precious stones; the value thereof was inestimable, and the weight so great, says Stowe, "that she was fain to bear up her head with her hand." It was evident that she was afflicted with one of her constitutional headaches, which generally attacked her if unusually agitated; the pain was not ameliorated by the weight of her inestimable circlet. The princess Elizabeth followed, in an open chariot richly covered with crimson velvet, and by her was seated Henry VIII.'s surviving widow, Anne of Cleves: they were dressed in robes and kirtles of cloth of silver, with large hanging sleeves. This car was followed by sir Edward Hastings,—who, in reward for his services, had

been made master of the horse,—leading queen Mary's own palfrey. To him succeeded a long train of alternate chariots and equestrian damsels: the ladies of the highest rank rode four together in chariots; the ladies of the bedchamber and those who held office at court rode on horseback, dressed in kirtles of gold or silver cloth and robes of crimson velvet, their horses trapped with the same. Among the ten ladies who bore office in the palace, the names of the queen's confidante, Mrs. Clarencieux, and Mary Finch, keeper of the jewels, appear: they were her old and faithful servants. Then rode the queen's chamberers in crimson satin, their horses decked with the like; they were nine in number, and were guarded by Mrs. Baynham, the mother of the maids. Some of these ladies were married women; among them might be recognised the virtuous and learned daughters of sir Anthony Cooke, one of whom was the wife of Nicholas Bacon, and another the second wife of Cecil. Mrs. Bacon's intercessions with queen Mary in behalf of Cecil, prove that she had some influence. Among the other distinguished ladies who attended this coronation was Mrs. Bassett,[1] daughter of the illustrious Margaret Roper, and grand-daughter of sir Thomas More. The royal henchmen, clad in the Tudor colours of white and green, the royal guard and their captain, sir Henry Jerningham, and the gentlemen-at-arms, brought up the procession.

Pageantry, in the old-accustomed style, greeted the queen in her progress through the city. In Fenchurch-street she listened to orations from four great giants; in Gracechurch-street to a solo on the trumpet, from a great angel in green, perched on a triumphal arch prepared by the Florentine merchants; and when this angel lifted its gigantic arm with the trumpet to its mouth, the mob gave a shout of astonishment. The conduits at Cornhill and Cheapside ran with wine, and at the latter the aldermen presented the queen with the benevolence of 1000 marks in a crimson purse. At St. Paul's

[1] See Planche's Regal Records, where her name appears in the list of chamberers, and Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii. p. 150, for the fact that this lady and her husband were both in Mary's service. Mrs. Bassett translated Eusebius from the Greek into English.

school the queen's favourite poet and player, Heywood, sat under a vine, and delivered an oration. By the time the procession, which had started at three from the Tower, had proceeded as far as St. Paul's, the shades of an autumn evening must have been closing around, and the violence of the wind somewhat injured a sight only once before exhibited in London; this was the gymnastics of Peter the Dutchman, on the weathercock of old St. Paul's. The ball and cross of the cathedral were decorated with flags and meant to be illuminated, but the wind blew out the torches as fast as they were lighted. It does not appear that Peter flew down on a rope, as he did at the coronation of Edward VI., but he played many antics at that fearful height, for which he was paid 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the lord mayor.

The queen was escorted by the lord mayor through Temple-bar to the palace of Whitehall, where she took leave of him, "giving him great thanks for his pains, and the city for their cost." The seat of English royalty had been transferred from the ancient palace of Westminster to Whitehall-palace, after a great fire in the royal apartments in the latter years of Henry VIII. Whitehall was a grand structure, now existing only in name: its water-gate, still bearing the name of Whitehall-stairs, marks its locality. St. James's-palace was chosen by queen Mary as her private residence, but Whitehall was the scene of all grand state-ceremonies and receptions, as St. James's is at present, the monarchs of England having been gradually burnt out of every palace built on a scale suitable to their dignity.

On the coronation morning, October 1st, the queen and her train took their barges, and landed at the private stairs of the old palace of Westminster, leading direct to the parliament-chamber, which was richly hung with tapestry. The queen was conducted to the royal privy-chamber, where she was robed, and rested there with her ladies till the hour of the procession. Blue cloth was laid from the marble chair in Westminster-hall to the pulpit in Westminster-abbey, and to the stage-royal from the choir to the high altar, which was covered with cloth of gold. The choir of Westminster-abbey

was hung with rich arras, and well strewn with rushes; a raised boarded pathway for the procession led to the royal stage, which was surmounted by a platform of seven steps, covered with the striped cloth of gold called baudikins; and on them the royal chair was set, covered with the same gold cloth, the chair having pillars at the back, with a turreted canopy, and two lions of gold. The procession began, from Westminster-hall to the abbey, before eleven o'clock. The queen's royal majesty, dressed in her crimson parliament-robes, walked under the usual canopy, borne by the barons of the Cinque-ports. She was supported by the bishop of Durham on her right hand, and the earl of Shrewsbury on the left. The ungraceful custom of the royal train being borne by a crowd of ladies is a modern innovation; the train of the first queen-regnant was borne by the duchess of Norfolk, attended by sir John Gage, the vice-chamberlain. Directly after the queen walked the princess Elizabeth, the lady Anne of Cleves following her, as expressly declared by Noailles. And here it deserves notice, that the queen's sister, in every part of these important ceremonies, received all the honours and took all precedence due to her rank. Moreover, it has been very seldom that either heir or heiress-presumptive to the throne occupied a place in a coronation of such distinction.

The queen was met in Westminster-hall by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and ten other bishops, with their mitres, and crosses, and copes of gold cloth, and the officers of the queen's chapel singing. The bishops censed her and sprinkled holy water, and then fell into their places in the procession. That day Gardiner performed all the offices of the coronation usually pertaining to the archbishop of Canterbury,[1] who was unhappily, as well as the archbishop of York, in prison. It may be noted, that the times have ever proved most disastrous for England, when any convulsions of church or state have prevented an archbishop of Canterbury from officiating at a coronation. Before eleven o'clock, the queen

[1] His prison was not guarded on the coronation-day, and Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley could have left the Tower with the utmost impunity, if they had chosen to escape.—See Memoir of Dr. Edwin Sandys, Fox's Martyrology.

was conducted by her two supporters to St. Edward's chair, prepared on the royal stage; and having reposed for awhile, was then led by them to the four sides of the stage in the view of the whole assembly, where the bishop of Winchester, standing by her side, offered her to the recognition of the people in the following words, which were fuller and more comprehensive than any similar address:—

"Sirs,—Here present is Mary, rightful and undoubted inheritrix, by the laws of God and man, to the crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, France, and Ireland; and you shall understand, that this day is appointed by all the peers of this land for the consecration, unction, and coronation of the said most excellent princess Mary. Will you serve at this time, and give your wills and assent to the same consecration, unction, and coronation?"

Whereunto the people answered, all in one voice, "Yea, yea, yea! God save queen Mary!" The queen was then conducted to a rich chair before the high altar, and made her offerings. A cushion of velvet was put before the altar, on which she laid prostrate while certain oraisons were said over her. The sermon followed, preached by the bishop of Chichester, who was esteemed a most florid preacher, the subject being the obedience due to kings. Gardiner then declared the coronation-oaths; and the queen, being led to the high altar, promised and swore upon the Host to observe and keep them. Again the queen prostrated herself before the high altar, and remained in this attitude while the bishop, kneeling, sung the hymn of invocation to the Holy Ghost, commencing, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, the choir and organ joining in the strain.

After the Litany, the queen was led to her traverse, on the left hand of the altar, and "there was unarrayed and unclothed" by her ladies of the privy-chamber. This preparation seems to have consisted of the removal of her royal mantle, and she returned in a corset of purple velvet. After her unction by the bishop of Winchester, Mrs. Walgrave laced up the apertures left on the shoulders of the corset where she was anointed, and put her on a pair of linen gloves. The queen then retired to her traverse, and returned in a robe of white taffeta, and a mantle of purple velvet furred with ermine. She offered up the sword she was *girt* withal by the bishop of Winchester, and lord Arundel, who had borne

it, redeemed it for a sum of money. The duke of Norfolk, after she was seated in the chair near the altar, brought her three crowns; these were, St. Edward's crown, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and a third very rich crown, made purposely for her.[1] These crowns were set, one after the other, on her head by the bishop of Winchester, and betwixt putting on every one the trumpets sounded.

During the singing of *Te Deum*, a ring was put on the queen's marrying finger by the bishop; then the various great officers who had carried the remaining regalia, brought them to her,—the bracelets of gold by the master of the jewel house; the sceptre by the earl of Arundel; St. Edward's staff by the earl of Bath; the spurs by the earl of Pembroke; the orb by the marquess of Winchester; and the *regal* of gold by the bishop of Winchester. And the queen sat apparelled in her royal robes of velvet,—a mantle with a train; a surcoat, with a kirtle furred with wombs of miniver pure; a riband of Venice gold; a mantle-lace (cordon) of silk and gold, with buttons and tassels of the same, having the crown imperial on her head, her sceptre in her right hand, and the orb in her left, and a pair of sabatons on her feet covered with crimson cloth of gold, garnished with riband of Venice gold, delivered to her by her master of the great wardrobe. Thus royally invested, queen Mary was brought to St. Edward's chair; and when seated, the bishop of Winchester kneeled down before her, and made his homage for himself and all the bishops:—

"I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth bear to you, our sovereign lady and queen, and to your heirs, kings and queens of England, France, and Ireland; and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you, as in the right of your church, as God shall help me and All Saints." And then kissed every one of the bishops the queen's left cheek.

Then kneeled down the greatest temporal prince, the duke of Norfolk, and made his homage:—

"I become your liege man of life and limb, and of all earthly worship and faith, and all truly shall bear unto you, to live and die with you against all manner of folk. God so help me and All-hallows!"[2]

[1] It is difficult to surmise for what purpose the third crown was introduced, without it was to indicate a coronation for the kingdom of Ireland. The kings of England, previously to Henry VIII., only assumed the title of lords of Ireland; that is, suzerain over the petty kings of that island.

[2] All Saints.

Then he kissed the queen's left cheek. And the premier noble of every class, the marquess of Winchester for himself, the earl of Arundel for the earls, the viscount Hereford and lord Burgaveny[1] for the barons, repeated the same homage for their fellows: who, all kneeling, held up their hands, meantime, in manner of *lamenting* (supplication), and the queen's highness held their hands thus between hers, while they by turns kissed her left cheek; and when they had ascended (*i. e.* the steps of the throne) to that homage, they all with a loud voice together cried, "God save queen Mary!" Her whole house of lords then consisted of less than fifty individuals.[2]

The general pardon published at this coronation contained so many exceptions, that it seemed more like a general accusation, and bore melancholy evidence to the convulsive state of the times. Bishop Gardiner commenced the office of the mass; and after the gospel was read, he sent the book to the queen, who kissed it. She came down from the throne to make the regal offering,—an *oble*[3] of bread, laid upon the paten or cover of St. Edward's chalice, a cruet of wine, and a pound of gold. The fact of the queen's receiving the eucharist is not mentioned, but it is recorded that she bowed her head, and the bishop said a prayer over her, and her grace was conveyed again to her seat-royal, where she sat till *Agnus Dei;* then the pax was brought her to kiss by a bishop. Afterwards, being conducted, the bishop of Winchester took the crown from her head, and offered it on the altar of St. Edward. The other regalia were likewise offered on the altar, and received by the dean of Westminster. The queen was then unclad of her robes, and other royal apparel given her by her great chamberlain. Her dress, when she returned from the abbey, was a robe of purple velvet, an open surcoat of the same, a mantle and train, furred with miniver and powdered ermine, a mantle-lace of silk and gold, a riband of Venice gold, and a crown was set on her head. A rich canopy was borne over her by the barons of the Cinque-

[1] Abergavenny.

[2] See the list of those summoned, Parliamentary History, vol. iii. The author means those who were not clerical.

[3] An abbreviation of *oblate*, the wafer consecrated at mass.

ports; and so she was conveyed in goodly order to Westminster-hall, with all her train, to dinner. The ceremony of the banquet was in all particulars the same as at the coronations of previous monarchs. To the grandson of the aged duke of Norfolk was deputed the duty of earl-marshal; but the duke made the usual entry into the hall, ushering the first course, on horseback, accompanied by the earl of Derby, high-steward of England.[1]

The queen recognised her sister in all respects as the next to herself in rank, for she sat at the royal table at her left hand. Anne of Cleves sat next to Elizabeth: both had their especial service. These "virgin princes," as Speed quaintly calls Mary and Elizabeth, were chaperoned by their father's surviving widow, whom they both treated with dutiful respect. The ambassadors of Cleves attended the coronation, notwithstanding the change of religion; they were part of that great mercantile alliance in which the English and Flemish merchants were so closely knit. The champion of England was sir Edward Dymoke, whose portrait, preserved in the college of Arms, in the act of throwing down his gauntlet, gives, indeed, the *beau-idéal* of a knight worthy to do battle in vindication of the claims of his sovereign lady.[2] He pronounced his challenge *vivâ voce* right gallantly, the first in behalf of a queen-regnant:—

"If there be any manner of man, of whatever estate, degree, or condition soever he be, that will say and maintain that our sovereign lady, queen Mary the First, this day here present, is not the rightful and undoubted inheritrix to the imperial crown of this realm of England, and that of right she ought not to be crowned queen, *I* say he lieth like a false traitor! and that *I* am ready the same

[1] Strype. The earl of Arundel was lord steward of the queen's household.

[2] See a spirited woodcut in Planche's Regal Records. Sir E. Dymoke wrote a disdainful letter, Nov. 23, 1553, (Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i.) reproaching sir William Cecil with making him sue out a warrant from the queen for his perquisites. "At the coronation of king Edward," he says, "I had all such delivered to me by your father [Richard Cecil, groom and yeoman of the wardrobe] without warrant. I had my cup of gold without warrant, I had my horse without warrant, and all my trappings of crimson satin without warrant; and, by the old precedents of my claim, I ought to have them now. It is the queen's pleasure that I should have all things pertaining to my office, and so she willed me to declare to my lord treasurer; and rather than I would be driven to sue a warrant for such small things, I would lose them."

to maintain with him while *I* have breath in my body, either now at this time, or any other whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to appoint; and therefore *I* cast him my gage."

And then he cast his gauntlet from him, "the which no man would take up." Yet, if ever there was danger of a champion being called upon to prove his words, it was at the coronation of Mary the First. The gauntlet remaining there the usual time, a herald took it up and presented it to sir Edward, who made the same challenge in three several places in the hall. The queen drank to the champion, and sent him the gold cup. Then followed the proclamation of Garter king-at-arms, which in this reign is by no means a dead formula, but vital with historical interest, since it proves that howsoever against her inclination it might be, Mary actually challenged therein the right to be considered head of the church. As it is scarcely possible to doubt that she had just taken the ancient coronation-oath, which bound the sovereign to maintain the church in all things as Edward the Confessor did, this proclamation is difficult to reconcile with such obligation. The ancient coronation-oath, it is not irrelevant here to observe, was, owing to the want of moral consistency of the English legislature, imposed on every one of her successors, whether their principles were Protestant or Catholic, until the alteration made by parliament at the coronations of William III. and Mary II. Surely it is but moral justice to show some mercy when discussing the characters of sovereigns, whose oaths, enforced by the law of the land, were irreconcilably adverse to the practical conduct dictated by current popular opinion.[1]

Garter king-at-arms, having made three several obeisances before the queen's majesty at the upper end of the hall, proclaimed the style and title, in Latin, French, and English,—

"Of the most high, puissant, and most excellent princess, Mary the First, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, of the church of England and Ireland supreme head. Largess, largess, largess!"

No observance appertaining to an English sovereign was omitted at this banquet; the feudal cups, the wafers, and

[1] See a most valuable collection of instances of coronation-oaths in Mr. A. Taylor's Glories of Regality.

ipocras were all duly received by the maiden sovereign as by her ancestors. It was candlelight ere her majesty had dined; and after the tables[1] were taken up, and her hands laved, she arose and stood in the midst of the *haut place* with the princess Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves, surrounded by all the nobility according to their degrees. She then called the foreign ambassadors; after conversing with them graciously for a short time, and thanking them for their attendance, she gave them leave to retire.

The queen changed her dress in the privy-chamber, and all the nobility divested themselves of their robes, and accompanied her, the princess Elizabeth, and the ladies to their barges, and whilst they made their short voyage to Whitehall-stairs. Nor did the fatigues of the day end here, for the evening concluded with feasting and royal cheer at Whitehall-palace.

Dramatic representations were among the entertainments at Mary's coronation festival; these were superintended by Heywood, the comic dramatist, whose attachment to the Roman ritual had caused him to take refuge in France. By an odd coincidence, he returned to his native country on the very same day that Bale, the sarcastic poet of the reformers, retreated to Geneva. If we may be permitted to judge by the tone of their writings, pure Christianity and moral truth lost little by the absence of either ribald railer, for they were nearer allied in spirit than their polemic hatred would allow. There is something irresistibly ridiculous in the change of places of these persons, resembling the egress and regress of the figures in a toy-barometer on the sudden alterations of weather to which our island is subject. The comedian Heywood, it has been shown, had served queen Mary from her childhood, beginning his theatrical career as manager to one of those dramatic companies of infant performers which vexed the spirit of Shakspeare into much indignation, and caused him to compare them to "little eyases."[2]

When Heywood, on his return from banishment, presented

[1] Dining-tables then stood on trestles, and were carried off after dinner.

[2] The young nestlings of hawks; these hawklings being untrained, and good for little in falconry. It appears, by Mary's Privy-purse Expenses, she often paid for seeing Heywood's juvenile actors.

himself before his royal mistress, "What wind has blown you hither?" asked queen Mary. "Two special ones," replied the comedian; "one of them to see your majesty."—"We thank you for that," said Mary; "but, I pray, for what purpose was the other?"—"That your majesty might see *me*." A first-rate repartee for a player and a dramatist, and her majesty named an early day for beholding him in his vocation. He was appointed manager of the performances of her theatrical servants; and she often sent for him, to stand at the sideboard at supper and amuse her with his jests, in which, it is said, the Protestant reformation was not spared, though (according to Camden) the arrows of the wit glanced occasionally at his own church, even in these interviews with majesty.[1]

Four days after her coronation, queen Mary performed the important office of opening her first parliament. She rode to Westminster-abbey in scarlet velvet robes, her peers, spiritual and temporal, attending her likewise dressed in scarlet, with trumpets sounding before them. In the abbey the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated according to the ancient custom. It did not pass over without manifestations of the sincere Protestant principles of two of the bishops,—Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, who, refusing to kneel at the mass, were thrust violently out of the abbey and the queen's presence. After mass, the queen, the lords, and the remaining bishops adjourned to the usual parliament chamber in Westminster-palace. They went in grand state, the earl of Devonshire bearing the sword before the queen, and the earl of Westmoreland the cap of maintenance. After Mary had seated herself on the throne, bishop Gardiner, as lord chancellor, made an oration, showing the causes "wherefore the virtuous and mighty princess Mary, by the grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and head of the church, had summoned her parliament." He concluded by signifying her pleasure "that the commons should, at their accustomed place, choose a speaker."[2] The queen had, by previous proclamation, remitted to her people

[1] Camden's Remains. [2] Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 290.

two heavy property taxes, one on lands and the other on goods, called, in the financial language of the day, "two tenths" and "two fifteenths," granted by the last parliament of Edward VI. for the purpose of paying the debts of the crown. The queen, in this proclamation, acknowledged herself answerable for these debts, promised to use the utmost economy to pay them off from her own resources, although they had been chiefly incurred by the misrule of the duke of Northumberland. She had no private purse of her own at her accession, and, as she had restored the estates of several of the great nobility,[1] and had resolved not to touch any part of the church lands still retained by the crown, it must be owned that she commenced her government in a state of poverty deep enough to exonerate her from any charge of bribing her senate. Some historians have affirmed, that the emperor furnished the funds for bribing this parliament;[2] if so, the recipient parties were strangely ungrateful, since the only measures in which they opposed the queen's wishes were relating to her marriage with his son, prince Philip.

The first act of legislation was, to restore the English laws regarding life and property to the state in which they stood in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. Since the accession of the Tudor line, a hideous change had taken place[3]

[1] It is supposed, besides this relinquishment of taxes, she surrendered 60,000*l.* per annum to the rightful owners,—a sum exceeding the revenues of the crown.

[2] See Rapin, Burnet, and most of the historians of the last century.

[3] See Holinshed, vol. i. p. 185. It is only common justice to queen Mary to describe the state in which she found the laws at her accession. In the freer days of the Plantagenets, proof of an open, or *overt*, act of war against the sovereign was required before a man could be attainted; in the third year of Henry VIII. a supposed knowledge of conspiracy was sufficient to incur all the penalties of treason. Very few of Henry VIII.'s numerous victims could have been put to death according to the ancient laws; towards the end of his life, English freedom was still more infamously infringed. Our Saxon chroniclers record, that the Norman conqueror and his sons made cruel laws for the protection of game; they acted as conquerors, without the sanction of the national council, but Henry VIII. found a parliament that could make it death for an Englishman to take a hawk's egg. In his thirty-first regnal year the measure of his cruelty swelled higher, and "conjuring, sorcery, witchcraft," were made capital. In his thirty-third regnal year was the act compounded to which Surrey fell the victim, under this mysterious title, "Prophesying upon arms, cognizances, names, and badges;" likewise, "casting of slanderous bills,"—that is libel, was punished with death. "Conveying horses or mares into Scotland"

A statistic writer of those times, who is by no means properly impressed with the horror of the fact, computes that more than 72,000 persons were executed on the gibbet in the reign of Henry VIII.[1] It cannot excite surprise that the earliest specimens of parliamentary eloquence in the house of commons were excited by the review of his atrocious laws, which by one consent they compared to those of Draco."[2] The parliament next proceeded to annul all previous acts passed in Henry's reign relating to the divorce of Katharine of Arragon, and the illegitimation of her daughter. It has been already shown that, by power of that most unconstitutional act of parliament which placed the disposal of the crown at Henry VIII.'s will, he restored his daughters to their places in the succession; at the same time he left the acts of parliament in force which, by declaring his marriages with their mothers nullities, branded both sisters equally with illegitimacy; for his evil passions had caused such inextricable confusion in his family, that it was impossible to do justice to Mary without injuring Elizabeth. It was indispensable for the public peace that the title of the reigning sovereign should be cleared from stigma. This could not be done without inexorable circumstances tacitly casting a stain on the birth of her sister; yet this was not the crime of Mary, but of her father. As far as the unfortunate case would permit, Elizabeth was guarded from reproach, for all mention of her name, or that of her mother, was carefully avoided, — a forbearance deserving commen-

was capital. The act which punishes stealing in a dwelling to the amount of 40*s.* owes its origin to one of Henry VIII.'s statutes; it has been recently modified, as it had, since the decrease in the value of money, become even more cruel in the present era, than in the sixteenth century. The state of vagabondage, into which the sudden withdrawal of the provision for the destitute afforded by the monasteries had thrown numbers of the lower classes, had been restrained with barbarous laws, in the reigns of Henry and his son, instead of a proper poor-law. The iron sway of Henry VIII. crushed, not only the ancient nobility and the richly endowed monks, but also the common people.

[1] See Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 186. The statistical part of this chronicle is the only portion possessing literary merit. It is written by a chaplain of lord Brooke, of the name of Harrison, who speaks as a contemporary.

[2] Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii. p. 186. Henry VIII.'s unconstitutional alterations of the law of treason, had been repealed in the first parliament of Edward VI.; but this repeal was a mere form, as the illegal executions of the two Seymours and their friends proved it to be.

dation,[1] when it is remembered that personal insult, as well as political injury, had been inflicted on Mary by Anne Boleyn. Such conduct, in a person less systematically calumniated than queen Mary, would have been attributed by history to good motives, especially as she had just allowed Elizabeth, at the recent coronation, the place and honours of the second person in the realm.

Whilst this parliament sat, a bill of attainder was passed on lady Jane Gray, her husband, and Cranmer, who had been the same month brought to trial at Guildhall, before the lord chief-justice Morgan. Lady Jane pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death, to be burnt on Tower-hill, or beheaded, at the queen's pleasure.[2] Such was the ancient

[1] Rapin, whose history was the text-book of readers in the last century, has roundly made the following assertion, vol. ii. p. 34: "*The princess Elizabeth, being thus again declared illegitimate by an act which restored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the queen,*" &c. As this assertion has been copied into many other histories, particularly school-books, it is requisite to quote the words of the act from the parliamentary journals, (see Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 292,) where the fact may be tested that the queen confined herself to the removal of her own stigma, without mentioning her sister or her birth: "King Henry VIII. being lawfully married to queen Katharine (of Arragon), by consent of both parents, and the advice of the wisest men in the realm, and of the notablest men for learning in the realm, did continue in that state for twenty years, in which God blessed them with her majesty and other issue, and a course of great happiness; but then a very few malicious persons did endeavour to break that very happy agreement between them, and studied to possess the king with a scruple in his conscience about it; and to support that, did get the seals of some universities against it, a few persons being corrupted with money for that end. They had also, by sinister ways and secret threatenings, procured the seals of the universities of these kingdoms. And, finally, Thomas Cranmer did most ungodlily, and against law, judge and divorce upon his own unadvised understanding of the Scriptures, upon the testimonies of the universities, and some most untrue conjectures, and that was afterwards confirmed by two acts of parliament, in which were contained the illegitimacy of her majesty; but that marriage not being prohibited by the law of God, [here they alluded to the text in Deuteronomy. xxv. 5, allowing marriage with a brother's widow, if childless,] could not be so broken, since what God has joined together, no man could put asunder. All which they considering, together with the many miseries that had fallen on the kingdom since that time, which they did esteem plagues sent from God for it; therefore they did declare the sentence given by Cranmer to be unlawful and of no force from the beginning, and do also repeal all acts of parliament confirming it." This bill was sent down by the lords on the 26th, and passed by the commons, *nem. con.*, on the 28th of October. There is no bill, during the whole six parliaments of queen Mary, in which her sister Elizabeth's name is mentioned, or any reproach cast on Anne Boleyn; no one is stigmatized, excepting the hapless Cranmer, "and a very few malicious persons" who are not named.

[2] Abstract of the Baga de Secretis.

law of England, if women either committed high treason against the sovereign, or petty treason by killing their husbands. Lady Jane Gray conducted herself with angelic meekness, and comforted her companions in misfortune. She was followed back to the Tower by crowds, weeping and bewailing her fate. It was, nevertheless, understood by all about the court, that the queen meant to pardon her, and she was soon after given every indulgence compatible with safe keeping; she was permitted to walk in the queen's garden at the Tower, and even on Tower-hill.[1]

But the most important act of the same session was that which repealed the laws passed in the reign of Edward VI. for the establishment of the Protestant church of England, and made the anti-papal church of Henry VIII.'s six articles the dominant religion of the country, confirming queen Mary in the office she so much deprecated of supreme head of that church. Its functions she continued to exercise till January 1555.[2] That this was a period of grief and alarm to the Protestant church of England our ecclesiastical histories[3] amply manifest, and to their voluminous pages the reader is referred, where may be traced the arguments of those illustrious Protestants who undauntedly defended their principles in the convocation, held for the settlement of religion at Westminster in the autumn of 1553; likewise details of the struggles, often personal and violent, between them and the members of the newly restored church of Henry, for possession of places of worship. The queen actually held the then despotic authority of supreme head of the church more than a year and a half; during which period, had her disposition been as bloody and implacable as commonly supposed, she had ample time and opportunity to have doomed some of her religious opponents to the flames, or at least to have inflicted personal punishment on some of her numerous libellers. But it is as certain, that till Mary surrendered her great power as head of the church of Henry VIII., the cruelties of her

[1] Biographia Brit. [2] See Parliamentary History, Edward VI., vol. ii.

[3] These histories are numerous, and written by Protestants of various persuasions. Strype, Fox, Heylin, Collier, and Burnet, have all written voluminous histories on the same subject.

reign did not commence. The only anecdote preserved by Fox, regarding her private conduct towards a Protestant clergyman, it would be difficult to interpret into an act of malice. The arrest of Dr. Edwin Sandys has been mentioned. His offences against the queen combined an attack on her title and insult to her worship; nevertheless, she lent a favourable ear to the intercession of one of the ladies of her bedchamber for his pardon, in case the bishop of Winchester had no objection. The next time Gardiner came to the privy-chamber, the queen said to him,—"Winchester, what think you about Dr. Sandys? Is he not sufficiently punished?"—"As it pleases your majesty," answered Gardiner, who had previously promised, "that if the queen was disposed to mercy, he would not oppose it." The queen rejoined, "Then, truly, we would have him set at liberty." She signed immediately the warrant for his liberation, and called on Gardiner to do the same.[1] This action, which redounds to her credit, it may be perceived was only performed by permission of Gardiner.

A curious instance of the power of the clerical lord chancellor occurred about the same time. He thought proper to suppress the Paraphrases of Erasmus, translated by Udall, Cox, and queen Mary. It had been published by the fathers of the Protestant church of England, and placed in all churches, in company with the Bible, as the best exposition of the gospels.[2] Thus, one of the queen's first acts as head of the church, was the destruction of her own learned labours. Surely Mary's situation, in this instance, as author, queen, and supreme dictator of a church by no means consonant with her principles as a Roman-catholic, was the most extraordinary in which a woman was ever placed. She did not, however, manifest any of the irritable egotism of an author, but, at the requisition of her lord chancellor, condemned her own work to the flames, in company with the translations of

[1] Fox's Martyrology, book iii. fol. 76. Dr. Sandys soon after retired to Zurich, where he waited for better times. He died archbishop of York.

[2] See Burnet, vol. ii., and Encyclopædia Britannica (art. Mary). Gardiner's quarrel with Cranmer and the other fathers of the Protestant church of England, originated in his opposition to these paraphrases.

her Protestant fellow-labourers,—an ominous proof of Gardiner's influence, who swayed her in all things excepting her marriage with Philip of Spain, to which he was, in common with the majority of her subjects, of whatever religion they might be, sedulously opposed.

Among the other difficulties which Mary had to encounter in her reign, it was not the least that the rights of queen-regnant of England were matter of speculation and uncertainty. Her people believed that their country would be transferred as a marriage-dowry to prince Philip, and sink into a mere province, like Sicily, Naples, Arragon, and other adjuncts of the crown of Spain. The example of their queen's grandmother, the illustrious Isabel of Castile, had proved that a female regnant, though wedded to a sovereign, could sway an independent sceptre with great glory and national advantage. Yet this instance was not only distant, but solitary; for female reigns in the middle ages had been very calamitous, and the English people could not imagine a married woman otherwise than subject to her husband, politically as well as personally, especially if that husband were her equal in birth and rank. These ideas seem to have prompted Mary's hitherto compliant parliament to send up their speaker, with twenty of their number, to petition "that the queen would not marry a stranger or a foreigner." Mary attributed the movement to Gardiner, and vowed she would prove a "match for his cunning." Accordingly, she sent that night for the Spanish ambassador, and bade him follow her into her private oratory; there, in the presence of the consecrated Host, she knelt before the altar, and, after repeating the hymn *Veni Creator*, she called God to witness, that while she lived she would never wed any other man than Philip of Spain;[1] thus virtually making a vow to marry but one husband in case of her survivorship. This event occurred the last day of October, and for some days during the succeeding month she was ex-

[1] Dr. Lingard, from Griffet's edition of the despatches of Renaud, the Spanish ambassador. All the ecclesiastical historians of the last century, as Burnet, &c., represent Gardiner as the partisan of the queen's marriage with Philip, and of the reunion of England with the Roman see; but the researches of Mr. Tytler and other documentary historians show him in his true light, as their opponent.

tremely ill. On the 17th of November she sent for the house of commons, when their speaker read the above-mentioned petition, and instead of the answer being given, as expected, by her chancellor, she herself replied, saying, that "For their loyal wishes, and their desire that her issue might succeed her, she thanked them; but, inasmuch as they essayed to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not, for the marriages of her predecessors had been free, nor would she surrender a privilege that concerned her more than it did her commons."

This interference of the house of commons is generally supposed to have been the reason of their dissolution, which occurred on the 6th of December, when the queen came in state to the house;[1] and at the same time gave her royal assent to thirty-one acts, not in the manner of modern times, when the clerk of the house names and holds up the act in presence of the sovereign on the throne, who sits passively till the officer, supposing silence gives consent, exclaims, "*La reine le veut,*" 'the queen (or king) wills it.' The action of assent in the days of the first queen-regnant was more graceful and significant, and throws a light on the ancient use of the sceptre; for the royal approval was implied by the queen extending her sceptre and touching the act immediately before the proclamation of "*La reine le veut.*" Traits exist of this elegant ceremonial, from the time of queen Mary down to the reign of queen Anne.[2] It is only mentioned in connexion with female sovereigns, but it was, there is no doubt, the etiquette of all English monarchs previous to the era of George I., whose want of English might have led to some inconvenient results, for the ceremony called "sceptring the acts" seems to have expired with the last queen of the line of Stuart.

The queen had been informed, that since her legitimacy had been confirmed by parliament, the French ambassador, Noailles, had sought to awaken discontents in the mind of

[1] Parl. Hist. p. 300.

[2] See Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 332, and sir Henry Ellis's second series of English Historical Letters, vol. iv.; letter of lord Tarbet to queen Anne. The Parliamentary Journals, in MS., likewise mention "sceptring the acts."

her sister Elizabeth, as if it were tantamount to her own degradation; and that Elizabeth was likewise jealous, because Margaret countess of Lenox and Frances duchess of Suffolk were sometimes given precedence before her at court. It is improbable that the queen should wish to give undue exaltation to the mother of lady Jane Gray; it is therefore likely that the precedence was in some particular instance given them as matrons, before a young unmarried woman. No pains were spared by the malignity of partisans to create enmity between the royal sisters; but for a time these endeavours were fruitless, since Elizabeth, when questioned by the queen, cleared herself satisfactorily of receiving nocturnal visits from the intriguing Noailles. Mary took leave of Elizabeth with kindness, on her departure from court to her seat at Ashridge, and gave her, as tokens of her affection, two sets of large pearls,[1] and several jewelled rosaries magnificently mounted.

After the dissolution of parliament and the departure of her sister, the queen appears to have passed some weeks in a state of solitude, owing to the severe attack of her constitutional malady. Early in January, count Egmont landed in Kent, as ambassador from Spain, to conclude the marriage-treaty between Mary and Philip. The first symptoms of a political storm, about to burst, were then perceptible; for the men of Kent rose partially in revolt, and Egmont was in some danger of being torn to pieces, being taken by the common people for the queen's bridegroom. However, he arrived safely at Westminster, and, in a set speech, opened his mission to the queen. Her reply had some spice of prudery in its composition. She said, "It became not a female to speak in public on so delicate a subject as her own marriage; the ambassador might confer with her ministers, who would utter her intentions. But," she continued, casting down her eyes on her coronation-ring, which she always wore on her finger, "they must remember her realm was her first husband, and no consideration should make her violate the faith she pledged to her people at her inauguration."[2]

[1] Lingard, vol. vii. p. 147; and List of Queen Mary's Jewels, edited by sir F. Madden.

[2] Griffet's edition of Renaud, p. 30.

On the 14th of January, the articles of the queen's marriage were communicated to the lord mayor and the city of London. According to this document, Mary and Philip were to bestow on each other the titular dignities of their several kingdoms; the dominions of each were to be governed separately, according to their ancient laws and privileges. None but natives of England were to hold offices in the queen's court and government, or even in the service of her husband. If the queen had a child, it was to succeed to her dominions, with the addition of the whole inheritance Philip derived from the dukes of Burgundy, namely, Holland and the rich Flemish provinces, which, in that case, were for ever to be united to England,—a clause which, it is said, excited the greatest indignation in the mind of don Carlos, the young heir of Philip. The queen was not to be carried out of her dominions without her especial request, nor her children without the consent of the nobility. Philip was not to engage England in his father's French wars; he was not to appropriate any of the revenue, ships, ammunition, or crown jewels of England. If the queen died without children, all connexion between England and her husband was instantly to cease. If Philip died first, queen Mary was to enjoy a dower of 60,000 ducats per annum, secured on lands in Spain and the Netherlands. No mention is made of any portion, or *dote*, brought by Mary to her spouse. One noxious article atoned to the ambitious Spaniard for the rigour of these parchment fetters, and this stipulated that Philip should *aid* Mary in governing[1] her kingdoms,—a fact that deserves particular notice.

Just at the publication of the articles, the Spanish embassy found it needful to make a speedy retreat. The mode of their departure was graphically described by queen Mary's sister, when long years afterwards she, as queen Elizabeth, was on the point of concluding as unpopular a marriage. "It happened," says the royal writer, "in queen Mary's days, that when a solemn ambassade of five or six, at least, were sent from the emperor and king of Spain, [Charles V.] even

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, and Dr. Lingard. Rapin wholly omits it.

after her marriage-articles were signed and sealed, and the matter divulged, the danger was so near the queen's chamber-door, that it was high time for those messengers to depart without leave-taking, and bequeath themselves to the speed of the river-stream, and by water passed with all possible haste to Gravesend."[1]

The week after, three insurrections broke out in different parts of England. One was organized in the mid-counties, by the vassals of the duke of Suffolk, for the restoration of lady Jane Gray; another by sir Peter Carew, in the west of England, with the intention of placing the earl of Devonshire and the princess Elizabeth on the throne.[2] As sir Peter Carew was desirous of establishing the Protestant religion with a strong bias of Calvinism, it is surprising he was not likewise an upholder of lady Jane Gray's title. The third and most formidable of these revolts occurred in Kent, headed by sir Thomas Wyatt, a youth of twenty-three. He was a Catholic,[3] but having accompanied his father (the illustrious poet and friend of Anne Boleyn) on an embassy to Spain, where the elder sir Thomas Wyatt was in danger from the Inquisition, he conceived, in his boyhood, such a detestation of the Spanish government, civil and religious, that his ostensible motive of revolt was to prevent like tyranny being established in England by the wedlock of the queen with Philip of Spain. Yet it is scarcely possible to imagine any thing worse in Spain than had already had taken place in England under Henry VIII.; such as the tortures and burning of Anne Askew, friar Forrest, and numerous other Protestants and Roman-catholics. As Wyatt was at the same time a professed Catholic and a partisan of the princess Elizabeth, his conduct is exceedingly mysterious, unless, indeed, he was an anti-papal Catholic, and, discontented at the prospect of Mary's resignation of church

[1] See her letter to Stafford, her ambassador in France, in August 1581.—Wright's Times of Queen Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 150.

[2] See Baoardo, p. 47; Stowe, p. 622; likewise De Thou and Heylin.

[3] Rapin says expressly a *Roman*-catholic. Burnet affirms the same; but they both confound so repeatedly the Roman-catholics with the members of the church of Henry VIII., under the bewildering term *papist*, (though the last was radically anti-papal,) that the truth is difficult to discover.

supremacy, was desirous of placing Elizabeth (who professed the same religion) in her sister's place in church and state.

The queen was so completely deceived by the affected approbation of the duke of Suffolk to her marriage, that she actually meant to employ him against Wyatt, and sending for him to Sion,[1] found he had decamped with his brothers, lord Thomas and lord John Gray, and a strong party of horse they had raised. They took their way to Leicestershire, proclaiming lady Jane Gray queen in every town through which they passed,[2] to the infinite injury of that hapless young lady, still a prisoner in the Tower. The Gray revolt was quickly suppressed by the queen's kinsman, the earl of Huntingdon, in a skirmish near Coventry, when the duke and his brothers became fugitives, absconding for their lives. Carew's insurrection was likewise abortive, and he fled to France. This good news was brought to the queen on the first of February,[3] at the very moment when most alarming intelligence was communicated to her regarding Wyatt's progress in Kent. The queen had sent the aged duke of Norfolk, who had ever proved a most successful general, with her guards and some artillery, accompanied by five hundred of the London trained bands, commanded by captain Brett. This person was secretly a partisan of Wyatt, and actually revolted to him at Rochester, with his company. Brett's defection caused the loss of the queen's artillery, and the utter dispersion of her forces, and gave such encouragement to the rebels, that Wyatt advanced to Deptford at the head of 15,000 men; from whence he dictated, as his only terms of pacification, that the queen and her council were to be surrendered to his custody. The queen, with her wonted spirit, preferred to abide the results of open war, and prepared with intrepidity to repel the besiegers of her metropolis.

[1] Baoardo, p. 47. A letter in Lodge's Illustrations confirms the Italian.

[2] Stowe, p. 622. Likewise De Thou, Heylin, Rosso, and Baoardo, p. 47, printed but three years after the event occurred.

[3] Speed.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER V.

Consternation caused by Wyatt's success—The queen's intrepidity—She goes to Guildhall—Her speech—Her palace-defences—Nocturnal alarm—The queen's presence of mind—Refusal to retreat to the Tower—Her dialogue with Courtenay—Witnesses the defeat of the rebels—She signs lady Jane Gray's death-warrant—Queen's letter to the princess Elizabeth—Commits her to the Tower—Plots, disturbances, and libels against the queen—Mary receives prince Philip's ring of betrothal—The deaths of Elizabeth and Courtenay urged—The queen's conduct—She is tempted to establish despotism—Her conduct to Roger Ascham—Throckmorton's trial and the queen's illness—She dissolves parliament—Her speech on her marriage—Her proceedings in council at Richmond—Her ideas of a married queen-regnant—Insists on the title of king for Philip—Preparations for his reception—His arrival at Southampton—The queen departs from Windsor to meet him—Landing of Philip—Message of the queen—Philip's journey to Winchester—Marriage-day—Queen's wedding-dress—Marriage at Winchester cathedral—Marriage-banquet and festivities—Philip proclaimed titular king of England.

When the news arrived that the duke of Norfolk's army was dispersed, the greatest consternation pervaded the court and city; for every one knew that the royal residences at Westminster possessed no means of defence, excepting the stoutness of their gates, and the valour of the gentlemen-at-arms. The queen's legal neighbours at Westminster-hall liked the aspect of the times so little, that they pleaded their causes clad in suits of armour, which were, however, decorously hidden by the flowing forensic robes. They followed the example set by Dr. Weston, who officiated at Whitehall chapel in the service for Candlemas-day, early in the morning (Feb. 2), before the queen, with armour braced on under his priestly vestments,[1]—a real specimen of a clerical militant. He was,

[1] Collated from Tytler, p. 280, supported by Holinshed, Speed, and Strype, Martin's Chronicles, and the Venetian Baoardo.

indeed, a most truculent polemic, proving afterwards a dreadful persecutor of the Protestants, and a slanderer of the Catholics.

In the midst of the warlike preparations of the valiant and the dismay of the timid, queen Mary remained calm and collected. She ordered her horse, and, attended by her ladies and privy councillors, rode to the city. She had no intention of taking refuge within the fortified circle of London wall, then entire and tolerably efficient; her purpose was merely to encourage the citizens by her words and example. The lord mayor, sir Thomas White, the most trusty and valiant of tailors,[1] received his sovereign-lady at Guildhall clad in complete steel, over which warlike harness he wore the civic robe. He was attended by the aldermen, similarly accoutred. Such portentous equipments were true tokens of the exigence of the hour, for the rumour went that Wyatt, then at Southwark, was preparing to storm the city.

When the queen was placed in the chair of state, with her sceptre in her hand, she addressed the following speech to the citizens, with clearness of utterance, and no little grace of manner :—

"I am come in mine own person to tell you what you already see and know; I mean the traitorous and seditious assembling of the Kentish rebels against us and you. Their pretence (as they say) is to resist a marriage between us and the prince of Spain: of all their plots and evil-contrived articles you have been informed. Since then, our council have resorted to the rebels, demanding the cause of their continued emprise. By their answers, the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrel; for, swerving from their former demands, they now arrogantly require the governance of our person, the keeping of our town, and

[1] In those ages of turbulence and peril, when the civic chief of London had sometimes to buckle on armour and stand storm and siege, there is scarcely an instance of a lord mayor (whatever might be his trade) acting otherwise than became a wise and valiant knight. More than one among them won their spurs fairly as bannerets, and obtained pure nobility by the truest source of honour,—the sword defensive. In modern times, it has been the fashion to speak scornfully of the London citizens; and, as men are just what the opinions of their fellow-creatures make them, they have in the last century aimed at little more than being rich, benevolent, and well fed; yet they should remember that their fore fathers were likewise wise and valiant. They were, moreover, sometimes learned, and may be generally reckoned among the most generous patrons of learning. which the names of Whittington and Gresham will recall to memory: and this sir Thomas White, merchant-tailor, endowed St. John's college, Oxford, (formerly Bernard's,) so munificently, that he is honoured there as its founder.

the placing of our councillors. What I am, loving subjects, ye right well know,—your queen, to whom, at my coronation, ye promised allegiance and obedience. I was then wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same, the spousal ring whereof I wear here on my finger, and it never has and never shall be left off. That I am the rightful and true inheritor of the English crown, I not only take all Christendom to witness, but also your acts of parliament confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the same regal estate; to him ye were always loving subjects. Therefore, I doubt not, ye will show yourselves so to me, his daughter; not suffering any rebel, especially so presumptuous a one as this Wyatt, to usurp the government of our person.

"And this I say on the word of a prince. I cannot tell how naturally a mother loveth her children, for I never had any; but if subjects may be loved as a mother doth her child, then assure yourselves that I, your sovereign lady and queen, do as earnestly love and favour you. I cannot but think that you love me in return; and thus, bound in concord, we shall be able, I doubt not, to give these rebels a speedy overthrow.

"Now, concerning my intended marriage: I am neither so desirous of wedding, nor so precisely wedded to my will, that I needs must have a husband. Hitherto I have lived a virgin, and I doubt not, with God's grace, to live so still. But if, as my ancestors have done, it might please God that I should leave you a successor to be your governor, I trust you would rejoice thereat; also, I know it would be to your comfort. Yet, if I thought this marriage would endanger any of you, my loving subjects, or the royal estate of this English realm, I would never consent thereto, nor marry while I lived. On the word of a queen I assure you, that if the marriage appear not before the high court of parliament, nobility and commons, for the singular benefit of the whole realm, then will I abstain,—not only from this, but from every other.

"Wherefore, good subjects, pluck up your hearts! Like true men, stand fast with your lawful sovereign against these rebels, and fear them not,—for I do not, I assure you. I leave with you my lord Howard and my lord treasurer, [Winchester,] to assist my lord mayor in the safeguard of the city from spoil and sack, which is the only aim of the rebellious crew."[1]

At the conclusion of this harangue, the crowd, which filled the Guildhall and its court, shouted, "God save queen Mary and the prince of Spain!" The queen then mounted her horse, and rode with her train across Cheapside to the water-stairs of the Three Cranes, in the Vintry. When she alighted to take her barge, a hosier stepped forth from the crowd, and said to her, "Your grace will do well to make your foreward of battle of your bishops and priests, for they be trusty, and will not deceive you." The man was arrested and sent to Newgate.[2] The queen's barge had been appointed to wait for her at the wharf of the Three Cranes. When she entered it, she bade her rowers take her as near as possible to London-bridge, where the attack of Wyatt was threatened:

[1] Holinshed. Fox and Speed have interpolated a clause, as if the Kentish rising were against the queen's religion, not to be found in Holinshed, and positively denied by Rapin.

[2] Proctor's Wyatt's Rebellion.

she then was rowed to Westminster. On her arrival, she held a council, in which she appointed the earl of Pembroke general of her forces, then mustering to defend the palaces of St. James and Whitehall.

An armed watch was set that night in Whitehall-palace. The 'hot gospeller,' Mr. Edward Underhill, presented himself to take his share of this duty, but was repulsed and driven away by his bitter adversary, Norreys, who was a Roman-catholic; upon which, as Underhill writes, "I took a link to light me home, and went away for a night or two." Three days of suspense passed over; in which time Wyatt, finding the city defences by the river-side too strong for him, retreated from Southwark, his people contenting themselves with plundering Winchester-house, the palace of bishop Gardiner, when they made such havoc in his library, that the destructives stood knee-deep in the leaves of torn books.[1]

The storm of civil war, averted from the city, was soon transferred to the door of Mary's own residence. At two in the morning, the palace of Whitehall[2] was wakened by an alarm brought by a deserter from the rebels, declaring "that Wyatt had made a *détour* from the east of the metropolis on the Surrey bank of the Thames, which he had crossed at

[1] Stowe's Annals.

[2] It will scarcely be credited that one of the most difficult points in this difficult biography, was to discover the actual locality of the queen's abiding-place during Wyatt's insurrection. If our readers will please to refer to the pages of Hume, Burnet, Rapin, and other library histories of England, they will find no information of the kind, the queen's personal proceeding being left out, literally, "by particular desire." First editions of Stowe and Holinshed must be found, if they wish to test our references to them. However, since the earlier editions of this biography have been published, ample confirmation has been afforded to our quotations regarding the queen's locality by the publication of the Fourth Report of the Public Records, Appendix 11, p. 240, where, in Mr. T. D. Hardy's valuable abstract from the Baga de Secretis, Tower Records, will be found these words, from Wyatt's, Harper's, and Knevet's indictment: "Furthermore, with banners displayed and a great multitude of rebels, they assembled at Brentford and levied war against the queen, 7 February 1 Mary, and marched towards London, *the queen then being in her palace in her city of Westminster;* and again levied war against the queen at Charing-cross, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields." Whitehall-palace and Westminster-palace were very nearly connected, and by means of the interior galleries of the Holbein gateway, a walk of a few minutes led from one to the other.

Kingston-bridge, and would be at Hyde-park-corner in two hours." The hurry and consternation that pervaded the palace on that winter's morning may be imagined. Barricades were raised at the points most liable to attack; guards were stationed, even at the queen's bedchamber windows and her withdrawing-rooms. The palace echoed with the wailings of the queen's ladies: her royal household had been replenished with a bevy of fair and courtly dames, of a different spirit from those few faithful ladies who belonged to her little circle when she was the persecuted princess Mary, and who shared her flight to Framlingham. These ladies,—Susan Clarencieux, Mary Finch, and Mary Browne, and the granddaughter of sir Thomas More, were with her still, in places of high trust; but they had been too well inured to the caprice of Mary's fortunes to behave according to Edward Underhill's account of their colleagues. "The queen's ladies," he said, "made the greatest lamentations that night; they wept and wrung their hands; and from their exclamations may be judged the state of the interior of Whitehall. 'Alack, alack!' they said, 'some great mischief is toward. We shall all be destroyed this night! What a sight is this, to see the queen's bedchamber full of armed men! The like was never seen or heard of before.'"[1]

In this night of terror, every one lost their presence of mind but the queen. Her ministers and councillors crowded round her, imploring her to take refuge in the Tower. Bishop Gardiner even fell on his knees, to entreat her to enter a boat he had provided for her retreat at Whitehall-stairs. Mary answered, "that she would set no example of cowardice; and, if Pembroke and Clinton proved true to their posts, she would not desert hers."[2] In the midst of the confusion at Whitehall, the 'hot gospeller,' Mr. Edward Underhill, came dressed in his armour as gentleman-at-arms, and was very thankfully admitted by the captain of the queen's guard, who could best appreciate his valour and fidelity to his

[1] Ed. Underhill's Journal: Strype, vol. iii. p. 137.
[2] Renaud's Despatches. Holinshed, Speed, and Baoardo.

standard. The queen sent information to Pembroke and Clinton of the alarm in the palace. They returned the most earnest assurances of their fidelity. At four o'clock in the morning their drums beat to arms, and they began to station their forces for the most effectual defence of the royal palaces of St. James and Whitehall, the rebels being uncertain in which queen Mary had sojourned that night.

The queen had a very small force of infantry,[1] but was better provided with cavalry, which was under the command of lord Clinton, the husband of her friend and kinswoman, the fair Geraldine. Bands of soldiers were posted at intervals from Charing-cross to St. James's-palace; and on the hill opposite to the palace-gateway (now so familiarly known by the name of St. James's-street) was planted a battery of cannon, guarded by a strong squadron of horse, headed by lord Clinton. This force extended from the spot where Crockford's club-house now stands, to Jermyn-street. The antique palace-gateway and the hill still remain witnesses of the scene, but no building occupied at that time the vicinity of the palace, excepting a solitary conduit, standing where the centre of St. James's-square is at present. The whole area before the gateway was called St. James's-fields;[2] and where now extend the streets of Pall Mall and Piccadilly, with their swarming thousands, sylvan lanes then were seen, or park walls stretched on each side.

After Clinton and Pembroke had arranged their plan of action, the approach of the enemy was eagerly expected. Day broke on the 7th of February slowly and sullenly, pouring with rain, a real London wintry morning. The difficulty of bringing up artillery through roads, (such as roads were in those days,) made still worse by the wet weather, had delayed Wyatt's entry till nine o'clock; when his forces, finding all

[1] Baoardo, her nearest contemporary, says but 500 men (p. 49); and Rapin (who has never seen the work of the Venetian) proves the same fact. Standing armies were then considered contrary to the English constitution.

[2] See the ancient plans and pictures in Strype's Stowe, folio; likewise Holinshed and Speed's description of the action. Lord Bacon (vol. ii.) mentions the solitary conduit as connected with one of his acoustic experiments.

access to the higher ground strongly guarded, divided into three: one part, under the command of captain Cobham, approached Westminster through the park, assaulting the back of St. James's-palace as it went; the second, led by captain Knevet, attacked the rear of Whitehall and Westminster-palace; while the other, led by sir Thomas Wyatt, marched down old St. James's-lane, giving battle at Charing-cross, and threatening the Holbein-gateway in front of Whitehall. Wyatt had been promised, by his friends in the city, that Ludgate should be opened to him if he could make his way thither; therefore, without providing for his own retreat, he bent all his energies on the point of forcing a passage to that main entrance of the city. Lord Clinton permitted the van of Wyatt's forces to pass before he charged down St. James's-hill, and commenced the contest by severing the leader from his unwieldy army. But the fiercest of the attacks was made at the back of Westminster-palace, the principal defence of which was the ancient castellated portal leading to the abbey called 'the Gate-house.' Queen Mary, at the most alarming crisis of the assault, stood in the gallery of the Gate-house: the palace then was in the utmost danger, for the remainder of the guards, headed by sir John Gage, who (though a valiant cavalier) was an aged man, gave way before the overwhelming force. The queen saw her guards broken, and utterly dispersed, by Knevet. Sir John Gage was overthrown in the dirt; but he succeeded in rising again, and made good his retreat into the palace. The defeated guards rushed into the court-yard of the palace, and fled to hide themselves among the wood and scullery-offices. The gentlemen-at-arms, who were guarding the hall against attack, all ran out to see the cause of the uproar; when the porter flung to the gates, and locked all out,—friend and foe. The gentlemen-at-arms were by no means satisfied with the precaution of the palace-porter, and did not like their station with the gates locked behind them.[1] Meantime, sir Robert Southwell came round from one of the back yards, and the battle-axe gentlemen begged

[1] Strype, from Ed. Underhill's MS.

he would represent to the queen "that it was a scandal to lock the palace-gates on them; but, if she would only trust to them, she should soon see her enemies fall before her face."

"My masters," said sir Robert, putting his morion from his head, "I desire ye all, as ye be gentlemen, to stay yourselves here while I go up to the queen, and I doubt not she will order the gates to be opened: as I am a gentleman, I promise you to be speedy." He entered the palace by some private door to which he had access, and made a quick return. "My masters," said he, "the queen was content the gates should be opened; but her request is, that ye go not forth from her sight, for her sole trust for the defence of her person is in you." The palace-gates were then flung boldly open, and the battle-axe gentlemen marched up and down before the gallery where the queen stood. When they were mustered, she spoke to them, telling them that, "As gentlemen in whom she trusted, she required them not to leave the spot."[1]

The legal gentlemen who assumed armour when pleading at Westminster-hall, did not wear it wholly for their own preservation; some of them offered their services for the defence of their liege lady. "My father," says Ralph Rokeby,[2] (the lively historian of the family celebrated by sir Walter Scott,) "went to Westminster-hall to plead with a good coat-armour under his serjeant's robes; but hearing at Charing-cross the approach of Wyatt and his rebels, he hastened to the defence of the queen at Whitehall. There he strung and fettled an archer's bow of the livery-guard that stood aside unstrung, and throwing aside his serjeant's robe, he went to the gate-house of the palace, and made good use of it with a sheaf of arrows."

Wyatt was, in the mean time, forcing the passes down the Strand to Ludgate, which were guarded with bands of soldiers commanded by Courtenay earl of Devonshire, and the earl of Worcester. Courtenay scampered off at the first approach of Wyatt. It was supposed that timidity, from his inexperience

[1] Strype, from Edward Underhill's MS. Journal.
[2] Œconomia Rokebeiorum.

in arms, had caused him to show the white feather;[1] but he really was a secret coadjutor of Wyatt, and willing to clear the way for him, though his manner of doing it was not likely to render him very popular with the fierce people over whom he wished to reign. Wyatt and his force then approached Ludgate, and summoned the warder to surrender; but instead of his citizen-partisan, who, he supposed, had the keeping of that important city entrance, lord William Howard appeared in the gallery over the portal, and replied, sternly, "Avaunt! traitor, avaunt! you enter not here." There was no resource for Wyatt but to fight his way back to his main body. The queen's forces were between him and his army. Urged by despair, he renewed the contest with great fury near Charing-cross.

Meantime, Courtenay rushed into the presence of the queen, crying out "that her battle was broke,—that all was lost and surrendered to Wyatt!" The lion spirit of her race rose in the breast of Mary, and she replied, with infinite disdain, "Such was the fond opinion of those who durst not go near enough to see the truth of the trial;" adding, "that she herself would immediately enter into the battle, and abide the upshot of her rightful quarrel, or die with the brave men then fighting for her. And so," continues old Holinshed, "she prepared herself accordingly." Whitehall was at that moment assaulted in the rear by Cobham's forces, who had forced their way through the park from St. James's, while the contest still raged in the area of Charing-cross. The band of gentlemen-at-arms were very earnestly engaged in defence of the royal residence; part kept the rebels at bay in the rear of the palace, while the others defended the court-yard and gateway with their battle-axes. Fugitives from the battle ever and anon took refuge in the palace, crying out, "All is lost! away, away! a barge, a barge!" Yet the queen never changed her cheer, nor would desert Whitehall, but asked, "Where was lord Pembroke?" and being answered "he was in the battle,"—"Well, then," re-

[1] Baoardo (p. 51) mentions Courtenay by name. Holinshed tells the circumstance, and describes the queen's personal heroism, but only calls Courtenay "a certain nobleman." His guarded yet circumstantial narrative is a curiosity. Renaud, Noailles, and Rosso all agree in their account of Courtenay's behaviour.

plied Mary, "all that dare not fight may fall to prayers, and I warrant we shall hear better news anon. God will not deceive me, in whom my chief trust is."[1]

Within the palace reigned the utmost terror; "such running and shrieking of gentlewomen, such clapping and slamming-to of doors and windows, as was appalling to hear."[2] While this uproar prevailed, the queen actually came out of the palace among the gentlemen-at-arms, and stood between two of them, within arquebuss-shot of the enemy,[3] when Pembroke made the final charge which decided the fortune of the day. The difficulty was, in this last struggle, to tell friends from foes. "The adversaries," pursues Holinshed, "could only be distinguished by the mire which had adhered to their garments in their dirty march from Brentford; and the war-cry that morning, by the queen's troops, was, 'Down with the draggle-tails!'" The noise at Charing-cross, when Wyatt's forces were finally broken, was plainly heard by the marquess of Northampton and his fellow-prisoners, as they stood on the leads of the White tower of London.[4] The shrieking of women and children was absolutely terrific, though it does not appear that any of them were hurt in the fray. Wyatt was forced down Fleet-street, whence there was no retreat. He sat down, fatigued and dispirited, on a fish-stall opposite to the Belle Sauvage inn, and was finally prevailed on to surrender by sir Maurice Berkeley, an unarmed cavalier, who took him up behind him and carried him to court as prisoner, whence he was conveyed to the Tower.

The band of gentlemen-at-arms were admitted to the queen's presence soon after the termination of the struggle; she thanked them very graciously for their valiant defence of her person and palace. They were all of them gentlemen of

[1] Proctor's Wyatt's Rebellion.

[2] Stowe's Annals, p. 621.

[3] Baoardo, edited by Luca Cortile, p. 52. Rosso, p. 50. It is fully confirmed by Grafton, who is copied by Holinshed: their praises of the queen's valour and presence of mind are excessive. The real writer of the English chronicle narrative was George Ferrers, master of the revels to Edward VI. and Mary; he was afterwards a writer in the Protestant interest, yet was at this time an eye-witness and partaker in the dangers of the struggle. He acted as a sort of aide-de-camp, and passed many times with messages between Pembroke and the queen.

[4] Stowe.

family, and many of them possessors of great landed estates. This was, in the time of the Tudors, the most splendid band of royal guards in Europe.

The most dolorous consequence of this rebellion was, that the queen was beset on all sides with importunities for the execution of the hapless lady Jane Gray, against whom the fatal facts of her re-proclamation as queen by her father, and at Rochester by some of Wyatt's London allies, were urged vehemently. Poinet, the Protestant bishop of Winchester, affirms "that those lords of the council who had been the most instrumental, at the death of Edward VI., in thrusting royalty upon poor lady Jane, and proclaiming Mary illegitimate, were now the sorest forcers of men, yea, became earnest councillors for that innocent lady's death."[1] These were the earl of Pembroke and the marquess of Winchester, afterwards prosperous men at the court of Elizabeth. The day after the contest with Wyatt, queen Mary came to Temple-bar, and there, on the very ground saturated with the blood of her subjects, she was persuaded to sign the death-warrant of her hapless kinswoman, on the plea "that such scenes would be frequent while she suffered the competitor for her throne to exist." The warrant specified that "Guildford Dudley and his wife" were to be executed on the 9th of February. It was evidently a measure impelled by the exigency of the moment, before queen Mary had lost the impression of the blood lately shed around her, and of the numerous executions which must, perforce, follow the rebellion. Sudden as the order was, lady Jane Gray declared she was prepared for it. Dr. Feckenham, the queen's chaplain, who had had frequent conferences with the angelic victim since her imprisonment, was deputed to prepare her for this hurried death. Lady Jane was on friendly terms with him; but was naturally anxious to be spared the harassing discussion of their differing creeds. She therefore declined disputing with him, saying "that her time was too short for controversy." Upon this, Feckenham flew to the queen, and represented to her "that indeed the time was fearfully short for preparation of any kind; and how

[1] Strype, vol. iii. part 1, p. 141, thus quotes Poinet.

could she expect lady Jane to die a Catholic,[1] if she was thus hurried to the block without time for conviction?" The queen immediately respited the execution for three days. Lady Jane smiled mournfully on her zealous friend when he brought her news of this delay. She told him "he had mistaken her meaning; she wished not for delay of her sentence, but for quiet from polemic disputation." The meek angel added, "that she was prepared to receive patiently her death in any manner it would please the queen to appoint. True it was her flesh shuddered, as was natural to frail mortality; but her spirit would spring rejoicing into the eternal light, where she hoped the mercy of God would receive it."

The memory of this beautiful message to queen Mary, far more touching than any anecdote our church-of-England historians have recorded of lady Jane Gray, was preserved by Feckenham; who, though he succeeded not in turning the heavenly-minded prisoner from the Protestant religion, won her friendship and gratitude. Her last words bore witness to the humanity and kindness she received from him.[2] The executions of this lovely and innocent girl and her young husband must ever be considered frightful stains on the reign of a female sovereign. Since the wars of the Roses, the excitable turbulence of the people would never permit any near connexions of the crown to rest in peace, without making their names the excuse for civil war. But if queen Mary considered herself impelled to the sacrifice by inexorable necessity, she neither aggravated it by malicious observations nor by hypocritical conduct.

Watch was kept night and day, in armour, at court, so great was the panic at this crisis. The city presented the most frightful scenes, for military law was executed on fifty of the train-bands, who deserted the queen's standard under

[1] Baoardo, p. 45.

[2] See the History of Queen Mary I. by our church of England bishop Godwin, in White Kennet's Complete History. Feckenham was the last abbot of Westminster. Both lady Jane and abbot Feckenham were martyrs for their respective faiths. He endured, in the reign of Elizabeth, a captivity of twenty-five years, and died at last a prisoner in the noxious castle of Wisbeach-in-the-Fens.

Brett. These deserters being all citizens, many were hung at their own doors, and left there; so that, according to an Italian eye-witness, "the queen could not go to the city without beholding the ugly sight of dangling corpses at every turn of the street." But let those who live in our blessed times of peacefulness imagine, if they can, the agony of the harmless families within the houses,—children, wife, mother, or sisters, who saw a dear, perhaps an only protector, thus hanging before his own door-way. What tragedy has ever equalled such woe? The prisoners taken in arms of Wyatt's army, amounting to five hundred, were led to the tilt-yard at Whitehall, with ropes about their necks; the queen appeared in the gallery above, and pronounced their pardon.[1] Notwithstanding this act of personal forgiveness, many of these prisoners were sent to take their trials; but the sheriff of Kent sent word to the queen of the fact, when she promptly interfered, saying, "I have pardoned them once, and they shall not be further vexed;"[2]—another proof that Mary was far more merciful than her ministers.

The same day that lady Jane Gray was executed, the earl of Devonshire was sent to the Tower, "with a great company of guards," according to a letter written the same evening to the earl of Shrewsbury,[3] which adds, "The lady Elizabeth was sent for three days ago, but yet she is not come, whatsoever the *let* [hindrance] is." In fact, the confessions of sir Thomas Wyatt, and some others, gave queen Mary notice of a competitor for her crown still nearer to her than the candid and angelic Jane, whose life she had just sacrificed; this was

[1] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 235.

[2] Proctor's Wyatt's Rebellion. This author was a schoolmaster, who wrote at the time.

[3] Many historians have supposed Wyatt's confessions extorted by torture, but there exists no document proving the use of torture in his case; neither in his speeches on his trial, carefully noted down by Holinshed, does he mention such a fact; though, if he had been tortured, he would not have failed to mention it when he said, in allusion to the services of his family, "My grandfather served most truly her grace's grandfather [Henry VII.], and *for his sake was on the rack in the Tower.*"—See Holinshed, black letter, vol. ii. p. 136, first edit. Wyatt pleaded guilty at his trial, a curious fact elicited by the abstract of his trial preserved in the Baga de Secretis.—See Report of Keepers of the Records.

her sister, the princess Elizabeth. On the outbreak of the strife, the queen had sent for Elizabeth from Ashridge, by the following letter written in her own hand:—

"Right dearly and entirely beloved sister, we greet you well. And whereas certain ill-disposed persons, minding more the satisfaction of their malicious minds than their duty of allegiance towards us, have, of late, spread divers untrue rumours; and by that means, and other devilish practices, do travail to induce our good and loving subjects to an unnatural rebellion against God and us, and the common tranquillity of our realm: We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to come to some peril if any sudden tumult should arise, either where you now be, or about Donnington, (whither we understand you are bound shortly to remove,) do therefore think expedient you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, to make your repair hither to us, which we pray you will not fail to do, assuring you that you will be most heartily welcome to us. Of your mind herein, we pray you return answer by this messenger. And thus we pray God to have you in his holy keeping Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the 26th day of January, the 1st of our reign.

"Your loving sister,

"MARY THE QUEEN."

Elizabeth was very ill, and pleaded to the messenger mentioned by the queen, that she was utterly unable to travel. Mary permitted her to remain a fortnight, waiting for convalescence. Accusations, however, that were made against her by Wyatt were partially confirmed by sir James Crofts, who had been made prisoner in an abortive attempt to raise an insurrection in Wales, simultaneously with those in Kent and Devonshire. The queen then sent imperatively for Elizabeth, yet showed consideration for her by the person despatched to bring her to Whitehall. This was lord William Howard, who was not only her great-uncle, (brother to Anne Boleyn's mother,) but the kindest friend she had in the world. The queen sent, withal, her own litter for her sister's accommodation, and her three physicians, to ascertain whether she could travel without danger.[1] Before the princess Elizabeth came to Whitehall, the queen had heard so many charges against her that she would not see her when she arrived, but assigned her a secure corner of the palace to abide in. She had formerly given Elizabeth a ring as a token, and told her to send it, if at any time there should be anger between them. Elizabeth

[1] Mr. Tytler's recent discoveries in the State-Paper office have been followed, in this narrative, in preference to Fox, whose account is contrary to documents.

sent it to her at this alarming crisis, but was answered, "that she must clear herself from the serious imputations alleged against her before they could meet."

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that the queen meant to abide by the ancient constitutional law of England, restored in her first parliament, which required that an overt or open act of treason must be proved before any English person could be attainted as a traitor. Courtenay was, as well as Elizabeth, in disgrace; he had been arrested a few days after the contest with Wyatt, and sent to the Tower. It is to queen Mary's credit that she urged the law of her country to the Spanish ambassador, when he informed her "that her marriage with the prince of Spain could not be concluded till Courtenay and Elizabeth were punished."[1] The Spaniard thus quotes her words to his master, Charles V.:—"The queen replied 'that she and her council were labouring as much as possible to discover the truth, as to the practices of Elizabeth and Courtenay; and that, as to Courtenay, it was certain he was accused by many of the prisoners of consenting and assisting in the plot, and that the cypher by which he corresponded with sir Peter Carew had been discovered cut on his guitar; that he had intrigued with the French, and that a match had been projected between him and Elizabeth, which was to be followed by the deposition and death of her, the queen; yet the law of England condemns to death only those who have committed overt acts of treason; those who have merely implied consent by silence are punished but by imprisonment, and sometimes by confiscation of goods.'" Renaud angrily observed, "that it was evident the queen wished to save Courtenay, and of course Elizabeth, since she does not allow that her guilt was as manifest as his."[2]

Correspondence, of a nature calculated to enrage any sovereign, was discovered, which deeply implicated Elizabeth. Notwithstanding all that has been urged against Mary, it is evident, from the letters of the Spanish ambassador, that she proved her sister's safeguard by remaining steadfast to her expressed determination, "That although she was convinced

[1] Tytler's Mary I., vol. ii. p. 320. [2] Ibid.

of the deep dissimulation of Elizabeth's character, who was, in this instance, what she had always shown herself, yet proof, open proof, must be brought against her before any harsher measures than temporary imprisonment were adopted." In short, whatever adverse colours may be cast on a portion of her history which really does her credit, the conclusion, built on the irrefragable structure of results, is this,—Mary dealt infinitely more mercifully by her heiress, than Elizabeth did by hers. And how startling is the fact, that queen Mary would not proceed against her sister and her kinsman because the proof of their treason was contained in cypher letters,[1] easy to be forged, whilst correspondence in cypher brought Mary queen of Scots to the block, protesting, as she did, that the correspondence *was* forged.

At this crisis queen Mary gave way to anger; she had offered, if any nobleman would take the charge and responsibility of her sister, that she should not be subjected to imprisonment in the Tower; but no one would undertake the dangerous office. The queen then expedited the warrant to commit Elizabeth to the Tower. The earl of Sussex and another nobleman were appointed to conduct the princess thither, but she persuaded them[2] (it does not seem for any particular object, except writing a letter to the queen) to outstay the time of tide at London-bridge. This act of disobedience incensed Mary; she rated the offending parties at the council-board, and told them, "That they were not travelling in the right path; that they dared not have done such a thing in her father's time;" and finally, as the most awful feature of her wrath, "wished that he were alive for a month."[3] Well she knew that he was never troubled with scruples of conscience concerning how the ancient laws of England regarded treasons, open or concealed; for if he supposed that

[1] Consisting of three, from Wyatt to Elizabeth, and one, more important, from Elizabeth herself to the king of France, (Henry II.) who, through Noailles, his turbulent ambassador, was the prime mover of the rebellion.–See Dr. Lingard, vol. vii., and Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, vol. ii. State-Papers. The letter, which would have involved Elizabeth in the penalties of treason, was in cypher characters.

[2] See the biography of queen Elizabeth, in which these events will be detailed circumstantially.

[3] Tytler's Edward and Mary I., vol. ii. p. 343.

even a heraldic lion curled its tail contumaciously, that supposition brought instant death on its owner, despite of genius, virtue, youth, and faithful service.[1]

There was a seditious piece of trickery carried on in the city at this time. In an old uninhabited house in Aldersgate-street, a supernatural voice was heard in the wall, which the people (who gathered in the street to the amount of seventeen thousand) affirmed was the voice of an angel inveighing against the queen's marriage. When the crowd shouted, "God save queen Mary!" it answered nothing. When they cried, "God save the lady Elizabeth!" it answered, "So be it." If they asked, "What is the mass?" it answered, "Idolatry." The council sent lord admiral Howard and lord Paget to quiet the spirit, which they did by ordering the wall to be pulled down, and soon unharboured a young woman, named Elizabeth Croft, who confessed that she was hired, by one Drakes, to excite a mob. The heroine of the "voice in the wall" was set in the pillory for her misdeeds, but with no attendant cruelty, or the minute city chroniclers[2] would have specified it. Thus did this grotesque incident pass on without the usual disgusting waste of human life. Another adventure, still more absurd, proves the state of excitement which pervaded all natives of England, of whatever age and degree, concerning the queen's marriage. Three hundred children, assembled in a meadow near London, divided themselves in two parties to play at the game "of the queen against Wyatt;" these little creatures must have been violent partisans on both sides, for they fought so heartily that several were seriously wounded; and the urchin that played prince Philip, the queen's intended spouse, being taken prisoner and hanged by the rest, was nearly throttled in good earnest, before some people, alarmed at the proceedings of the small destructives, could break in and cut him down. Noailles, the French ambassador, who relates the story (and, being a detected conspirator against the queen, maligns her on every occasion,) affirms, "that she wished the life at least of one of the children

[1] The gallant earl of Surrey was put to death for a supposed difference in the painting of the tail of the lion in his crest. [2] Holinshed. Stowe, p. 624.

to be sacrificed for the good of the public." The truth is, the queen requested "that a few salutary whippings might be dispensed, and that the most pugnacious of this band of infantry might be shut up for some days;" and that was all the notice she took of the matter.[1]

Conspiracies against queen Mary's life abounded at this unsettled time; even the students of natural philosophy (which, despite of the stormy atmosphere of the times, was proceeding with infinite rapidity) were willing to apply the instruments of science to the destruction of the queen. "I have heard," says lord Bacon, "there was a conspiracy to have killed queen Mary, as she walked in St. James's-park, by means of a burning-glass fixed on the leads of a neighbouring house. I was told so by a vain, though great dealer in secrets, who declared he had hindered the attempt." Of all things the queen most resented the libellous attacks on her character, which abounded on all sides. She had annulled the cruel law, instituted by her father, which punished libels on the crown with death; but, to her anguish and astonishment, the country was soon after completely inundated with them, both written and printed: one she showed the Spanish ambassador,[2] which was thrown on her kitchen table. She could not suffer these anonymous accusations to be made unanswered; she said, with passionate sorrow, that "she had always lived a chaste and honest life, and she would *not* bear imputations to the contrary silently;" and, accordingly, had a proclamation made in every county, exhorting her loving subjects not to listen to the slanders that her enemies were actively distributing.[3] This only proved that the poisoned arrows gave pain, but did not abate the nuisance.

A remonstrance from the Protestants, in verse, was found by the queen[4] on the desk of her oratory, when she knelt

[1] Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary I., vol. ii. p. 331.

[2] See the abstracts from Parliamentary History and Holinshed, which show that Henry VIII., for the first time in England, caused an act to be made punishing libel with death. [3] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 377.

[4] See Fox's Martyrology. He does not date the production; but it is evidently written while Mary was still head of the church, and not long after she had appointed Gardiner her prime-minister.

down to pray: this was couched in very different terms from the indecorous productions which had so deeply grieved her, for this poem was (except a verse or two, likening her to Jezebel,) affectionate and complimentary Its strains are much in the style of Sternhold and Hopkins. The commencing stanzas are,—

"O lovely rose most redolent,
Of fading flowers most fresh,
In England pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art peerless.

This rose, which beareth such a smell,
Doth represent our queen;
Oh, listen, that I may you tell
Her colours fresh and green:

The love of God within her heart
Shall beautify her grace;
The fear of God, on t'other part,
Shall 'stablish her in place.

* * * *

And yet *you* do seem merciful
In midst of tyranny,
And holy, whereas you maintain
Most vile idolatry!"

How the queen received the poesy is not known, but it is an amiably disposed canticle in comparison with the foul and fierce libels her enemies were pouring forth, to her discomfort, at the same period.

Amidst all her troubles and contentions, Mary found time to examine with approbation the Latin translations of her little kinsman, lord Darnley, and to send him a present of a rich gold chain, as an encouragement for some abstract he had made, either from sir Thomas More's Utopia, or in imitation of that celebrated work. A letter of thanks to the queen from this child is extant,[1] which proves that she had frequently sent him valuable presents, and treated him kindly. Mary encouraged him to proceed in a learned education, in which he was early progressing according to the unhealthy

[1] MS. Cottonian, Vesp., F iii. f. 37. This letter has been quoted as a specimen of lord Darnley's mode of writing to Mary queen of Scots,—a mistake, since it is dated 1554, when he was but nine years old; and, even at that early age, he speaks of a long series of presents and benefactions bestowed by the queen, to whom it was addressed.

system of precocious study in vogue at that day, of which she herself and her brother Edward VI. were noted instances. The little lord Darnley, in his letter, designates queen Mary "as most triumphant and victorious princess," in allusion to her late conquest of the rebels, his epistle being written on the 28th of March, 1554. In quaint but pretty language, he expresses his wish "that his tender years would permit him to fight in her defence." He was the eldest son of queen Mary's cousin-german and early companion, lady Margaret Douglas, at this time first lady in waiting, and wife to the Scottish exiled lord, Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox. It is matter of curiosity to trace queen Mary's patronage of lord Darnley and his family during his early life, since he is involved in utter historical obscurity till his important marriage with the heiress of the English crown, in 1565.

Despite of the extreme repugnance manifested by all her subjects to her marriage with Philip of Spain, queen Mary accepted his ring of betrothal, brought by count Egmont, who had returned to England on especial embassy in March. This distinguished man, who afterwards died on the scaffold for vindicating the civil and religious liberty of his country, was, at the time of his sojourn in England, in the flower of his age, and was one of the most splendid soldiers, in person and renown, that Europe could produce. The Tuesday after his arrival, the earl of Pembroke and lord admiral Howard came to escort him into the presence of their royal mistress and her council, accompanied by Renaud, the resident ambassador, who describes the scene: "The eucharist was in the apartment, before which the queen fell on her knees, and called God to witness 'that her sole object in this marriage was the good of her kingdom;' and expressed herself with so much pathos and eloquence, that the bystanders melted into tears." The oaths confirming the marriage were then taken on the part of England and Spain; "after which," proceeds Renaud, "her majesty again dropped on her knees, and requested us to join our prayers with hers, 'that God would make the marriage fortunate.' Count Egmont then presented queen Mary with the ring that your majesty sent, which

she showed to all the company; and assuredly, sire, the jewel is a precious one, and well worth looking at. We took our *congé* after this, first inquiring 'whether her majesty had any commands for his highness prince Philip?' She enjoined us 'To bear her most affectionate commendations to his good grace. She would that they should both live in mutual good offices together; but that, as his highness had not yet written to her, she deferred writing to him till he first commenced the correspondence.'" This is not the only hint that Renaud throws out respecting the neglect of the Spanish prince: he likewise shows anxiety that the gentlewomen who were most confidential with the queen should not be forgotten. "Your majesty understands," he writes to the emperor, "that at the coming of his highness some little presents of rings, or such small gear, must be made to the queen's ladies; particularly to three, who have always spoken a good word for the marriage: these were, mistress Clarencieux, Jane Russell, and mistress Shirley."

In proportion to the strong wilfulness with which Mary's mind was set on this marriage, was the amount of temptation when she was artfully informed that the destruction of her sister and of her kinsman Courtenay could alone secure it. Her tempter was Renaud, the Spanish ambassador, who was perpetually urging on her attention, "that it would be impossible for prince Philip to approach England till his safety was guaranteed by the punishment of the rebels." To which the queen replied, with tears in her eyes,[1] "That she would rather never have been born, than that any outrage should happen to the prince." The spleen of the Spanish ambassador had been excited by the queen sending for him on Easter-Sunday, March 27th, to inform him "that, as it was an immemorial custom for the kings of England to extend their mercy to prisoners on Good-Friday, she had given liberty to eight; among others to Northampton, [the brother of Katharine Parr,] none of whom had been implicated in the recent rebellion." For a very good reason, certainly, since they were safe under the ward of locks and bolts in the

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, Renaud's Despatches; vol. ii. pp. 348, 350.

Tower. The murmurings of the discontented Spaniard, and his threats "that, if her majesty continued such ill-advised clemency, his prince could never come to England," occasioned the queen to weep, but not to change her purpose, though he zealously presented her with Thucydides, in French, (forgetting that the English queen could read the original Greek,) to teach her how traitors ought to be cut off.[1]

In the next interview, which happened at the council-board, Renaud spake out plainly, and demanded by name the victims he required before she could be blessed with the presence of her betrothed. His words are,[2] "that it was of the utmost consequence that the trials and *executions* of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and the lady Elizabeth, should take place before the arrival of his highness." The answer of queen Mary is a complete specimen of the art of dismissing the question direct by a general observation. "She had," she said, "taken neither rest nor sleep, for the anxiety she felt for the security of his highness at his coming." But this answer did not spare Mary from another urgent requisition for kindred blood. Bishop Gardiner remarked, "that as long as Elizabeth lived, there was no hope of the kingdom being tranquillized; *and if every one went to work roundly, as he did,* things would go on better." This savage speech gives authenticity to a passage which occurs in an old memoir of Elizabeth's early life, entitled England's Elizabeth,[3] in which the following assertion occurs:—"A warrant came down, under seal, for her execution, Gardiner being the inventor of that instrument. Master Bridges[4] no sooner received it, but, mistrusting false play, presently made haste to the queen, who was no sooner informed, but she denied the least knowledge

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 346; likewise Burnet, as to Thucydides.

[2] Tytler, ibid. p. 365. It is to be hoped that, after this plain evidence of the cruel intentions of the Spanish court, the paradox will no longer be believed that Elizabeth owed her life to the Spaniards, when these scenes show that Mary was her sister's only protector.

[3] By Thomas Heywood, a contemporary of Mary and Elizabeth, a great partisan of the latter, and author of The Four Prentices of London.

[4] Sir John Gage was the constable of the Tower at this time, but he was often at court, being likewise vice-chamberlain; therefore Bridges, the lieutenant of the Tower, is always mentioned as the person in authority, in any occurrence of interest which took place there. He was soon after created lord Chandos.

of it. She called Gardiner and others (whom she suspected) before her, blamed them for their inhuman usage of her sister, and took measures for her better security."[1] If the lieutenant of the Tower had not felt full confidence in the attachment of Mary to her sister, he dared not have made such an appeal.

The measures taken by queen Mary for the security of her sister's person, were chiefly sending sir Henry Bedingfeld, with a strong guard, to receive the entire charge of her till she could be removed to a distant country palace. This appointment, he affirms, took place on the 1st of May. Here, again, is another historical mystery explained of Elizabeth's after-amicable conduct to sir Henry Bedingfeld. That gentleman, though deeply devoted to her sister, was plainly the guardian of her life from the illegal attacks of Gardiner and the privy council. The perpetual delays of the trials of Elizabeth and Courtenay had been (in a series of grumbling despatches to the emperor) attributed by Renaud to Gardiner,[2] whom he accuses so perpetually, in consequence of being the friend of Elizabeth, that the reader of these documents is half inclined to believe he was such; but the positive attack on Elizabeth's life, in which Gardiner planned the species of tragedy afterwards successfully acted by Burleigh in the case of Mary queen of Scots, removes all doubts regarding his enmity to her. The apparent ambiguity of his conduct arose from the fact, that he was in reality Courtenay's friend; and Elizabeth and Courtenay were so inextricably implicated together in this rebellion, that one could not be publicly impeached without the other.

Some reason existed for Gardiner's protection of Courtenay. The family of this noble had endured deadly persecution for the ancient ritual; it is very doubtful if Courtenay, though politically tampering with the Protestant party, had shown

[1] By Thomas Heywood. It is written with the utmost enthusiasm in the cause of Elizabeth and of the Protestant church of England; therefore undue partiality to Mary cannot be suspected. He is one of those authors who state the facts they have heard or witnessed, without altering or suppressing them on account of political antagonism.

[2] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. pp. 338, 339, 346.

the slightest personal bias to Protestantism, and he had, withal, been for some time Gardiner's fellow-prisoner in the Tower. It is certain, from whatever causes, that Gardiner had always been the great promoter of Courtenay's marriage-suit to the queen; and, since the insurrection, he must have considered the *liaison* between Courtenay and Elizabeth as a fresh obstacle to these views. The cruel intentions of both Renaud and Gardiner against Elizabeth had been plainly enough spoken at the council-conference narrated by the former; it is as plain that she had but one friend in the fearful conclave, and that was the sister at whose deposition and death she had connived, but whose intense constancy of disposition would not suffer her to destroy one whom she had tenderly caressed and loved in infancy. In one of these sittings of council was first started the idea of marrying Elizabeth to the brave but landless soldier, Philibert Emanuel of Savoy, the dispossessed prince of Piedmont; thus removing her by wedlock, if not by death. This was, from the commencement to the end of Mary's reign, a favourite notion with Philip of Spain. Probably connected with it was the proposal of sending Elizabeth to the care of the queen of Hungary. But Mary no more approved of her sister's removal from England than of her destruction, as subsequent events proved.

Renaud notices a remark made by lord Paget, "that it was vain to think of remedying the disorders in the kingdom, without the thorough re-establishment of religion, [meaning that of the Roman-catholics]; this," he added, "would be difficult, if the opinion of the chancellor [Gardiner] were followed, who was anxious to carry through the matter by fire and blood."[1] In some other passages, Renaud himself blames the violence of Gardiner in matters of religion; and how savage must Gardiner have been, if he excited the reprobation and disgust of a man whose inhumanity has been shown to be glaring? As for the queen, whenever the ambassador blames her, it is for sparing persons whose destruction was advised by the Spanish government.

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 365.

This council-conference was held the day before the queen's third parliament met in Westminster. Mary, or rather Gardiner, had intended to summon the parliament at Oxford instead of the metropolis, as a punishment for the part the London trained bands had taken in Wyatt's rebellion. This intention was overruled: the queen went in great state to Westminster-abbey, and was present with the lords and commons at the mass of the Holy Ghost.[1] She did not go to the whitehall and open the sessions; this was done by Gardiner, who in his speech observed, "that the queen could not come without danger to her person, because of the furious storm of wind and rain then raging."[2] The queen must have had some other motive for absenting herself, since the parliament-chamber of Westminster-palace, called the whitehall, was but a short distance from the abbey. Gardiner introduced the subject of the queen's marriage formally in his address, and laid before the senate its articles; "from which it was apparent," he observed, "that instead of the prince of Spain making acquisition of England, as promulgated by the rebels, England had made an acquisition of him, and all his father's kingdoms and provinces.[3] Queen Mary told Renaud,[4] "that while she attended the mass in Westminster-abbey at the opening of parliament, she saw the earl of Pembroke, (who had returned from his country-house, where he had been keeping Easter,) and she spoke to him, and made much of him, bidding him welcome, and his wife also; and she now trusts all things will go well."

The parliament was that session earnestly employed in passing laws in order to secure the queen's separate and independent government of her dominions, without control from her husband. They took jealous alarm that all power was vested in the name of kings in the statute-book, without any mention of queens-regnant; and their first care was, to provide a remedy for this deficiency, lest Philip of Spain, when invested with the titular dignity of king, might legally

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 368.
[2] Parliamentary Journals. Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii. p. 303.
[3] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 368.
[4] Ibid. Katharine Parr's sister was at this time dead, and Pembroke remarried.

claim the obedience of the nation, because there was no precedent of queenly authority in the written laws of the land, to obviate which omission the speaker brought in a bill.[1] This motion gave rise to another alarm in the house of commons, which was, "that as the queen derived her title from the common or oral law of the land, acknowledged by the English people before acts of parliament or statute-laws existed, she might defy all written laws in which kings only were mentioned, and rule despotic queen of England." On this idea, one of the time-serving agents, who had been formerly employed by Cromwell for the destruction of the abbeys, wrote an essay, in which he argued "that the queen could (without waiting for the co-operation of parliament) re-establish the supremacy of the pope, restore the monasteries, and punish her enemies by the simple exertion of her own will." After reading this unprincipled production with great approbation, the Spanish ambassador carried it to queen Mary; he begged her to peruse it carefully, and keep its contents secret. As the queen read the treatise, she disliked it, judging it to be contrary to her coronation-oath. She sent for Gardiner, and when he came she charged him, as he would answer it at the general day of doom, "that he would consider the book carefully, and bring her his opinion of it forthwith." The next day happened to be Maundy-Thursday, and after queen Mary had made her maundy to her alms-people, Gardiner waited on her in her closet, to deliver the opinion she requested on the manuscript, which he did in these words:— "My good and gracious lady, I intend not to ask you to name the devisors of this new-invented *platform;* but this I will say, that it is pity so noble and virtuous a queen should be endangered with the snares of such subtle sycophants, for the book is naught, and most horribly to be thought on." Upon which queen Mary thanked him, and threw the book behind the fire; moreover, she exhorted the Spanish ambassador, "that neither he, nor any of his retinue, should encourage her people in such projects."

In this interview, one of the good points in the character

[1] Burnet's History of the Reformation.

of Mary's prime-minister was perceptible, which was, attachment to the ancient laws of England; and he had sometimes dared to defend them, at that dangerous period when Cromwell was tempting Henry VIII. to govern without law. Gardiner was likewise an honest and skilful financier, who managed Mary's scant revenue so well, that while he lived she was not in debt; yet he was a generous patron of learning, and if he could benefit a learned man in distress, even the cruelty and bigotry, which deformed and envenomed his great talents, remained in abeyance. Having thus, by stating the "for" and "against" in the disposition of this remarkable man, humbly followed the example prescribed by Shakspeare, in his noble dialogue between queen Katharine and her officer Griffiths on the good and evil qualities of Wolsey, it remains to quote, in illustration of his conduct, a curious anecdote concerning himself, queen Mary, and Roger Ascham, (the celebrated tutor of the princess Elizabeth,) Roger himself, in one of his epistles, being the authority. Queen Mary had promised Roger Ascham the continuation of his pension of 10*l.* per annum, granted by her brother Edward VI. as a reward for his treatise written on archery, called the Toxophilite. "And now," said he, "I will open[1] a pretty subtlety in doing a good turn for myself, whereat, perchance, you will smile. I caused the form of the patent for my pension to be written out, but I ordered a blank place to be left for the sum, and I brought it so written to bishop Gardiner. He asked me, 'Why the amount of the sum, ten pounds, was not put in?' 'Sir,' said I, 'that is the fault of the naughty scrivener, who hath, withal, left the blank space so large, that the former sum, *ten pounds,* will not half fill it; and therefore, except it please your good lordship to put 'twenty pounds' instead of ten, truly I shall be put to great charges in having the patent written out again; but the word *twenty* will not only fill up the space, but my empty purse too!' Bishop Gardiner laughed, and carried the patent to queen Mary, and told her what I

[1] The anecdote is in one of his letters to queen Elizabeth, complaining of his being badly provided for. Edited by Dr. Whittaker, in his History of Richmondshire.

said; and the queen, without any more speaking, before I had done her any service, out of her own bountiful goodness, made my pension twenty pounds per annum. I had never done any thing for her," added Ascham, "but taught her brother Edward to write; and, though I differed from her in religion, she made me her Latin secretary." He adds many commendations on the learning and wisdom of Gardiner, which sprang from his exuberant gratitude for the complete success of his "pretty subtlety."

Whilst the session of parliament continued, the execution of the unfortunate Wyatt took place, and a few days afterwards, the trial of sir Nicholas Throckmorton. This gentleman, who had given the queen that important warning which had saved her life and crown, had become malcontent; and had, to a certain degree, intrigued by message and letter with sir Thomas Wyatt. His trial was the first instance, since the accession of the Tudor line, in which a jury dared do their duty honestly, and acquit a prisoner arraigned by the crown. The prisoner defended himself manfully; he would not be brow-beaten by his partial judge, Bromley, who had been so long accustomed to administer polluted law, that he was obstinate in forcing the trial into the old iniquitous way, which had destroyed thousands in the fearful days of Henry VII., when condemnation followed arraignment with unerring certainty. Throckmorton had an answer for every one: he appealed to the recently restored laws of England; he quoted the queen's own eloquent charge to her judges[1] when she inducted them into office, the memory of which would have been lost but for the pleadings of this courageous man. "What time," he said, "my lord chief-justice, it pleased the queen's majesty to call you to this honourable office, I did learn of a great man of her highness's privy council, that, among other good instructions, her majesty charged and enjoined you 'to administer law and justice indifferently, without respect to persons.' And notwithstanding *the old error among you, which did not admit any witness to speak, or any other matter to he heard in favour of the prisoner* when the

[1] Holinshed, b. iv. 4to ed. vol. ii. p. 1747.

crown was party against him, the queen told you '*her pleasure was, that whatsoever could be brought in favour of the accused, should be admitted to be heard;*' and, moreover, '*that you, specially, and likewise all other justices, should not sit in judgment otherwise for her highness than for her subject.*' This manner of indifferent proceeding being enjoined by the commandment of God, and likewise being commanded you by the queen's own mouth, therefore reject nothing that can be spoken in my defence; and in so doing, you shall show yourselves worthy ministers, and fit for so worthy a mistress." "You mistake the matter," replied judge Bromley. "The queen spake those words to master Morgan, chief-justice of the common *place*," [pleas]. As if it mattered, in regard of moral justice, to which of her judges she addressed herself.

This exordium of Mary to her judges was no hypocritical grimace, no clap-trap at her accession; she honestly acted upon it, for the witness whose testimony acquitted Throckmorton that day came out of her own household. At the moment when the prisoner's life hung on the proof of whether he was conscious or not of the precise time of Wyatt's rising, he called on sir Francis Inglefield, (who, with his colleague, sir Edward Walgrave,[1] was sitting on the bench with the judges,) and asked him to speak what he knew on that head. Inglefield immediately bore witness, like an honest man as he was. "It is truth," said he, "that you were at my house, in company with your brothers, at that time, and, to my knowledge, ignorant of the whole matter."

The moment Throckmorton was acquitted, the base judge committed the honest jury to prison, who had done their duty like true Englishmen,—men deserving everlasting praise as the practical restorers of the constitution of their country, long undermined by the abuses that the queen had pointed out to her judges. The facts developed in this remarkable trial indicate that the wishes and will of the queen were dis-

[1] The reader is familiar with the names of both these gentlemen, as Mary's servants in her long adversity. They had endured imprisonment for her sake, during her religious troubles in her brother's reign. They were now privy councillors and officers of the household, and were basking in the full sunshine of royal favour

tinct from those of the officials who composed her government,—men who had been bred in the despotic ways of her father.

It was the trial of sir Nicholas Throckmorton which first brought the illegal proceedings of the privy council into popular notice, under the designation of the decrees of the Star-chamber, afterwards so infamous in English history. They had long been at work in the same way, but, in the present instance, public attention had been peculiarly excited by Throckmorton's recitation of the queen's eloquent charge to her judges; and indignation was raised to a high pitch when the jury were, after unjust imprisonment, threatened by the Star-chamber, and mulcted with heavy fines, while the acquitted prisoner was as unjustly detained in the Tower. As the queen, at the intercession of his brother, set sir Nicholas Throckmorton free soon after, uninjured in person or estate, he considered he had had a fortunate escape.[1] It is said that she finally remitted the fines of the worthy jury which had acquitted him; but it was alike degrading to a queen who wished to rule constitutionally, and to Englishmen whom the law had not declared guilty, to give and receive pardons of the kind.

The queen was extremely ill, sick almost to death, at the time of Throckmorton's trial. The public, and even Renaud, attributed her indisposition to Throckmorton's acquittal; but the decided part taken by the queen's confidential friend, Inglefield, in his favour, is a sure proof that the trial took a course not displeasing to her, however it might enrage her privy council.[2] The first use the queen made of her convalescence was to assist in processions at the court of St. James's. "May 3rd, being Rogation week, the queen's grace went in person, with four bishops mitred, and her heralds, and sergeants of arms. They went to all her chapels in the fields; to St. Giles-in-the-Field, to St. Martin-in-the-Field, with song-mass, and the third to Westminster, and

[1] Throckmorton Papers.

[2] It is scarcely to be doubted that Inglefield was the man who had reported to sir Nicholas Throckmorton the queen's charge to her judges.

there they had a sermon and song-mass, and made good cheer, and afterwards went about the park, and home to St. James's court there." [1]

Mary dissolved parliament in person May 5th. She pronounced a speech from the throne in presence of her assembled peers and commons, which excited so much enthusiasm, that she was five or six times interrupted by loud shouts of "Long live the queen!" and, at the same time, many persons present turned away and wept. Such was the description given by Bassett,[2] one of the royal attendants present, to Renaud, and the courtly reporter attributed these emotions to her majesty's eloquence. It is to be hoped, that those who wept were mourning over the deep degradation of the national character, since the house of peers, which had unanimously joined in establishing the Protestant church of England four short years before, now, to the exultation of the Spanish ambassador, as unanimously agreed in enacting "that the ancient penalties against heretics should be enforced," classing as heretics the members of the very church they had so recently planted. This house of peers consisted of about fifty laymen, who were, with the exception of five or six persons, the very same individuals who had altered religion in the preceding reign. It is true, that the spiritual peers who sat among them were catholic instead of protestant bishops; yet, had the lay peers been honest or consistent, a very strong majority might have prevailed against the enactment of cruel penal laws for the prosecution of a church they had lately founded; but they were not honest, for Renaud plumed himself on the emperor's success in bribing the most influential of their body.[3]

Queen Mary had been previously made unconsciously a party in a little supernatural interlude, which her learned

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 61.

[2] One of the gentlemen in waiting, husband to sir Thomas More's granddaughter.

[3] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. pp. 369, 389. The Journals of the house of lords are lost, but the above inference is justified by the comparison of the list of the house of lords summoned in the first year of Edward VI. and the first year of Mary I. See Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii. pp. 216, 289.

dean of Canterbury, Nicholas Wotton, promulgated for the preservation of the heir of his house, Thomas Wotton. Her majesty had appointed dean Wotton as her envoy to France, and there he either discovered some correspondence, or, according to his own account, dreamed that his nephew was concerned in a rebellion which convulsed England to its centre, and, among other notable mischiefs, threatened to overthrow the respectable family of Wotton. "Now, the Wottons being remarkable as dreamers of dreams, dean Nicholas considered how he was to make the best use of his vision; he therefore wrote to queen Mary, and asked her as a favour to send for his nephew, Thomas Wotton, out of Kent, and cause him to be questioned by her council on certain particulars, and that he would inform her of his reasons by word of mouth, when he returned and had an interview with her majesty." The queen did just as he requested, and Thomas Wotton was kept safely in prison until after the Wyatt rising and its failure. The dean of Canterbury, on his return to England, one day visited his nephew in prison, just at the time of the execution of Wyatt and many others, and he told his uncle "what a favour her majesty had done him by becoming suspicious of some of his proceedings, which were only intentions, and keeping him there; for if he had had his liberty, he should assuredly have been in arms with his dear friend Wyatt, and done his best to have earned his share in the punishments now distributing on all sides."

William Thomas was hung at Tyburn on the 18th of May; he had been clerk to the privy council of Edward VI., and had been very urgent with the rebels to destroy the life of Mary, if she fell in their power. The queen had pardoned her kinsman, lord John Gray, likewise sir James Crofts and admiral Winter, although the two last had been each the leader of a separate revolt; nor did she exercise this privilege of her high station without much murmuring from Renaud. This minister of mercilessness announced to his master, the emperor, "that all the judges had pronounced that, if brought to trial, the proofs against Courtenay were such as to insure his condemnation to death, if the queen could be prevailed on

to give him up to it; but besides her impracticability in his favour, her trusted servant, sir Robert Rochester, was the staunch friend of both Courtenay and Elizabeth, and wished for their union; and that the queen trusted lord William Howard implicitly with her ships, who made no scruple of avowing his friendship for Elizabeth, although Mary's partisans expected he would one day revolt with the whole fleet."[1] The queen showed greatness of mind in her implicit reliance in Rochester and Howard, *malgré* all these insinuations; she knew they had proved true as steel in the hour of her distress, and it is most evident, by the result, that she did not consider them as enemies because they pleaded for her unfortunate relatives.

The day succeeding the execution of William Thomas, the princess Elizabeth was liberated from her confinement in the Tower, and sent by water to Richmond-palace, and from thence to Woodstock, where she remained under some restraint. Part of the queen's household guards, under the command of Bedingfeld, had charge of her. The city diarist, Machyn, says the removal of Elizabeth did not take place till two days afterwards: "On May 20, my lady Elizabeth, the queen's sister, came out of the Tower, and took her barge at Tower-wharf; and so went to Richmond, and from thence to Windsor, and then to Woodstock." About the same time, Courtenay was sent to Fotheringay-castle, likewise under guard, though not confined closely. In the same important week arrived don Juan Figueroa, a Spanish grandee of the first class. He was designated, in a private letter of the earl of Shrewsbury,[2] "as the ancient ambassador with the long grey beard, who was here when the late king Edward died." His errand was to be ready in England for the reception of prince Philip.

The lord admiral Howard had sailed from Portsmouth with the finest ships of the queen's navy, to join the united fleets of Spain and the Netherlands, that prince Philip might be escorted to his bride with the utmost maritime pomp. On

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. pp. 375, 395.
[2] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 238.

the appointment of Howard to this command, the emperor's ambassador offered him a pension, as a token of the prince's gratitude. He referred him to the queen, who gave leave for its acceptance, but it had not the least effect on the lord admiral's independence, for his national combativeness rose at the sight of the foreign fleets; and Renaud[1] sent a despatch, full of complaints, to the emperor, saying, "that the lord admiral Howard had spoken with great scorn of the Spanish ships, and irreverently compared them to mussel-shells." Moreover, he quarrelled with the Spanish admiral, and held him very cheap. He added, "that the English sailors elbowed and pushed the Spanish ones whenever they met on shore, with which rudeness the lord admiral was by no means displeased;" and had it not been for the "extreme forbearance of the Spanish admiral," in preventing his men from going on shore during the month the combined fleets were waiting for queen Mary's spouse, the English would have forced a quarrel, and given their allies battle-royal. To add to all these affronts, lord admiral Howard insisted on the prince of Spain's ships performing the maritime homage the English fleet always claimed as sovereigns of the narrow seas, by striking topsails in the Channel, though the prince was on board in person.[2]

Philip had continued, until the middle of May, at Valladolid, governing Spain as regent for his distracted grandmother, the queen-regnant, Joanna. Queen Mary had written to him a French letter, commencing with the words, "*Monsieur, mon bon et perpetuel allié,*" in which she announced to him the consent of her parliament to their marriage. The letter is worded with great formality,[3] and assumes the character of England writing to Spain, rather than queen Mary to her betrothed husband; yet she could scarcely adopt a different tone, since the prince had sedulously avoided writing to her,

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 414.

[2] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii., Renaud's letter, June 9th; and a quotation in Kempe's Losely MSS.

[3] This letter is better known than any of Mary's correspondence, but as it is a mere piece of state ceremony, without a tinge of personal interest, it is omitted here.

as may be gathered from the reiterated remonstrances of Renaud on this subject,[1] even at so late a date as the 28th of April, 1554, six days after the despatch of queen Mary's letter. At the end of May, the bridegroom made a farewell visit to the royal maniac whose sceptre he swayed. To save time, his sister, the princess-dowager of Portugal, met him by the way; and, at the same time, he bade her adieu and resigned into her hands the government of Spain.[2] He arrived at Corunna at the latter end of June, and after waiting some time for a favourable wind, finally embarked for England on the 13th of July.[3]

Mary and her council, meantime, retired to Richmond-palace, and sat in earnest debate regarding the reception of don Philip, and the station he was to occupy in England. Unfortunately, Mary had no precedent to guide her in distinguishing between her duties as queen-regnant, and the submission and obedience the marriage-vow enforced from her as a wife. It is true that she was the grand-daughter of Isabel of Castile, the greatest and best queen that ever swayed an independent sceptre; but then, on the other side, she was grand-daughter to the undoubted heiress of England, Elizabeth of York, who had afforded her the example of an utter surrender of all her rights to the will of her husband. It is very evident that queen Mary considered that her duty, both as a married woman and a sedulous observer of the established customs of her country, was, as far as possible, to yield implicit obedience to her spouse.[4] All the crimes, all the detes-

[1] Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii. p. 380.

[2] Renaud's Despatches, Tytler's Edward and Mary; vol. ii. pp. 401, 402.

[3] Dr. Lingard, vol. vii. p. 172.

[4] The undefined rights of a queen-regnant of England had been made matter of anxious discussion by Henry VIII., in reference to his daughter Mary. "He caused to come before him the two chief-justices, with Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Garter king-of-arms, to argue the question, 'Whether men were by law or courtesy entitled to hold baronies, and other honours, in right of their wives?'" In the course of the debate, the king asked, "If the crown should descend to his daughter, whether her husband should use the style and title of king of England?" The chief-justice answered, "Not by right, but by grace, because the crown of England is out of the law of courtesy; but if it were subject thereto, then it were clear." This opinion certainly implied the power of the female sovereign to confer, by her special favour, the title of king on her husband. — From sir W. H. Nares' Collections, folio MS. p. 22, formerly in the hands of

tation with which the memory of this unfortunate lady has been loaded, certainly arose, not from intentional wickedness, but from this notion.

The first question on which the queen and her council came to issue was, whether, in the regal titles, her name should precede that of her husband. On this point, Renaud became very earnest: "I told the chancellor," he wrote to the emperor, "that neither divine nor human law would suffer his highness to be named last."[1] The result was, that the queen yielded precedence to the titular dignity of Philip. Her next desire was to obtain for him the distinction of a coronation as king; but, on this point, Gardiner and her council were resolute. "She had," they said, "been crowned, and received their oaths, with all the ceremonies pertaining to the kings, her ancestors, and what more could be needed?" Mary then expressed her wish that her wedded lord might be crowned with the diadem of the queen-consorts of England, but that was negatived.[2] She was forced to content herself by providing for him a collar and mantle of the Garter, worth 2000*l.*, with which he was to be invested the moment he touched English ground. She spent the remainder of June at Guildford-palace, in order to be near the southern ports. It was the middle of July before tidings were heard of the approach of the combined fleets, when the queen despatched Russell, lord privy-seal, to receive Philip, who was expected at Southampton. Mary gave her envoy the following instructions, which afford an ominous instance of the future sway that Philip was to bear, through her, in the government of England:—

"INSTRUCTIONS FOR MY LORD PRIVY-SEAL.

"First, to tell the *king* the whole state of the realm, with all things pertaining to the same, as much as ye know to be true. Second, to obey his commandment in all things. Thirdly, in all things he shall ask your advice, to declare your opinion as becometh a faithful councillor to do.

"MARY THE QUEEN."[3]

John Anstis, Garter king-at-arms, now in possession of sir Thomas Phillipps, bart. of Middle Hill, through whose favour this extract is taken.

[1] Renaud's Despatch, June 9th. [2] Martin's Chronicle.

[3] MS. Cott., Vesp., F iii. f. 12. This document is entirely in Mary's hand. She styles her betrothed 'king,' by which she must mean king of England, as the investitureof the kingdom of Naples had not taken place.

The day before the royal *cortège* departed for Winchester, the book containing the list of the queen's attendants was brought before the privy council, and carefully scanned by Gardiner and Arundel, when the following odd dialogue took place, whilst they were examining the list of the gentlemen-at-arms presented to them by the lieutenant, sir Humphrey Ratcliffe. When they came to the name of Edward Underhill, 'the hot gospeller,' to whose journal this biography has been so much indebted,—"What doth he here?" said Arundel. "Because he is an honest man; because he hath served queen Mary from the beginning, and fought so well for her at Wyatt's rebellion," answered sir Humphrey Ratcliffe. "Let him pass, then," said Gardiner. "He is an arch heretic, nevertheless," rejoined Arundel.[1]

The carriage which conveyed the queen's ladies on this bridal expedition, was a very droll vehicle, and, redolent as it was with red paint, must have surpassed the splendour of a modern wild-beast show. It is graphically described, in one of Mary's own royal orders, as follows:—

"We command you, on the sight hereof, to deliver to our well-beloved Edmund Standon, clerk of our stable, one *waggon* of timber work, with wheels, axletrees, and benches; and fine red cloth to cover the said waggon, fringed with red silk, and lined with red buckram; the waggon to be painted outside with red. Also collar, draughts, and harness of *red leather*; a hammercloth, with our arms and badges of our colours, and all things pertaining to the said waggon which is for the ladies and gentlewomen of our privy-chamber."

The queen was at Windsor-castle when the tidings arrived that don Philip and the combined fleets of England and Spain, amounting to one hundred and sixty sail, had made the port of Southampton, Friday, July 20th, after a favourable voyage from Corunna of but seven days.[2] The queen and her bridal retinue the next day set out for Winchester, where she had resolved her nuptials should be celebrated,—not by the unfortunate Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, whose right it was to perform the ceremony, but by her prime-minister, Gardiner bishop of Winchester. Mary made her public entry into Winchester Monday,[3] July 23rd, in the midst

[1] Strype's Memorials. [2] Lingard, vol. vii. p. 172.

[3] The narrative of this marriage is from Ralph Brook, York herald's book of Precedents, (printed from the MS. of sir Edward Dering,) combined with the author's original translation from the Italian of Baoardo printed at Venice, 1558.

of a furious storm of rain and wind, and took up her abode in the episcopal palace, which had been prepared for her reception. In the mean time, don Philip had landed on the 20th of July. He was rowed on shore in a magnificent state barge, manned by twenty men, dressed in the queen's liveries of green and white. The barge was lined with rich tapestry, and a seat was provided for the prince, covered with gold brocade. Mary had sent this vessel to meet her spouse, attended by twenty other barges lined with striped cloth, which were to accommodate, with due regard to their several dignities, his Spanish officers of state. Among these was more than one historical character; the duke of Alva—afterwards infamous for his cruelties to the Protestants in the Netherlands—was the principal in rank, as Philip's *major-domo*.

When the prince ascended the stairs leading to the mole at Southampton, he found a deputation from the queen, and a great concourse of nobles and gentry waiting to receive him. He was immediately presented with the order of the Garter, which was buckled below his knee by the earl of Arundel when he first set foot on English ground: he was likewise invested with a mantle of blue velvet, fringed with gold and pearl. The queen had sent, by her master of horse, a beautiful genet for the prince's use, who immediately mounted it, and rode to the church of the Holy Rood at Southampton, where he returned thanks for his safe voyage. From thence he was conducted to a very fine palace, in which an apartment was prepared for him, with a canopy and chair of state of crimson velvet, gold, and pearl. The room was hung with some of Henry VIII.'s best arras, figured with white and crimson, and gold flowers, and bordered with the titles of that monarch, in which the words "Defender of the Faith, and Head of the Church," seem to have made a remarkable impression on the minds of Philip's attendants. The prince was dressed simply in black velvet; he wore a berret-cap of the same, passamented with small gold chains: a little feather drooped on the right side. There are letters and descriptions extant which wonderfully commend his beauty

of face and figure, but his numerous original pictures do not bear out such assertions,—his complexion being cane-coloured, his hair sandy and scanty, his eyes small, blue, and weak, with a gloomy expression of face, which is peculiarly odious in a person of very light complexion. A mighty volume of brain, although it sloped too much towards the top of the head, denoted that this unpleasant-looking prince was a man of considerable abilities.

The following day, being Friday, don Philip went to mass, accompanied by many English nobles, to whom he behaved courteously, and gave much satisfaction,—excepting only, they remarked, that he never raised his berret-cap. The weather had set in with an incessant down-pouring of wet, such as an English July only is capable of. "It was a cruel rain," says the Italian narrator, "on the Saturday;" through which Gardiner bishop of Winchester came to welcome don Philip, accompanied by fifty gentlemen with rich gold chains about their necks, dressed in black velvet, passamented with gold; and a hundred other gentlemen, in black cloth barred with gold. The duchess of Alva landed in the evening, and was carried on shore in a chair of black velvet, borne by four of her gentlemen. Don Philip despatched, the next morning, his grand chamberlain, don Ruy Gomez de Silva, with a magnificent offering of jewels, of the value of 50,000 ducats, as a present to his royal bride. That day being Sunday, after mass he dined in public, and was waited upon by his newly appointed English officers of the household, to the great chagrin of his Spanish attendants, most of whom were, according to the marriage-treaty, obliged to return with the Spanish fleet. Don Philip courted popularity; he told his new attendants, in Latin, that he was come to live among them like an Englishman; and, in proof thereof, drank some ale for the first time; which he gravely commended "as the wine of the country."

In the midst of a "cruel wind and down-pouring rain," on the Monday morning the royal bridegroom and his suite mounted their steeds, and set out in grand state and solemn cavalcade to Winchester, where the queen and her court

waited for them. The earl of Pembroke had arrived the same morning as their escort, with two hundred and fifty cavaliers, superbly mounted, dressed in black velvet, and wearing heavy gold chains. A party of a hundred archers, with their bows ready, came on horseback, dressed in yellow cloth striped with red velvet, and wearing cordons of white and crimson silk, being the colours of the prince. Four thousand spectators, variously mounted, whom curiosity had brought together, closed the procession. Don Philip was, as usual, dressed in black velvet; but, on account of the heavy rain, he wore over all a red felt cloak, and a large black hat. When the cavalcade had progressed about two miles from Southampton, the prince met a gentleman, riding post, who presented him with a small ring as a token from the queen, and prayed him, in her name, to advance no further. Philip, who did not very well understand his language, and knew the violent resistance the English had made to his espousing their queen, apprehended immediately that she meant to warn him of some impending danger; and calling Alva and Egmont apart, drew up, in consternation, by the road-side for a consultation; when an English lord, seeing there was some misapprehension, immediately said, in French, "Sire, our queen lovingly greets your highness, and has merely sent to say, that she hopes you will not commence your journey to Winchester in such dreadful weather." When the prince rightly comprehended the queen's message, he gallantly resolved to persevere in his journey, and his line of march again moved forward on the Winchester road, but did not proceed far before another cavalier was encountered, bearing a long white wand in his hand, who, addressing the prince in Latin, informed him "that he had the command of the county," and entreated his leave to perform his office. This being granted, the gentleman turned his horse, and raising his wand on high, and taking off his cap, preceded the cavalcade, the rain pouring on his bare head the whole way, though the prince repeatedly entreated him to be covered.[1] About

[1] Philip's progress to Winchester, so rich in curious costume, is furnished by the Italian eye-witness, Baoardo. The prince seems to have encountered the sheriff of Hampshire in this very reverential cavalier.

a mile from Winchester, two noblemen from the queen came to meet the prince, attended by six of the royal pages, attired in cloth of gold, and mounted on great Flemish coursers, trapped with the same.

Although Southampton is but ten miles from Winchester, the cavalcade moved with such Spanish gravity and deliberation, that it was between six and seven o'clock before don Philip arrived at the city gate, "where," says the Italian narrator, "eight first-rate officials were stationed, clothed in scarlet gowns, who swore fidelity to the prince." These worthies were no other than the mayor and aldermen of Winchester, who presented don Philip with the keys of the city, which he returned. "A great volley of artillery was shot off as he entered the city, and twelve persons from the queen, dressed in red, with gold on their breasts, [probably beef-eaters,] conducted him to a palace, not very superbly ornamented." It was, indeed, the dean of Winchester's house, where Philip sojourned till after his marriage. There the prince altered his dress: he wore hose and nether-stocks of white and silver, and a superb black velvet robe, bordered with diamonds. Thus attired, he went first to the cathedral, where Gardiner received him in full pontificals, accompanied by many priests singing *Te Deum*, and after prayers, conducted him, through the cloisters, back to the dean's house.

The queen's first interview with her affianced husband took place that evening, about ten o'clock, when don Philip was conducted privately to the bishop's palace. Mary received him "right lovingly," and conversed with him familiarly in Spanish for about half an hour, when he went back to the deanery.[1] The queen held a grand court at three o'clock the next afternoon, when she gave don Philip a public audience. He came on foot from the deanery, attended by the lord high steward, the earl of Derby, the earl of Pembroke; likewise with some of his Spanish grandees, and their wives. He was dressed in black and silver, and adorned with the insignia of the Garter. The royal minstrels met him, and played before him, and the people shouted "God save your grace!"

[1] Ralph Brook, York herald.

He was thus conducted in great state to the hall of the bishop's palace, where the queen advanced, as far as the entrance, to receive him, and kissed him in the presence of the whole multitude. She led him to the presence-chamber, where they both stood under the canopy of state, and conversed together before all the courtiers. At even-song he withdrew from the presence-chamber, and attended service at the cathedral, from whence he was conducted, by torch-light, to his residence at the deanery.[1]

The morrow (being the 25th of July, and the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain) had been appointed for the royal nuptials. A raised causeway, covered with red serge, leading to two thrones in the choir, had been prepared for the marriage-procession. Queen Mary walked on foot from the episcopal palace, attended by her principal nobility and ladies,—her train being borne by her cousin, the lady Margaret, assisted by the chamberlain, sir John Gage. She met her bridegroom in the choir, and they took their seats in the chairs of state, an altar being erected between them. Gardiner came in great state, assisted by Bonner bishop of London, and the bishops of Durham, Chichester, Lincoln, and Ely, with their crosiers borne before them. Philip was attended to the altar by sixty Spanish grandees and cavaliers, among whom were Alva, Medina, Egmont, and Pescara. He was dressed in a robe of rich brocade, bordered with large pearls and diamonds; his trunk-hose were of white satin, worked with silver. He wore a collar of beaten gold, full of inestimable diamonds, at which hung the jewel of the Golden Fleece; at his knee was the Garter, studded with beautiful coloured gems.

The ceremony was preceded by a solemn oration from Figueroa, regent of Naples, who declared, "that his imperial master, Charles V., having contracted a marriage between the queen of England and his chief jewel,—being his son and heir, Philip prince of Spain,—in order to make the parties equal had resigned his kingdom of Naples, so that queen Mary married a king, and not a prince." Figueroa then

[1] Baogardo, collated with the York herald.

asked, in a loud voice, "If there were any persons who knew any lawful impediment between the contracting parties; if so, they might then come forth, and be heard." The marriage, which was both in Latin and English, proceeded till it came to the part of the ceremony where the bride is given. The question was then asked, "who was to give her?" and it seems to have been a puzzling one, not provided for, when the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, and Pembroke came forward, and gave her in the name of the whole realm. Upon which the people gave a great shout, and prayed God to send them joy. The wedding-ring was laid on the book, to be hallowed. Some discussion had previously taken place in council regarding this ring, which the queen decided, by declaring she would not have it adorned with gems, "for she chose to be wedded with a plain hoop of gold, like any other maiden."[1] King Philip laid on the book three handfuls of fine gold coins, and some silver ones.[2] When the lady Margaret, her cousin, saw this, she opened the queen's purse, and her majesty was observed to smile on her as she put the bridal gold within it.

Directly the hand of queen Mary was given to king Philip, the earl of Pembroke advanced, and carried before the bridegroom a sword of state, which he had hitherto kept out of sight. The royal pair returned hand in hand from the high altar. They seated themselves again in their chairs of state, where they remained till mass was concluded. At the proper period of the mass, Philip rose from his place and went to the queen, "and gave her the kiss of peace," for such was the

[1] This anecdote is preserved in the narrative of John Elder, the preceptor of lord Darnley. He doubtless had it from the mother of his pupil, lady Margaret, countess of Lenox. Elder wrote a curious description of the royal wedding, being present with the family he served.

[2] The York herald only mentions the gold; the Italian narrator adds the silver, which was no doubt correct, as in the Catholic ritual, to this day, the bridegroom presents the bride with gold and silver money. It is the York herald who has preserved the little by-scene between the queen and her cousin. It appears, by Mr. Blencowe's Sydney Papers, this very amiable custom was continued at the marriages of the country nobility and gentry of the church of England till the Revolution. The bridegroom of Lucy Sydney put 200 guineas on the book, at the important clause in the marriage-service "with all my worldly goods I thee endow." After all, old customs *are* best for the ladies.

custom.[1] The titles of the royal pair were then proclaimed in Latin and English; after which, sops and wine[2] were hallowed and served to them, of which they partook, and all their noble attendants. Don Philip took the queen's hand, and led her to the episcopal palace; both walked under one canopy when they returned from their marriage. The queen always took the right hand. The ceremonial in the cathedral lasted from eleven in the morning till three in the afternoon. The queen was dressed at her marriage in the French style, in a robe richly brocaded on a gold ground, with a long train splendidly bordered with pearls and diamonds of great size. The large *rebras* sleeves were turned up with clusters of gold, set with pearls and diamonds. Her chaperon, or coif, was bordered with two rows of large diamonds. The close gown, or kirtle, worn beneath the robe, was of white satin, wrought with silver. On her breast the queen wore that remarkable diamond of inestimable value, sent to her as a gift from king Philip whilst he was still in Spain, by the marquess de los Naves. So far, the dress was in good taste, but scarlet shoes and brodequins, and a black velvet scarf, added to this costume by the royal bride, can scarcely be considered improvements. The chair on which queen Mary sat is still shown at Winchester cathedral: report says, it was a present from Rome, and was blessed by the pope.

The hall of the episcopal palace in which the bridal banquet was spread, was hung with arras striped with gold and silk; it had a stately daïs raised at the upper end, ascended by four steps. The seats for queen Mary and her spouse were placed on this, under one canopy, before which their dinner-table was set. Below the daïs were spread various tables, where the queen's ladies, the Spanish grandees, their wives, and the English nobility, were feasted. Bishop Gardiner dined at the royal table, which was served with plate of solid gold; and a cupboard of nine stages, full of gold vases and silver dishes, was placed full in view, for ornament rather than use. In a gallery opposite was placed a band of admirable musicians, who played a sweet concert till four heralds entered,

[1] Baoardo. [2] The Italian says, biscuits and ipocras.

attired in their regal mantles, and, between the first and second courses, pronounced a congratulatory Latin oration in the name of the realm; likewise a panegyric in praise of holy matrimony. The Winchester boys had written Latin epithalamiums, which they recited, and were rewarded by the queen. After the banquet, king Philip returned thanks to the lords of the privy council and the other English nobility; and the queen spoke very graciously to the Spanish grandees and their noble ladies, in their own language. The tables were taken up at six o'clock, and dancing commenced; but the whole gay scene concluded at nine o'clock, when the queen and king Philip retired from the ball.

While these grand state festivals were proceeding, private grudges and quarrels were fermenting among her majesty's protestant and catholic attendants. The 'hot gospeller,' Mr. Edward Underhill,—whose lively journal gives the best idea of the interior of the palace during the reign of our first queen-regnant,—was on duty in the presence-chamber at Winchester, and performed his office of assisting in carrying up the dishes at the wedding-banquet. He never chose to give up his post of guarding the queen's person, though his adversary, Norreys, who was promoted to the place of queen's usher, again renewed his persecutions. A day or two after the royal marriage, Norreys came from his station, at the door of the queen's private sitting-room, into the presence-chamber, when the gentlemen-at-arms all made reverence to him, as his place required. He fixed his eyes on Edward Underhill, and asked him "What he did there?"—"Marry, sir!" replied the undaunted protestant, "what do you do here?"—"You are very short with me," observed Norreys. "I will forbear," rejoined Underhill, "out of respect for the place you be in: if you were of the outer chamber, I would be shorter with you. You were the door-keeper when we waited at the queen's table. Your office is not to find fault with me for doing my duty. I am at this time appointed to serve her majesty by those who are in authority under her, who know me well."—"They shall know you better," returned his foe, "and the queen also."

Mr. Calverley, one of Underhill's comrades, brother to sir John Calverley of Cheshire, then interposed, saying, "In good faith, Mr. Norreys, you do not well; this gentleman, our fellow, hath served queen Mary a long time. He has been ever ready to venture his life in her service, and at the last troubles was as forward as any one to guard her. He is now appointed, at very great charges (as we all are), to serve her again. Methinks you do more than the part of a gentleman to seek to discharge him."—"Ye all hold together," muttered Norreys. "Else were we worse than beasts," retorted Calverley. And master Norreys retreated, grumbling, to his post at the queen's door. If he ever carried his threats into execution, of telling tales to her majesty of the valiant 'hot gospeller,' it is certain that he never succeeded in injuring him.

The Spanish fleet sailed for the coast of Flanders the next day, having first landed eighty genets belonging to don Philip, of such perfect beauty that they could not be surpassed. A number of Spaniards, to the amount of four thousand, who had intended to land in England with don Philip, were extremely disappointed at finding that their presence was forbidden in the island by the queen's marriage-articles. Four or five hundred persons, among whom were a number of fools and buffoons, (belonging to the suites of the grandees of high rank immediately attendant on don Philip,) were permitted, however, to come on shore. This was the sole Spanish force that accompanied the queen's bridegroom.

MARY,

FIRST QUEEN-REGNANT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER VI.

Queen Mary and her bridegroom visit Basing-house—Mary's interview with Elizabeth—Opens parliament—Cardinal Pole received by the queen—They reconcile England with the pope—Queen's tournament and Christmas festivals—Her dreadful illness—Disappointment of offspring—Horrible persecutions—Scandals regarding king Philip—His departure from England—Plots and disturbances—Mary pardons lord Braye—Visits her sister at Hatfield—Gives a fête and concert to Elizabeth at Richmond—Return of king Philip—War declared with France—Philip again leaves England—Battle of St. Quintin—Dispute with king Philip regarding Elizabeth's marriage—Queen's letter to him—Philip sends to her the duchess of Lorraine—Queen Mary's jealousy and anger—She cuts to pieces the portrait of Philip—Declining health—Portraits—Loss of Calais—Intermittent fever—Her messages to Elizabeth—To cardinal Pole—Her death—Embalmed—Stately funeral—Requiem in Brussels cathedral—Will—Charities—Her motto.

QUEEN Mary and her spouse went to Basing-house the morning after their marriage, and were splendidly entertained there by the lord treasurer, Paulet marquess of Winchester. They finally left Winchester within a week of the marriage, and went to Windsor-castle, where a grand festival of the Garter was held on Sunday, August 5th, in celebration of the admission of king Philip to the order; indeed he then took place as its sovereign, for at all the other festivals at which queen Mary was present, even on the day of St. George, she took no other part than witnessing the scene from a side-window,[1] although, in her maiden reign, she had headed the procession of the knights in St. James's chapel on the anniversary of St. George, 1544.

The Tuesday after the queen's marriage, the court at Windsor-castle assisted at a species of hunting little practised

[1] Machyn's Diary, pp. 60, 85, 134.

in England: toils were raised in Windsor-forest four miles in length, and a great number of deer slaughtered. The queen and her spouse removed to Richmond-palace August the 9th, and stayed there till the 27th, when they embarked on the Thames, and rowed in great pomp to Southwark, where they landed at Gardiner's palace; and passing through Southwark-park to Suffolk-place, (once the pleasant residence of her aunt Mary and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk,) they sojourned there for the night.[1] At noon, next day, they crossed London-bridge on horseback, attended by a stately retinue of English nobles and Spanish grandees. They were received in the city with the usual display of pageantry; among which the circumstance most noted was, that a figure representing Henry VIII. held a book, as if in act of presentation to the queen, on which was inscribed VERBUM DEI. The queen was offended, and the words were obliterated so hastily with a painting-brush, that the fingers of the figure were wiped out with them.

Philip brought over a quantity of bullion, sufficient to fill ninety-seven chests, each chest being a yard and a quarter long. This treasure was piled on twenty carts: it was displayed with some ostentation on this occasion, in its progress to the Tower to be coined. The citizens were much pleased with this replenishment to their currency, dreadfully exhausted and debased by Henry VIII. and the regencies of his son.

The queen, after holding her court at Whitehall, dismissed for a time the crowds of English nobility and gentry who had assembled, from all parts of the country, to celebrate her marriage. It was the death of the duke of Norfolk which interrupted the nuptial festivities, since Mary ordered a court mourning for him,[2] "because," adds Heylin, "she loved him entirely." On occasion of this mourning she retired to Hampton-Court, where she remained for some time in profound retirement with her husband. Here an important change took place in the customs of English royalty, which gave mortal offence to the people. "Formerly," murmured the populace, "the gates of the palace where the royal family

[1] Machyn. [2] Heylin's Reformation, p. 209.

resided were set open all day long, and our princes lived in public; but since the Spanish wedlock, Hampton-Court gates are closed, and every man must give an account of his errand before entering." The royal pair did not seclude themselves at Hampton-Court to indulge in the luxuries of the table, if their diet may be judged by one of the bills of fare[1] which has survived them. The dinner was on a maigre-day, and consisted of "salt salmons, porpus, fresh sturgeon, roast eels, perches, boiled grabes [crabs], buttered eggs, apples, and oatmeal, with twelve gallons of cream." To the dinner succeeded as queer a dessert, consisting of "scrape cheese with sugar, apples with *carnayes* [surmised to be carraways], pears with pysketts [perhaps peascods], damsons, black and white, wafers, filberts; and for beverage, ipocras, six gallons."

It is a point of no little difficulty to ascertain the precise time when queen Mary was reconciled to her sister, since the whole tenour of the facts, and the chronological arrangement in which they are cast by general history, are totally at variance. The difficulty seems to have arisen from Fox's assertion, that Elizabeth continued in hard durance a year and a half longer than she really did. Recent discoveries indubitably prove, that Mary permitted her sister to appear in state at the festivities of the ensuing Christmas of 1554. It is extremely improbable that such a step was taken previously to the private reconciliation of the royal sisters. We therefore venture to suggest, that the following dialogue took place between queen Mary and the princess Elizabeth, at Hampton-Court, in the autumn[2] of 1554, instead of the spring of 1555.

Queen Mary received the princess Elizabeth, who had been brought under a strong guard from Woodstock, in her bedchamber at Hampton-Court, at ten o'clock at night. When the princess entered the queen's presence, she fell on her knees, and protested, with streaming eyes and in earnest language, "her truth and loyalty to her sovereign majesty, let

[1] Gutch's Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 2.

[2] Stowe, in his Annals, places this interview at the Easter of 1555, when, he says, queen Mary had "taken to her chamber" at Hampton-Court, in expectation of lying-in. This cuts off, at once, one twelvemonth of Elizabeth's imprisonment, for Speed and Fox assert that she was in captivity *two* years.

whosoever assert the contrary!" Queen Mary replied, somewhat sharply, "You will not confess your offence, I see, but rather stand stoutly on your truth. I pray God your truth may become manifest!"—"If it is not," said the princess, "I will look for neither favour nor pardon at your majesty's hands."—"Well, then," said the queen, "you stand so stiffly on your truth, belike you have been wrongfully punished?"—"I must not say so to your majesty," replied Elizabeth. "But you will report so to others, it seemeth," rejoined Mary. "No, an' please your majesty," replied the princess. "I have borne, and must bear, the burden thereof; but I humbly beseech your grace's good opinion of me, as I am, and ever have been, your majesty's true subject." The queen turned away with a half soliloquy in Spanish, uttering audibly "God knoweth!"[1]

If the intercepted correspondence between Elizabeth and the French ambassador was at that moment in Mary's thoughts, she could scarcely have said less. The story goes, that king Philip had interceded for Elizabeth; that he caused her to be sent for that she might partake the marriage festivities, and that he was, during this interview, hidden behind the tapestry to prevent his wife's harsh treatment of her sister. But those who know how eagerly the Spanish ambassador sought Elizabeth's life the preceding spring, will find some difficulty in believing that Philip was a better friend to her than the queen.[2] The interview terminated amicably between the sisters, for the queen put on Elizabeth's finger a costly ring, as a pledge of amity; and Leti[3] adds, that she said impressively, "Whether you be guilty or innocent, I forgive you." The queen had given a ring at her accession, as a token to recall their love if Elizabeth ever stood in danger. Elizabeth had sent it to her in the hour of deep distress, at Whitehall. Mary had probably retained it until this instant.

The queen recommended sir Thomas Pope to her sister as

[1] Fox, who implies that he had the incident from Elizabeth herself; likewise see Heywood's Elizabeth.

[2] See the whole tenour of Renaud's Despatches, Tytler's Edward and Mary, vol. ii.

[3] Gregorio Leti's life of queen Elizabeth, avowedly written from manuscripts in possession of lord Aylesbury, reign of Charles II.

comptroller of her household. She mentioned him as a person of humanity, prudence, and altogether of such qualities as would render her home pleasant and happy; and the sequel proved that the queen really placed about her sister no gaoler, but a man of honour and good feelings. Whenever this celebrated interview took place, it is certain that, although most trying circumstances afterwards occurred, owing to Elizabeth's own imprudence in listening to fortune-tellers,[1] and, moreover, two or three dangerous plots were concocted among her servants, yet she never lost the privilege of access to her sister, or was again put under durance.

At this period queen Mary was in constant intercourse with one who, notwithstanding consanguinity, was the very last person any reader of English history could have expected to hear was about her majesty's path, and about her bed, and in hourly communication with her. For who could imagine that the desolate widow of the duke of Suffolk, the bereaved mother of lady Jane Gray, could be found within a few months of their execution a close attendant on queen Mary's person, and, withal, an active courtier, soliciting her royal kinswoman to receive into her service the niece of Suffolk and the first cousin of the martyred Jane? Yet the proofs are incontestable, and here are cited in the very words of the Willoughby manuscript before quoted:[2]—"Mrs. Margaret Willoughby has been to court with the lady Frances' grace, [duchess of Suffolk,] who has her place in the privy-chamber. Young mistress Margaret was much commended, and the lady Frances' grace did not doubt but, in a short time, to place her about the queen's highness, so as to content all her friends."[3] Some little time afterwards queen Mary complied

[1] Tytler's State-Papers, Edward and Mary, vol. ii. The curious letter and examination of Dr. Dee and other conjurors, for visiting Elizabeth and casting her nativity, and that of the queen and Philip, will be dwelt on in her succeeding biography. Dee suffered confinement as a coadjutor of Packer and other conspirators, servants of Elizabeth.

[2] MSS. of the Willoughbys of Wollarton. See preceding note.

[3] Letter of Mr. Medeley, executor of the young Willoughbys, to John Hall, the steward of Tylsey. It is a plain letter of business, drawing money for the outfit of Margaret Willoughby. In a preceding letter he mentions "that the duchess Frances' grace (duchess of Suffolk) had taken office in queen Mary's chamber."

with the solicitations of her relative and attendant, duchess Frances, by placing Margaret Gray in the newly formed household of her sister Elizabeth at Hatfield; and as the date of the journey thither of this young cousin of lady Jane Gray was in 1555, it is evident that queen Mary had settled the princess Elizabeth there in the same year.[1]

The meeting of Mary's third parliament, November 11th, drew her from her autumnal retirement to her palace of Whitehall. Her procession to open it was an equestrian one of peculiar splendour. King Philip rode by her side, wearing his berret-cap and black velvet doublet. A sword of state was borne before each, in token of their independent sovereignties. The queen was mounted on a trained courser, whose ample chest was decorated with rosettes and bands of gems, while a housing of cloth of gold descended below the saddle-step. The attitude of her equestrian portraits proves that she rode on the bench side-saddle, although Catherine de Medicis had already introduced the pommelled one now in use. She wore a small coif; a band of the most costly jewels passed over her head, and clasped under the chin; the Spanish mantilla veil hung in broad lappets from the crown of her head to her waist. Her dress opened from the throat to the chest, with a very small ruff, called a partlet;[2] it showed a carcanet of jewels round the throat, connected with a splendid ouche and pear pearl, fastened on the chest. The sleeves, slashed and moderately full towards the elbow, were gathered at the wrist into ruffles and jewelled bracelets. The corsage of the dress, tight and tapering, was girt at the waist with a *cordelière* of gems. The skirt of the robe was open from the waist, but closed at pleasure by aglets, or clasps, studded with

[1] Margaret Willoughby, being the daughter of Anne Gray, sister to the husband of Frances Brandon, was by that descent, equally with queen Mary and princess Elizabeth, a great-grandaughter to queen Elizabeth Woodville. The steward of Tylsey marks, in the Willoughby accounts, the expenses of young Margaret on her journey to Hatfield,—3*l.* to put in her pocket, and ten shillings for fees paid to the lady Elizabeth's grace's usher at Hatfield, December the 23rd, 1555. Margaret continued in the service of the princess at Hatfield until she married sir Matthew Arundel, 1558, a good match for her.

[2] Called so, because it *parted* the little round face-ruff, which could be opened or closed at pleasure, with aglets, or hooks and eyes.

jewels. Such was the riding-dress of ladies of rank[1] before the monstrous farthingale was introduced, which was worn even on horseback.

It had been warmly debated in queen Mary's council, in her presence, "whether it were not expedient to restore the church lands to their original purposes;" when the earl of Bedford, who was present, knowing his interests greatly concerned, fell into a violent passion, and breaking his rosary of beads from his girdle, flung them into the fire, swearing deeply "That he valued his sweet abbey of Woburn more than any fatherly council that could come from Rome."[2] His words may be believed without the slightest difficulty. The queen was convinced by this scene, that it was utterly useless to recommend any degree of restitution to her father's new nobility. Nevertheless, Mary was extremely urgent with her parliament to restore the lands which had been seized by her father from the church, and distributed among the partisans of his measures. Had the English parliaments been as firm in the defence of the protestant faith, and of the lives of their fellow-creatures, as they were of these ill-gotten goods, the annals of the first queen-regnant would have been clear of all stain of persecution; but the reckless facility with which they passed laws for burning their protestant fellow-subjects, forms a strong contrast to their earnestness when a hint glanced against the mammon they really worshipped; many struck their hands on their swords, affirming, with oaths, "that they would never part with their abbey lands while they could wield a weapon." Which resolution being told to the queen, she said, "She must content herself with setting them a good example, by devoting the lands she found in possession of the crown to the support of learning, and the relief of the most destitute poor." Her council represented,

[1] Mary is thus represented on her great seal. Mr. Planché has given an equestrian figure of her, in most respects similar; a picture of Marguerite of Savoy, daughter of Francis I., is still at Versailles, in costume alike in most particulars.

[2] Portfolio of a Man of Letters; Monthly Magazine, Nov. 1802. This communication consists of extracts from the Cole MSS., Brit. Museum, then recently opened to the public.

that if she gave these revenues away, she could not support the splendour of her crown. She replied, "That she preferred the peace of her conscience to ten such crowns as England."[1]

Mary knew that cardinal Pole was on his way to England, with authority from pope Julius to reconcile the country to the see of Rome. He likewise brought a bull, confirming these worshippers of their own interest in possession of their spoils. She had sent her trusty knight, sir Edward Hastings, who was the cardinal's nephew, as his escort to England, accompanied by lord Paget. Sir William Cecil (afterwards lord Burleigh) attached himself as a volunteer agent on this mission of inviting the papal supremacy into this country;[2] thus affording an additional instance to the many furnished by history, that leaders of persecutions have been almost invariably renegades. But the ardent aspirations of this man of many religions for office were utterly slighted by queen Mary, for which he bore her memory a burning grudge.

The queen bestowed on cardinal Pole every mark of honour on his arrival in England. He came by water from Gravesend; and fixing the large silver cross, emblem of his legantine authority, in the prow of his state-barge, its progress was surveyed with mixed emotions by the citizens, who lined the banks of the Thames as he was rowed to Whitehall. Bishop Gardiner received him at the water-gate, king Philip rose from table, and received the cardinal at the principal entrance, and the queen herself at the head of the stairs, where she greeted him with these words, "The day I ascended the throne I did not feel such joy!"[3] Festivities on a grand scale succeeded his arrival. A tournament was held,—the

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii. p. 296. The chronology of this event has been mis-stated It *must* have occurred before the publication of pope Julius III.'s politic confirmation of the monastic grants to their holders, proclaimed by cardinal Pole on his arrival, *because the queen would not have gainsayed the pope's behest after it was made known.*

[2] See the curious discoveries of Mr. Tytler, in his researches at the State-Paper office, Edward and Mary, occupying the latter part of the last volume.

[3] Noailles' Ambassades, vol. v.

last in England, which was attended by royal and noble foreigners. It was published in the queen's presence-chamber[1] to take place November 25th, 1554. Her majesty distributed the prizes with her own hand; and king Philip was one of the combatants. The first prize Mary gave was "for the best armour and the most gallant entry." King Philip was pronounced only second best in this case; and the queen bestowed her prize of a rich ouche on don Frederic de Toledo. The candidates for the sword prize are thus described: "sir George Howard (brother to the unfortunate queen Katharine Howard) fought very well; don Adrian Garcias better; and sir John Perrot best of all; and to him the queen gave in reward a ring set with a fine diamond."

Public report insisted that sir John Perrot was the queen's half brother. He was a knight of gigantic stature, and bore a strong resemblance to Henry VIII. He was a noted character in the reign of Elizabeth. "At the pike-in-rank, Thomas Percy (afterwards restored by queen Mary as seventh earl of Northumberland) acquitted himself right valiantly; don Carlo di Sanguine with better fortune, but don Ruy Gomez best of all; and to him the queen's majesty gave a ring. The last course was a tourney with the foil. Lord William Howard, the high-admiral, fought with high commendation; the marquess of Torre Mayore exceeded him, but king Philip surpassed all," to whom queen Mary gave, nothing loath, the prize of a diamond ring. The darting of the Moorish jereed, called *jeugo des cannes*, was among the diversions at this festival. Philip and his Spanish cavaliers excelled in it, and thus gave a new feature to the English tournament. "The king's grace," says an eye-witness,[2] "my lord Fitzwalter, and divers Spaniards, did mount dressed in various colours, the king in red, some in green, some in yellow, some in white, and some in blue. They had in their hands targets and canes: forthwith they commenced hurling the canes at each other. Their trumpeters were dressed in

[1] Strawberry-hill MS., from Harleian Collection. The tournament was proclaimed in the presence-chamber (the white-hall of Westminster-palace) to take place at Westminster.

[2] Machyn's Diary, 76.

their masters' colours, and they had drums made of kettles [kettle-drums], and banners the colour of their garments."

The queen was extremely ill on the day she had appointed to introduce the mission of cardinal Pole to parliament; and as she could not go as usual to Westminster, she was forced to take the privileges of an invalid, and convene her peers and commons in her great presence-chamber at the palace of Whitehall. Here she was carried to her throne, attended by all her ladies.[1] King Philip was seated under the same canopy, but at the queen's left hand. A seat of dignity was placed for the cardinal at the queen's right hand, but at a due distance from the royal canopy. The lord chancellor Gardiner commenced the business of the day with this quaint address:—

"My lords of the upper house, and my *maisters* of the nether house here present, the right reverend father in God my lord cardinal Pole, legate *a latere*, is come from the apostolic see of Rome as ambassador to the king and queen's majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm. Which ambassade (their majesties' pleasure is) to be signified by his own mouth, you giving attentive and inclinable ear to his grace, who is now ready to declare the same."

Cardinal Pole then stood up, and, in a speech of considerable length and eloquence, recapitulated his own sufferings and exile; and with the ingenuity of a great barrister pleading a cause, uttered every thing that could be urged in favour of the Roman-catholic side of the question. He mentioned the queen with emotion, declaring, "the time was when, on her grace's part, there was nothing but despair; for numbers conspired against her, and policies devised to destroy her right. Yet she, a virgin, helpless and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory; and her faith, like a lamp assaulted by adverse winds through a dark and stormy night, yet kept a light to the hopes of many, and now shed a bright radiance." In the course of the speech, the cardinal hinted "that he had power from pope Julius III. to absolve the English, without previous restitution of the church lands distributed by Henry VIII." The immediate consequence of this understanding was, that the houses of parliament, by general consent,[2] pre-

[1] Holinshed and Grafton. The Parliamentary Journals say this ceremony took place on the 27th of November.

[2] Parl. History, vol. iii. p. 322, from which, with George Ferrers for costume,

pared a petition to the throne, praying for reconciliation with the see of Rome.

The next morning the queen, her ladies, king Philip, and the cardinal, took their places as before, when the peers and commons, led by Gardiner, again entered the presence-chamber, and presented the petition of parliament to the royal pair. Philip and Mary rose, and doing reverence to the cardinal, delivered this petition to him, who received it with glad emotion at their hands. He delivered a few words of thanks to God, and then ordered his commission from the pope to be read aloud. This ended, the peers and commons fell on their knees, and the cardinal pronounced solemnly his absolution and benediction. The whole assembly then followed the queen and her spouse to St. Stephen's chapel, where *Te Deum* was sung, which ended the ceremony. Queen Mary was struck with a relapse of illness during this solemnity, so agitating was it to her. She, however, trusted that her indisposition was owing to her situation, which promised (she persuaded herself) an heir to the crown. Her health rallied sufficiently to permit her appearance at the Christmas festival, which was kept with more than usual splendour, on account of her marriage and the reconciliation to Rome.

Just at this time the queen expressed her pity for sir John Cheke, but did not pardon him of her own accord; she referred his case to Gardiner. His offence was not a small one, for he had written the letter from the council which branded the queen with illegitimacy in the coarsest terms, and tauntingly advised her to offer her homage to queen Jane. It was the office of sir William Cecil to write all letters of council, but he shifted this on poor sir John Cheke, with a dexterity on which he afterwards greatly plumed himself.[1] In one of

this singular scene is taken. The proportion of the Protestants to the Catholics in England, in the reign of Edward VI., is thus mentioned in a confidential letter of lord Paget to the protector Somerset, June 7th, 1549:—"The use of the old religion is forbidden by law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven or twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth."—Strype's Records, vol. xi. p. 110.

[1] See his curious narrative, published in Tytler's State-Papers, vol. ii., Edward and Mary. He first tried to induce sir Nicholas Throckmorton to undertake it.

sir John Cheke's supplicatory letters to Gardiner, from Padua, dated December 1554,[1] he makes use of these words :—"I hear queen Mary's noble highness, pitying the extreme state of my case, hath referred unto your lordship to take order in my matters after what sort your lordship listeth. Therefore all now lieth in your hand, that either of this endless misery you may ease me, or else cast me into extreme beggary. I envy not others to whom the queen's grace was merciful, but I crave the same mercy in a like cause."

The festivities on Christmas-eve were peculiarly splendid; here it was evident that a degree of reconciliation between the queen and her sister Elizabeth had taken place, for the princess was not only permitted to join in them, but to take her place at the banquet as the heir-presumptive of the realm.[2] The great hall of the palace was lighted with a thousand lamps of various colours, artificially disposed. Here queen Mary, her husband, and a splendid assembly of English, Flemish, and Spanish nobles, supped. The princess Elizabeth sat at the same table with her sister, *next* the royal canopy, called by the chronicler the cloth of estate. Elizabeth likewise was present at the great tourney that took place five days afterwards, according to the proclamation the queen had made on the arrival of the prince of Savoy. The earl of Devonshire had been released from Fotheringay-castle, and was introduced at court, with the honours due to his rank, at these Christmas festivities. He expressed a wish to travel,

[1] Nugæ Antiquæ, by sir John Harrington.

[2] Both Miss Aikin and Mr. Pyne, with several preceding authors, suppose this Christmas festival to have taken place at Hampton-Court; but the minute diary of Holinshed (furnished by George Ferrers, an eye-witness) of the occupations of the splendid court that surrounded Mary and Philip at this very time, proves that the scene *must* have been at Whitehall-palace, or the white-hall presence-chamber at Westminster-palace. This contemporary statement is confirmed by a MS. printed by Horace Walpole at Strawberry-hill, where it is evident the great passage-of-arms mentioned here was proclaimed at Westminster in the queen's chamber, and that it took place *not* at Hampton, but Westminster. This likewise proves, by analogy, that the celebrated interview of reconciliation between queen Mary and her sister must have previously taken place, during the bridal retirement of the former at Hampton-Court in the autumn of 1554. Is it not an absurdity to suppose that Elizabeth appeared in public in her place, and was treated with distinction as second royal personage in England, *before* the reconciliation with the queen?

that he might improve his mind, and was offered by the queen an honourable introduction to the emperor's court.[1] His flight from the battle of Charing-cross,—conduct unheard of in the annals of his race, perhaps made his residence at the English court unpleasant to him, want of physical courage being deemed a greater disgrace than if he had committed as many murders and treasons as his great-uncle, Richard III.

As the bridal festivities of queen Mary had been postponed to the Christmas season, great magnificence was expected on the occasion; yet it was the queen's desire that they should be conducted with a regard to economy which was perfectly disgusting to the functionaries whose offices were to arrange the amusements of the court. Sir Thomas Carden, who had seen the spoils of many a goodly abbey tossed to him[2] as funds for "finding his puppets," was indignant at the change of times, and remonstrated, through sir Henry Jerningham, "that he had already shown all his novelties to king Philip, and wanted new properties."[3] Upon which sir Henry penned,

[1] He left England in the spring of 1555. An affectionate letter is extant from him to queen Mary, giving her an account of his interview with the emperor in Flanders. It appears the Courtenays possessed a seat at Kew, for the mother of Courtenay dated her letters to her son from that place.

[2] He was a favourite gentleman of the bedchamber to king Henry VIII., and showed, according to the royal taste, a great genius in the composition of pageants and masques. His name is sometimes spelled Carwardine, but constantly called Carden, and was often so addressed by queen Mary, queen Elizabeth, and their courtiers, who usually commence their epistles to him, "Gentle master Carden," even after his knighthood. He had been enriched with the spoils of the hospital of St. Mary of Rounceval, which once occupied the site of the present Northumberland-house, in the Strand. He was a great reformer, but whether the devourer of an hospital could be conscientiously religious, is a difficult point of ethics. He was suspected of disaffection at the rebellion of Wyatt, and had had his house divested of arms; but he made his peace with Mary, as we here find him exercising his functions upon her marriage.

[3] A slight notice of the properties under "gentle master Carden's" surveillance, will give an idea of the spectacles prepared for the royal amusement at this juncture. He had to furnish forth a masque of apes, and a masque of cats. He paid George Allen 6*s.* 8*d.* for covering six counterfeit apes with grey rabbits' skins. These creatures were to seem playing on bagpipes, and to sit "at top in a row, like minstrels, as though they did play." The same George Allen was paid for furring six great shapes of wicker, made for a masque of cats, and 6*s.* for furnishing six dozen cats' tails. The chief novelty, however, for king Philip's entertainment was a masque written by the learned Nicholas Udall; the scene represented Venice, and the persons were patrons of Venetian galleys, with galley-

under the queen's direction, the following curious epistle, wherein her majesty plainly intimated her desire that something elegant should be furnished forth for the entertainment of king Philip, without any further drain on the royal purse:—

"Mr. Carden,

"I have declared to the queen's highness that you have no other masques than such as has been showed already before the king's highness; and for that he hath seen many fair and rich beyond the seas, you think it not honourable but that he should see the like here. Her highness thinks your consideration very good; notwithstanding, she has commanded me to write to you, saying to me she knows right well you can make a shift for need, requiring you to do so, and you shall deserve great thanks at her highness's hands; and if you lack stuff, you may have some here at hand. I told her you lacked nothing but time, but she trusted you will take more pains for this present.—And thus I commit you to God.

"Your friend,

"Henry Jernegan.

"To my very friend, Master Carden."

Queen Mary's court at this season was the resort of men, whose undying names fill the history of that stirring century, whose renown, either for good or evil, is familiar in memory as household words. There met together, in the palace halls of St. James or Whitehall, the ministers and the victims of Philip the Second's long career of vigorous tyranny while they were yet in early manhood, just starting for their devious course of life. There appeared, in all the grace of manly beauty, Alva the Terrific, whose fine person disguised a disposition of demoniac cruelty, afterwards exercised on the unfortunate Protestants of the Low Countries; by his side was the

slaves as their torch-bearers; "six Venuses, or amorous Venetian ladies, with six Cupids and six Turkey-women as torch-bearers." A masque of covetous men, with long noses, and a mask of black and tinsel with baboons' faces. A play, "called Ireland, representing the state of that country, and the humours of the people," had been prepared for the entertainment of Edward VI., but its representation was delayed, "because the young king was very sick." There is reason to believe it was acted for the amusement of queen Mary, and was certainly got up with attention to the costume of the country. There were dresses made of "grey carsey," like an Irishman's coat, with long plaits, and orange frizado (frieze) for mantles. Thus, at an earlier period than that of Shakspeare, Irish character had possession of the English stage; moreover, there were Orangemen before the era of William III. The most valuable among Carden's properties was "one painted book of Hans *Holby's* making," for which he paid him six pounds. This was the illustrious painter Hans Holbein, who died of the plague in London, in the year 1554.

magnificent Fleming, count Egmont, and his fellow-patriot count Horne, afterwards the resisters and victims of the cruelties and despotism with which Philip and Alva desolated the Protestant cities of Flanders. There might be seen, then a youthful gallant, a contender in tournaments for ladies' smiles and royal prizes, the grandee Ruy Gomez, afterwards the celebrated prime-minister of Spain; and, as if to complete the historic group, there arrived, soon after, Philibert Emanuel duke of Savoy, the suitor of Elizabeth and the future conqueror at St. Quintin. Last, and greatest, came that illustrious prince of Orange who wrested Holland from the grasp of Philip II. The queen sent her lord privy-seal to welcome the princes of Savoy and of Orange at Gravesend; and they came through London-bridge to Whitehall in the royal barges, and landed at Whitehall-palace, January 9th, 1555,[1] where brilliant festivities were at that moment held.

All this splendour soon closed in the darkest gloom. The queen's health had been sinking since November set in; yet, inspired by her illusive hopes of offspring, she kept up her spirits with more than usual energy. She was carried to her throne in the house of lords, January 16th, for the purpose of dissolving parliament, when she went through the ceremony of sceptring[2] those demoniac acts, passed by her third parliament, which let loose the fiends of persecution over her country. A singular act was likewise passed, declaring it treason to pray publicly for her death, which it seems was done in some meetings of Protestants; but a clause was added, probably by her desire, that "if penitence was expressed, the parties were only to be obnoxious to minor punishment, awarded by their judge."[3] The two houses had joined in a petition to Philip, requesting, that if it should happen to the queen otherwise than well in her travail, he would take upon him the government of the realm during the minority of her child, with its guardianship. Lord Paget had raised an objection to this measure, but the friends of

[1] Holinshed, whose chronicle is drawn from the narrative of an eye-witness, George Ferrers, master of the revels to Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

[2] Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 332. For her illness, see Holinshed, first edition.

[3] Parl. Hist. p. 331.

Philip declared he had protested, on his honour, that he would resign the government when his child came of age. "Ay," replied Paget; "but should he not, who is to sue the bond?"—a witticism taken extremely ill by the king and queen. But the act was passed, notwithstanding lord Paget's opposition, and it certainly threw great power into the hands of Philip during the queen's long illness. Noailles, indeed, expressly assured his sovereign, the king of France, that it is of little use appealing to queen Mary as an independent sovereign; for, from the day of her marriage, Philip of Spain ruled virtually in every measure, domestic or foreign, in the kingdom of England. The bishops, he says,[1] received notice to make processions and prayers for the life and safety of the heir to the throne, of which the queen expected to become the mother. Soon after placards were fixed on her palace walls, containing these words,—"Are ye so stupid, English nobles, as to believe that our queen should have aught, without it be a marmot or a puppy-dog?"[2]

It is true that her hope of bringing offspring was utterly delusive; the increase of her figure was but symptomatic of dropsy, attended by a complication of the most dreadful disorders which can afflict the female frame, under which every faculty of her mind and body sunk for many months. At this time commenced that horrible persecution of the Protestants which has stained her name to all futurity; but if eternal obloquy was incurred by the half-dead queen, what is the due of the parliaments which legalized the acts of cruelty committed in her name? Shall we call the house of lords *bigoted*, when its majority, which sanctioned this wickedness, were composed of the same individuals who had planted, very recently, the Protestant church of England?[3] Surely not; for the name implies honest, though wrong-headed attachment to *one* religion. Shall we suppose that the land groaned

[1] Noailles' Ambassades, vol. v. [2] Ibid.

[3] The house of lords, in the 16th century, was composed of fewer members than our present queen's privy council. A numerous legislative nobility, it may be inferred from the history of the Tudors, is far more favourable to civil and religious liberty. Many of the haughty ancient nobility, who controlled the

under the iron sway of a standing army? or that the Spanish bridegroom had introduced foreign forces? But reference to facts will prove, that even Philip's household servants were sent back with his fleet; and a few valets, fools, and fiddlers, belonging to the grandees his bridesmen, were all the forces permitted to land,—no very formidable band to Englishmen. The queen had kept her word rigorously, when she asserted "that no alteration should be made in religion without universal consent." Three times in two years had she sent the house of commons back to their constituents, although they were most compliant in every measure relative to her religion. If she had bribed one parliament, why did she not keep it sitting during her short reign? If her parliaments had been honest as herself, her reign would have been the pride of her country, instead of its reproach; because, if they had done their duty in guarding their fellow-creatures from bloody penal laws respecting religion, the queen, by her first regal act, in restoring the ancient free constitution of the great Plantagenets, had put it out of the power of her government to take furtive vengeance on *any* individual who opposed it. She had exerted all the energy of her great eloquence to impress on the minds of her judges that they were to sit as "indifferent umpires between herself and her people." She had no standing army to awe parliaments, no rich civil list to bribe them. By restoring the great estates of the Howard, the Percy, and many other victims of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s regency, by giving back the revenues of the plundered bishoprics and the church lands possessed by the crown, she had reduced herself to poverty as complete as the most enthusiastic lover of freedom could desire. But her personal expenditure was extremely economical, and she successfully struggled with poverty till her husband involved England in a French war. The French ambassador affirmed,

crown in the preceding age, were cut off by Henry VIII., and their places supplied by *parvenus*,—the menial servants of the royal household raised by caprice, whose fathers had been mace-bearers to lord mayors, heralds, and lower limbs of the law, &c.; proper candidates for the lower house if they won their way by ability, but awkward members of a house of peers, then amounting to but fifty laymen.

in his despatches, that the queen was so very poor, that her want of money was apparent in every thing pertaining to herself, even to the dishes put on her own table.[1] Such self-denial contributed to render her unpopular among her courtiers, and penuriousness has been added to the list of her ill qualities; but those who reckon up the vast sums she had restored to their rightful owners, or refused to appropriate in confiscation, will allow that hers was an honourable poverty.

The fact of whether the torpid and half-dead queen was the instigator of a persecution, the memory of which curdles the blood with horror at this distance of time, is a question of less moral import, at the present day, than a clear analyzation of the evil with which selfish interests had infected the legislative powers of our country. It was in vain that Mary almost abstained from creation of peers, and restored the ancient custom of annual parliaments;[2] the majority of the persons composing the houses of peers and commons were dishonest, indifferent to all religions, and willing to establish the most opposing rituals, so that they might retain their grasp on the accursed thing with which their very souls were corrupted,—for corrupted they were, though not by the unfortunate queen. The church lands, with which Henry VIII. had bribed his aristocracy, titled and untitled, into co-operation with his enormities, both personal and political, had induced national depravity. The leaders of the Marian persecution, Gardiner and Bonner, were of the apostate class of persecutors. "Flesh bred in murder," they had belonged to the government of Henry VIII., which sent the zealous Roman-catholic and the pious Protestant to the same stake. For the sake of worldly advantage, either for ambition or power, Gardiner and Bonner had, for twenty years, promoted the burning or quartering of the advocates of papal supremacy; they now turned with the tide, and burnt, with the same degree of conscientiousness, the opposers of papal supremacy.

The persecution appears to have been greatly aggravated by the caprice, or the private vengeance, of these prelates;

[1] Noailles, vol. v. [2] Drake's Parliamentary History.

for a great jurist of our times, who paid unprejudiced attention to the facts, has thus summed up the case: "Of fourteen bishoprics, the Catholic prelates used their influence so successfully, as altogether to prevent bloodshed in nine, and to reduce it within limits in the remaining five. Bonner, 'whom all generations shall call bloody,' raged so furiously in the diocese of London, as to be charged with burning half the martyrs in the kingdom."[1] Cardinal Pole, the queen's relative and familiar friend, took no part in these horrible condemnations. He considered his vocation was the reformation of manners: he used to blame Gardiner for his reliance on the arm of flesh,[2] and was known to rescue from Bonner's crowded piles of martyrs the inhabitants of his own district. It is more probable that the queen's private opinion leant rather to her cousin, who had retained the religion she loved unchanged, than to Gardiner, who had been its persecutor; but Gardiner was armed with the legislative powers of the kingdom, unworthy as its time-serving legislators were to exercise them. Yet all ought not to be included in one sweeping censure: a noble minority of good men, disgusted at the detestable penal laws which lighted the torturing fires for the Protestants, seceded bodily from the house of commons, after vainly opposing them. This glorious band for the honour of human nature was composed of Catholics as well as Protestants; it was headed by the great jurist, serjeant Plowden,[3] a Catholic

[1] History of England by sir James Mackintosh, vol. ii. p. 328.

[2] Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii.

[3] When Francis Plowden published his History of Ireland, sir Philip Musgrave entered into some strictures on it. He was answered by the author, who quoted a letter of queen Elizabeth, offering the chancellorship to his ancestor if he would abjure his religion. Fuller, our church historian, a man as honest as himself, is enthusiastic in the praise of this noble-minded lawyer, who is, perhaps, a still finer specimen of human nature than even sir Thomas More, since he was so far in advance of his age, as to have understood that religious toleration was a virtue. Camden, another honest man, speaks with delight of Plowden. "How excellent a medley is made," says he, "when honesty and ability meet in a man of his profession!" He was treasurer of the Temple in 1572, when that magnificent hall was builded, he being a great advancer thereof. His monument is to be seen in the Temple church close by, at the north-east of the choir, his effigy lying along, with the hands in the attitude of supplication: he is represented in his coif and gown, and a little ruff about his neck. He died February 6, 1584

so firm, as to refuse the chancellorship, when persuaded to take it by queen Elizabeth, because he would not change his religion. This secession is the first indication of a principle of merciful toleration to be found among any legislators in England. Few were the numbers of these good men,[1] and long it was before their principles gained ground; for, truly, the world had not made sufficient advance in Christian civilization at that time to recognise any virtue in religious toleration.

One of Mary's earliest cares had been to provide a series of orthodox masses for the soul of her father; and for this purpose she wished to appropriate certain rectorial tithes belonging to Kendal church, then in possession of the crown. She consulted her ecclesiastic confidants on the matter; but they assured her that the pope would never permit the endowments of a parish to be appropriated to the assistance of so determined an enemy of the church as Henry VIII. She, in the hope that her father's soul was not wholly beyond the reach of intercession, presented the advowson to a college he had refounded at Cambridge, saying, "That as his benefaction to this college was the best thing he had done for himself, the best thing she could do to show her duty, was to augment its revenues for his sake."[2] Among the popular accusations against Mary is a very terrible one; no other than that she instigated an ecclesiastical council to exhume her father's bones, to be burnt for heresy. At the very time when Mary is represented as encouraging such parricidal insults on her father's body, she was occupied in fond, vain solicitude for the comfort of his soul; and was actually sparing endowments from her poverty, in hopes that his state might be amelio-

[1] They were thirty-seven in number. See Parliamentary History, vol. iii. p. 333, where the names of all these intrepid members of parliament may be read. Good Christians they were, though different denominations of religion were found in their ranks. Some of their descendants are Catholics to this day, as the Plowdens; some are Protestants, as the descendants of Rous, member for Dunwich. The humane seceders from parliament were punished for the desertion of their seats by fine, imprisonment, and other Star-chamber inflictions, and (what does not appear so very unreasonable) by *loss of their parliamentary wages*. The secession took place twice. Sir Edward Coke has preserved some particulars relating to it: he was the last man who would have followed such an example.

[2] Hist. of Kendal. Southey's Hist. of the Church.

rated. The story was founded on one still stranger, the detail of which is preserved by the Scottish ambassador, Melville. He writes, that when he journeyed over the border, on a mission from his queen Mary of Scots to queen Elizabeth, a man who professed divining and other conjurations joined his train. He was, or had been, valet of queen Elizabeth's chamber, and had served in the household of her father and brother; he was, in all probability, a spy of the English court. Melville was entertained by him with the wildest tales concerning the royal family of Tudor. "Henry VIII.," said this informant,[1] "consulted necromancers, who told him that Edward his son would have few years, and no heirs; that his two daughters would succeed each other; that Mary would take in marriage a Spaniard, and make great alterations in England; and that Elizabeth would marry a Scotchman or a Frenchman. Whereupon Henry VIII. poisoned both his daughters; but they took antidotes and recovered, after suffering severe internal agonies." He added, "that Mary never regained her health; and that all the dreadful internal sufferings which the women who *haunted her chamber* [meaning her bedchamber women] told him she endured, were owing to her father's cruelty. Therefore, to be revenged on him, queen Mary had her father's bones taken up and burnt." As, however, the gigantic skeleton of Henry VIII. was found by sir Henry Halford and George IV. quite whole in his tomb in St. George's chapel at Windsor, no better proof can be given of the falsehood of both statements.

The proto-martyrs of the Protestant church of England were men of blameless lives and consistent conduct; their leader was prebend Rogers, of St. Paul's, who was burnt at Smithfield, February 4th, 1555. The same week were burnt, Saunders, rector of All-hallows, at Coventry; Dr. Rowland Taylor,[2] at Hadleigh; and bishop Hooper, at Gloucester. All were offered their lives as the price of apostasy; but all remained firm in their faith. The martyrdom of bishop Hooper

[1] Melville's Memoirs, p. 55; Bannatyne edition.

[2] It is not generally known that bishop Jeremy Taylor, one of the greatest literary ornaments of our church, was grandson to this admirable man.

was a peculiar instance of ingratitude in Mary's government, for his loyalty to her had been as firm as his adherence to his church. He wrote a narrative of his conduct, in which he says, with *naïve* simplicity, "When queen Mary's fortunes were at the worst, I rode, myself, from place to place, (as is well known,) to win and stay the people for her party. And whereas, when another was proclaimed, [lady Jane Gray,] I preferred our queen, notwithstanding the proclamations. I sent horses in both shires [Gloucester and Worcester] to serve her in great danger, as sir John Talbot and William Lygon esq., can testify."

At the end of the week of crime[1] which saw the sufferings of these four good men, Alphonso di Castro, a Franciscan friar, confessor to king Philip, preached before the court a sermon, inveighing against the wickedness of burning them; he boldly declared the truth, that the English bishops learned not in Scripture to burn any one for conscience' sake. This truly Christian sermon produced an order from court, whether from the queen or her husband is not known, to stop the burnings for upwards of five weeks, which raised hopes of future clemency; but in vain, for, at the lowest computation, above two hundred human creatures perished before the persecution and Mary's reign ceased together. In February 1555, Christiern III., king of Denmark, wrote an excellent letter to queen Mary, claiming bishop Coverdale, one of the translators of the English Bible, as his subject. Thus, to the joy of all humane persons, was a good and learned man delivered from a dreadful death.

The only notice of the queen's existence for several months is to be found in the pages of the Diary of a Resident in the City of London,[2] who notes, that "on April 3 the king's grace removed the queen to Hampton-Court to keep Easter, and to take her chamber there," after the usual mode of the queens of England who expected offspring. Once only was queen Mary seen by the public, which was on St. George's-day, the 23rd of the same month. Philip of Spain, as sovereign of

[1] Feb. 10th, 1555. See Fox's Martyrology, part ii. p. 145.
[2] Machyn's Diary, p. 84.

the order of the Garter, went in procession with the knights and lords in their robes, with three crosses and a crowd of priests and clerks. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, was likewise chancellor of the order: he wore his mitre, and was all the day attired in robes of gold tissue. The choir sang *Salva festa dies*, as they went round the courts and cloisters of Hampton-Court. The queen, who was anxiously looked for by many of her subjects, came to a casement, and remained there while the heralds were surrounding king Philip, "so that hundreds," adds Machyn, "did see her grace after she had taken to her chamber."[1] Reports were prevalent in England that she was dead. A few days afterwards, the rumour went that she had given birth to a prince. Machyn mentions it in his quaint language thus: "The last day of April tidings came to London that the queen's grace was delivered of a prince; so there was great ringing throughout the city and other places of *Te Deum*. The morrow after it was turned otherwise, according to the pleasure of God; but it shall be, when it please God, who will remember his true servants that put their trust in him." Expectation of the birth of an heir or heiress to England continued for some weeks, notwithstanding this disappointment.

So much ridicule has been cast on the mistake made in the queen's situation, that no person has asked the obvious question of, 'Who governed England during the time which embraced the commencement of the Protestant persecution and her violent illness?' How violent that illness was, may be learned from the testimony of the Venetian ambassador, Michele:[2] "From the time of her first affliction she was a prey to the severest headaches, her head being frightfully swelled: she was likewise subject to perpetual attacks of hysteria, which other women exhale by tears and piercing cries." From this notice may be implied, that the wretched queen still retained sufficient command of herself to suppress all audible plaints, as unbecoming her royal station. Who can, however, believe that a woman in this state of mortal

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 85.
[2] MS. Lansdowne, p. 840 A, folio 157; British Museum.

suffering was capable of governing a kingdom, or that she was accountable for any thing done in it?[1] Fox, in his narrative of the sufferings of the Protestant martyrs, whenever the queen is mentioned, really confirms the description of Michele. "Sometimes," he reports, "she laid weeks without speaking, as one dead, and more than once the rumour went that she had died in childbed."

Whilst queen Mary remained at Hampton-Court, she gave audience to the two Noailles, on business of the utmost import touching peace or war. She rose twice or thrice from her chair in great agitation during the interview, and expressed herself very warmly regarding the expatriation of the prince of Savoy, whose restoration to his dominions, detained by France, was the point in dispute. She had not been visible for months before, and all her subjects, except the very few women shut up with her, suspected that she was dead.[2] The king of France, who was uneasy regarding the war that Philip was meditating, told Noailles "to seek another audience with the queen to discuss the matter with her, watching her countenance earnestly all the time." Noailles went to Hampton-Court in the beginning of May, with the best intentions in the world for making the physiognomical inquisition his king recommended, but found himself debarred from her presence, for her seclusion was deeper than ever, as she was suffering excessively. The next news he sent word to his king was, "that the queen would never bring any child into the world; and that the wise woman, and an old maid who had attended her from her youth, had declared that the queen's supposed state was by no means of the hopeful kind generally supposed, but rather some woful malady, for she sat whole days on the ground crouched together, with her knees higher than her head."

The females of her household and her medical attendants still kept up the delusive hope that her accouchement was at hand. Prayers were put up for her safe delivery, in May

[1] Her illness commenced with redoubled violence at its usual time,—the fall of the leaf. The busy and brilliant scenes which succeeded each other the same autumn greatly aggravated it, so that she never regained her health.

[2] Noailles' Ambassades, vol. v. pp. 26, 27.

1555; and circulars were written,—similar to those prepared at the birth of queen Elizabeth and Edward VI.—in which blanks were left for dates, and for the sex of the royal offspring. The news was actually published in London, and carried to Norwich and Flanders, that a prince was born.[1]

The queen returned to St. James's-palace no one knew when, and continued in a deplorable state of health throughout the summer, until she was advised to remove for the air of the country. Her removal is thus minutely described by Strype's MS. chronicler: "July 21, 1555, the queen removed from St. James's-palace in the fields. Passing through Whitehall and the park, she took her barge at Whitehall-stairs to Lambeth, my lord cardinal's house; there she mounted into her chariot, and rode through St. George's-fields to Newington, and over Newington-fields to Eltham-palace, where she arrived at five in the afternoon,—cardinal Pole, lord Pembroke, lord Montague, and many more of her court, following on horseback, when a vast conflux of people crowded to see her grace, above ten thousand." This seems her first appearance since her illness.

Whilst Mary remained suspended between life and death, only animated by a hope which every day became fainter, the conduct of her young husband was by no means edifying to her court. Fortunately, the queen had chosen maids of honour whose correctness of life was unimpeachable; who were not only ladies of approved virtue, but ready to do battle, if any audacious offender offered an incivility. Of this praiseworthy spirit, the beautiful lady Magdalen Dacre, who married, in the next reign, viscount Montague, afforded a signal instance.[2] One day, as she was at her toilette, king Philip, who had observed a small window which lighted her

[1] Machyn's Diary.

[2] Life of Magdalen Dacre, Viscountess of Montague, by R. Smith. Magdalen Dacre was born in 1538; she was therefore sixteen at the time when she resisted the advances of the spouse of her royal mistress, by the help of the stout staff which stood on duty in her dressing-room. She loved Mary, but detested and defied Philip. Magdalen was the daughter of a fearless sire, the great lord Dacre, lord marcher of the northern border, who, relying on his powerful position, sometimes told his terrific master truths which he did not hear from courtier lips. More than once lord Dacre sarcastically congratulated Henry VIII. on the

dressing-room from a corridor at Hampton-Court, contrived to open it far enough to put in his arm; when the fair maid of honour, justly indignant at a liberty she never encouraged, took up a staff which stood *à-propos* in a corner, and gave the intruding arm so sound a rap, that Philip was glad to draw it back in a hurry, and to make a speedy retreat. He took no offence at this specimen of an English lady's spirit, but was ever afterwards observed to treat the heroine of the staff with remarkable deference. The fair Dacre was of so stately a presence, that she towered above all the ladies of the court in height: she was maid of honour afterwards to queen Elizabeth, but was accustomed to speak with infinite scorn of the immorality of her court, when compared to that of queen Mary. When Philip found that the ladies of his wife's household were too respectable to give the least encouragement to his advances, it is affirmed that he formed disreputable acquaintances with females of low condition; at least, such is the testimony of a contemporary pamphlet, published for the purpose of inflaming the English against the Spanish influence in the privy council, attributed to John Bradford.[1] Whoever wrote it,[2] the whole may be considered as a collection of the popular reports afloat concerning king Philip. The author accounts for his knowledge of the king's conduct as follows:—"Ye would say, what could this fellow hear and see? In truth I was chamberlain to one of the privy council, and with all diligence gave myself to write and read Spanish; which, once attained, I kept secret from my master and fellow-servants because I might be trusted in my master's closet or study, where I might read daily such

power his supremacy gave his majesty, of absolving himself from the sins he committed. At another time he said to him, seriously and impressively, "Your majesty will find, when too late, that a man has small chance of peace, let his rank be what it may, who has more than one wife for his chamber, and more than one faith in his heart." Magdalen Dacre had two suitors, the "great sir John Arundel," and viscount Montague, the son-in-law of her royal mistress's friend, the fair Geraldine. She married the latter in the reign of queen Elizabeth. —Latin Life of Magdalen Dacre, Retrospective Review.

[1] Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. Original Papers, p. 344, from Fox's MSS.

[2] Machyn's Diary mentions the arrest of Bradford, the martyr, several months before some of the events narrated in this libel had taken place, therefore it could not have been written by him.

writing as I saw often brought into the council chamber, which thing I did as opportunity served. I saw certain letters sent from the emperor, half a year before king Philip left England, wherein was contained these secrets: 'That king Philip should make his excuses to queen Mary that he would go to see his father in Flanders, promising to return immediately. The good, simple queen is so jealous of my son, (I term it as the letters doth,) we shall make her agree to all our requests before his return, or else keep him here exercised in our affairs.' No man 'can think evil of the queen, though she be somewhat moved when things are beaten into her head by her gentlewomen.'" This was the idea of her adopting her husband as heir of England,[1] to the exclusion of Elizabeth. "God is my witness, that my heart will not suffer me to declare the vile reports that I have heard the Spaniards speak against the queen; and yet her grace taketh them for her faithful friends." He goes on to draw a laughable picture of what the English court will be, if the Spaniards have entire rule in England: "The court shall be kept more like a hostelry or tavern, than a noble house. Let them report that have been at Brussels, at the emperor's court, where is to be sold both wine and beer out of the emperor's cellar, as at any vintner's in the city. Yea, and the best of your lordships shall never be trusted to stay at home, but shall have to wait on king Philip abroad, and be glad to lie in a victualling house, where ye shall think to fare well if ye have half a lean roasted capon to dinner, and as much to supper; perhaps a pint of thin wine and water, or else half a loin of lean mutton, a pig's pettitoe, and half a dozen green salads. Then will ye say, 'Would to God we had kept the crown for the right heir!' But, peradventure, her grace the queen thinketh king Philip will keep her more company, and love her the better, if she will give him the crown."

A ribald rhyme is then quoted, alluding to one of Philip's supposed intrigues; it seems part of a ballad of no great edification, saying that the king liked—

[1] By descent from the legitimate daughter of John of Gaunt.

"The baker's daughter in her russet gown,
Better than queen Mary without her crown."

"The council of Spain," continues the author, "purposeth to establish other nations, and to appoint in England a viceroy, with an army of Spanish soldiers, and let the queen live at her beads, like a good ancient lady. For the king, he likes better Antwerp, where he may go mumming and masking, yea, even in the holy time of Lent, night after night. I would not have written this, had not the good bishop of Carlisle been checked in his sermon; for he desired king Philip to leave his loathsome conduct, and keep to his own wife."[1] Not one word of virtuous sympathy is there in behalf of the suffering Protestants, neither does the pamphlet accuse Mary of the least participation in the cruelties then transacting; on the contrary, the author's tone is that of compliance with the prevailing religion.

The determination of Charles V. to abdicate his dominions in favour of his son, was the ostensible cause of the departure of Philip of Spain from England. Preparations for his departure commenced by removal from Hampton-Court, where the royal pair had returned. They went by water, August 3, to stay a few days at Oatlands, when an occurrence took place connected, it may be supposed, with the report that the queen was dead. As her majesty passed through the park to take her barge at the water-gate on the Thames, an old beggar, recognising her, became elated with joy, and casting away his crutches, followed her chariot, leaping and shouting. Mary commanded that an alms should be given him.[2]

Queen Mary arrived at Westminster on the 23rd of August.[3] After three days' rest, she was carried through the city in an open litter, her husband riding by the side of it, "in order," as the French ambassador observes, "that her people might see that she was not dead." At Tower-wharf Philip and Mary took barge for Greenwich-palace. The princess Elizabeth came privately from Hampton-Court by water, and shot the bridge time enough to join the royal procession to Greenwich-palace.

[1] It is evident this tract was printed, since it begins with the words, "Though it be never so dangerous to me to set this little treatise abroad."

[2] Machyn's Diary, p. 92. [3] Noailles.

"The queen received nine or ten supplications [petitions] as she landed at the 'long bridge' at Greenwich. She went direct to a grand religious celebration at the friar-Observants, and came to the palace by the light of a hundred burning torches."[1]

Philip took his leave of the queen, August 29th. Mary parted from her husband with the most passionate tears and lamentations. She wished much to go to Dover and see him embark the next week, meaning to wait there during his absence.[2] She would have had a considerable long time to tarry; but she was not well enough to accompany him at his embarkation, and was forced to content herself with having daily oraison made at her chapel for his safety and speedy return. He waited for a wind at Dover, and sailed early in September. The princess Elizabeth remained the chief part of the autumn at Greenwich with her sister, accompanied her to mass, and shared all her devout observances.

The queen had, in September, somewhat recovered, owing to the sagacity of an Irish physician, who ventured to pronounce a true opinion of her case, and apply proper remedies for her agonizing maladies.[3] For a few afternoons, the queen struggled to pay the attention to business she had formerly done, but her health gave way again in the attempt, and she was seen no more at council.[4] With her married life the independence of her reign ceased: from whatever cause, either owing to her desperate state of health, or from her idea of wifely duty, Philip, whether absent or present, guided the English government. When he left England, the queen desired cardinal Pole to make minutes of the king's last injunctions for the privy council, and they are still preserved in his hand-writing. Philip gave his commands and wrote his mind, with no more recognition of his wife's authority than was observed by Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York, and he very coolly, in his own name, orders twelve ships of the English fleet to escort his abdicated father to Spain, without

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 93. [2] Noailles' Despatches, vol. v. p. 99.
[3] Ware's Annals, p. 234, quoted by sir F. Madden, Privy-purse Expenses of Queen Mary. [4] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii.

the ceremony of asking the leave of their royal mistress. These documents afford incontestable proof that Philip of Spain, not Mary of England, was the reigning sovereign after their hands were united. If this had not been the case, how could the truthful Fuller, the historian of our Church, who lived too near the times of queen Mary to be deceived, thus speak of her?—"She had been a worthy princess, if as little cruelty had been done under her as *by* her. She hated to equivocate, and always was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or conduct, for fear or flattery."

Sir Thomas Smith, in an oration recommending single life to princes, (by which word he means regnant queens,) traces all the cruelty of Mary's reign to her marriage. The same view of the subject is borne out by the contemporary biographer of Fox, the martyrologist, who calls queen Mary "a woman every way excellent while she followed her own inclination." Although every generous feeling is naturally roused against the horrid cruelties perpetrated in her name, yet it is unjust and ungrateful to mention her maiden reign with unqualified abhorrence; for if the tyrannical laws instituted by her father had remained a few years more in force, the representative government of England would gradually have withered under the terrors of imprisonments and executions without impartial trial, and regal despotism would have been as successfully established here, as it was in France and Spain by the descendants of Henry VIII.'s associates, Francis I. and Charles V. This change arose from the queen's own ideas of rectitude,[1] for the majority of her privy councillors, judges, and aristocracy had as strong a tendency to corrupt and slavish principles, as the worst enemy to national freedom could wish. Many wholesome laws were made or revived by her; among others, justices of the peace were enjoined to take the examination of felons in writing, at the same time binding witnesses over to prosecute: without such regulations, a moment's reflection will show that much malignant accusation might take place in a justice-room, unless witnesses were bound to

[1] See her charge to her judges, quoted by sir Nicholas Throckmorton on his trial.

prove their words. All landholders and householders were made proportionably chargeable to the repair of roads. The gaols were in a respectable state, since Fox allows that the persons imprisoned for conscience' sake were treated humanely in the prisons under royal authority, while the persecuting bishops made noisome confinement part of the tortures of the unhappy Protestants.

Queen Mary is commended for the merciful provision she made for the poor; there is, however, no trace of poor-rates levied from the community at large, like those established in the last year of the reign of her sister Elizabeth, at the close of the sixteenth century. But that the poor were relieved by Mary is evident, by the entire cessation of those insurrections on account of utter destitution which took place in her father's and brother's reigns, and, now and then, under the sway of Elizabeth. This is more singular, since corn was at famine price,[1] throughout the chief part of Mary's reign, owing to a series of inclement years and wet harvests. It seems likely that part of the church lands she restored were devoted to the relief of the destitute, since very few monasteries were refounded.[2] In her reign was altered that mysterious law called 'benefit of clergy.' It had originated in the earliest dawn of civilization, when the church snatched from the tyranny of barbarous and ignorant chiefs all prisoners or victims who could read, and, claiming them as her own, asserted the privilege of bringing them to trial: thus were the learned judged by the learned, and the ignorant left to the mercies of those savage as themselves. This law tended to the encouragement of learning in times, when not more than one person out of two thousand laymen knew a letter in the book. Since the comparative cessation from civil war, after the accession of queen Mary's grandfather, general knowledge had surged forward in such mighty waves, that the law of benefit of clergy, with many others of high utility five centuries before, were left without an object, their

[1] See the calculation of the price of corn throughout four centuries, in Toone's Chronological History.

[2] Westminster, the Observants at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Shene, and Brigettines at Sion, with the hospital of the Savoy.

actual purposes having ebbed away in the transitions of the times. The law of sanctuary was one of these. Mary wished, when she refounded the monastery of Westminster, for the privileges of its sanctuary to be abolished; but serjeant Plowden made a stand for them, on legal grounds.

Domestic cleanliness, in the reign of queen Mary, was by no means an English characteristic. When a room was out of order, the floor was neither swept nor washed, but received a fresh strewing of green rushes, just like the littering of a farm-yard when it is newly spread with straw for the accommodation of the cows or pigs, and the old surface remains a fermenting mass beneath. Thus, layer of rushes accumulated over layer, covering up bones, fragments from the wasteful dining-table, and other abominations. On occasions of dancing, all this litter was disturbed, by a circle being swept in the midst of the hall; the stone floor was thus made clear of incumbrances, while the extra littering was heaped up all round. This custom explains an expression used by Shakspeare, and the early dramatists and chroniclers, of "a hall! a hall!" when persons wished to dance: such was the call by which domestics understood they were to sweep the dancing-ring in the hall. How noxious the vapours of the newly-disturbed compost must have been to persons warm with dancing, may be supposed. The great philosopher of the sixteenth century, who evidently was not used to such dirty ways in his native Holland, attributed the various plagues which then desolated England to these horrid habits. His description is as follows: "As to the floors," says Erasmus, in his letter to Dr. Francis, "they are usually made of clay, covered with rushes that grow in fens. These are so little disturbed, that the lower mass sometimes remains for twenty years together, and in it a collection of every kind of filth: hence, upon a change of weather, a vapour is exhaled, most pernicious to the human body." He declares this to be the reason England was so frequently afflicted with pestilence.

The nobles were not a whit cleanlier than the country gentry; but as they usually were possessed of several seats, they indulged in the luxury of removing from one to another

when the insects, cherished by their dirty customs, became intolerable. These progresses they elegantly termed "going to sweeten." The most pitiful complaints were made by lord Paget to Edward VI.'s privy council, because, being in disgrace, he was confined to Beaudesert, which he assured them, "though pretty, was too small, and had withal become, by some months' residence, *horribly unsavoury*, and could not be sweetened without the removal of his family."[1] The dwellings of the lower and middle classes were made of timber and clay, or of wattled sticks and mud. The Spaniards who came over with king Philip, at first expressed great scorn of these mud edifices, which they termed the national architecture; but when they beheld the good living of the inhabitants, "the English," said they, "live in houses made of dirt and sticks, but they fare therein as well as their monarch."[2]

Queen Mary having overcome the repugnance of the English to be governed by a sovereign lady, was disposed to place her own sex in stations of authority, of which there had been few examples before or since. She made lady Berkeley a justice of the peace for Gloucestershire, and lady Rous she appointed of the quorum for Suffolk, "who did usually sit on the bench at assizes and sessions among the other justices, *cincta gladio*,—girt with the sword."[3] The houses of parliament had some customs now obsolete. It was necessary for a peer to obtain leave from the sovereign, if he found it needful to absent himself when parliament was sitting. The English drama assumed some likeness to its present form under her patronage. The old Mysteries and Moralities had given way before the regular plays of Plautus and Terence, acted in Latin by the boys of Westminster or St. Paul's school, who were chiefly the acolytes, or assistants of the mass. Heywood, the queen's poet and dramatic writer, was frequently sent for in her long illness; and when she was able to listen to recitation, he repeated his verses or superintended performances for her amusement.

The queen continued at Greenwich the remainder of the

[1] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 169. [2] Holinshed, vol. i. p. 187.
[3] Harl. MS. 980, 1. In MS. notes of Mr. attorney-general Noy.

year 1555 so very sick and weak, that it was daily expected she would surrender her life where she drew her first breath. The autumn was unhealthy, owing to incessant floods of rain: the Thames rose so high, that Westminster-hall was under water, and wherries rowed through it. Gardiner, the lord chancellor, died at the close of the same year.[1] Mary severely felt his loss as a financier, for his integrity and sagacity were remarkable in pecuniary affairs: he managed her income so well, that her expenditure did not exceed the ancient revenues of the crown as long as he lived. Queen Mary permitted the duchess of Northumberland to retain a maintenance sufficient to support her rank, through the intercession of don Diego de Mondeça. There is reason to suppose the queen carried her generosity so far, as to repossess the duchess in the royal palace of Chelsea, for she died there, and was buried at Chelsea church in 1555. She left in her will to her son-in-law, sir Henry Sidney, "the green and gold hangings *in the gallery* in the Manor-house, (water-side,) Chelsea."

An alarming accident happened whilst the queen dwelt at Greenwich, owing to the forgetfulness of a gunner belonging to a ship passing down the Thames, who, intending to salute the palace, discharged a small cannon, or falcon, loaded with ball, which broke the windows of the queen's chamber, and the ball even penetrated into her room. The unlucky

[1] In Fox's Martyrology a popular error has been induced by a narrative, declaring that Gardiner was struck with death while waiting for the news of the dreadful executions of Latimer and Ridley. It is singular, that this story likewise made the old duke of Norfolk impatient for his dinner on the same occasion, though he had been in his grave more than a twelvemonth before. As Fox must have minutely known every particular in the Norfolk family, from having been chaplain and confidant to the duchess of Richmond, and (appointed by her) tutor to the orphans of her unfortunate brother (the earl of Surrey), the whole story is most likely an awkward interpolation of one of the martyrologist's early editors, for contemporaries *never* make those species of mistakes. The true date of Gardiner's death is marked by a letter, written at the very time from London, to the earl of Shrewsbury, (Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i.):—"My lord of Winchester, whose soul God pardon, is departed, and his bowels were buried at St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark; but his body, as the saying is, shall be carried to Winchester cathedral, to be buried there. What time he departed is not yet certainly known, but most men say he died on Tuesday, at night, being the 12th day of this instant, about two o'clock after midnight, at Westminster, and was brought in his barge to his house in Southwark." This was the palace of his see in Southwark.

marksman was not punished for this unwelcome salute, as he pleaded accident.

Noailles, in a private letter written to madame de Roye[1] from the English court, enters into the character of Mary with much more candour than in his official despatches. He declares, December 30, 1555, that "the policy of king Philip has now become apparent that he never means to reside for any length of time in England, having gradually withdrawn all belonging to him in England, both goods and persons, that the queen wept and bewailed herself piteously every time he withdrew an officer or a valuable that he had left behind. Now that he has taken all but his confessor, she is in that depth of melancholy, that nothing seems to remain for her but to imitate the example of Dido. But that," adds Noailles, "she will not do, for she is so virtuous and good a lady, that she will conquer this adversity by the same means and remedy which she has found efficacious in an infinity of other tribulations, which have been her aliment from her youth upwards, like her daily bread, when she saw her life, and even her honour, many times matter of dispute, and she found no enemies more bitter than her own father and brother. See, now, how this queen suffers for having, against the wishes of her people, the laws of her country, and the will of her father, sought at a great expense a strange husband from the uttermost parts of Spain, who has shown her, plainly as possible, that ambition solely prompted his marriage. Queen Mary," adds the ambassador, "told her ladies, that as she had done all possible to induce her husband to return, and as she found he would not, she meant to withdraw utterly from men, and live quietly, as she had done the chief part of her life before she married."

"This princess," he continued some weeks afterwards, addressing his king, Henry II., "always remains in a state of fear and anguish, possessing neither the love of her husband or her people, and in apprehension of losing her own life by means of her own attendants, one of her chaplains

[1] A lady of the illustrious house of Chatillion, nearly related to the great Protestant leader Coligny, and mother of the princess of Condé.—Noailles Despatches, vol. v. p. 266.

having undertaken to kill her; but this has been hushed up without any public report. There, sire, is all that this great heiress has gained by marrying a stranger. . . . . This poor lady lets no one see her but four women of her chamber, and a fifth who sleeps with her. All her time she wastes in tears and in writing to her absent husband, and she is astonished and angry at the faithlessness of her subjects, even among those on whom she relied the most firmly. At present she confides in none but in lord Montague and her grand equerry, who are two young men unfit to extricate her from the perils with which she is environed. . . . . It appears that all things are very ill-disposed for the coronation desired by her husband, and there are those who say that, instead of the pope sending them a golden bull of dispensation for their marriage, he should send another to dissolve it." Madame de Noailles waited on the unhappy queen to pay her respects to her on the 18th of May, 1556, but declared that she scarcely recognised her, for she seemed to have grown ten years older than when they last met.[1]

Mary once more appeared in public at the commencement of the year 1556, pale as a corpse, and looking ten years older than when she was last seen, as madame de Noailles had previously observed.[2] The queen reviewed her band of gentlemen-pensioners in Greenwich-park; after which a tumbler came forth from the crowd, and volunteered so many droll antics for the royal diversion, that he elicited a hearty laugh and a reward from the sick queen.

A deep obscurity remains on Mary's place of abode throughout the chief part of this year, which was marked with persecution, insurrection, and famine: the dreadful martyrdom of Cranmer took place in the spring. The utter paucity of all intelligence concerning the residence and movements of Mary, and her total absence from council, leads to the conclusion that she was again on a sick bed. She made no progresses in the summer; indeed, such movements were

[1] Noailles' Despatches, vol. v. There was another diplomatist who succeeded him as ambassador to England, his brother, Noailles bishop of Acqs, with whom he must not be confounded.

[2] Michele, the Venetian ambassador; Lansdowne MS.

impossible in her desperate state of health, for, when she attempted them in her father's reign, she was usually carried home ill in a litter. Her affectionate maid of honour, Jane Dormer, who married a Spanish grandee, the conde di Feria, and wrote her own memoirs, affirms that her royal mistress, when convalescent in the summer, retired to the palace at Croydon, which had been a dower-residence of her mother, Katharine of Arragon. Here her sole amusement was walking, plainly dressed, with her ladies, and entering the cottages of the poor, and, unknown to them, relieving their wants. She likewise chose those of their children that seemed promising, for the benefits of education. This account agrees with her extreme love of children, and the numerous godchildren and infant *protégés* on whom she lavished a great part of her narrow income in her youth.[1] The invalid queen, in her moments of convalescence, soothed her cares and miseries at the embroidery-frame. Many specimens of her needle-work were extant in the reign of James I., and are thus celebrated by Taylor, the poet of the needle:—

"Mary here the sceptre swayed;
And, though she were a queen of mighty power,
Her memory will never be decayed,
Which by her works are likewise in the Tower,
In Windsor-castle, and in Hampton-Court:
In that most pompous room called Paradise,
Whoever pleaseth thither to resort
May see some works of hers of wondrous *price*, [value].
Her greatness held it no disreputation
To hold the needle in her royal hand;
Which was a good example to our nation,
To banish idleness throughout her land.
And thus this queen in wisdom thought it fit;
The needle's work pleased her, and she graced it."

Where "the pompous room called Paradise at Hampton-Court" may be, must remain a mystery; but it was probably one of the ancient state apartments destroyed by William III. to make way for the quadrangle, built and ornamented in the mode *à la Louis Quatorze*. It is easy to surmise that it was hung with tapestry representing the garden of Eden, with beasts, birds, and plants depicted according to such artistical ideas as Mary and her maids of honour might possess when delineating subjects of natural history in cross-stitch. Katha-

[1] See almost every page of her Privy-purse Expenses, edited by sir F. Madden

rine of Arragon, the mother of queen Mary, commenced ornamenting the state apartments in the Tower. According to Taylor, Mary finished the splendid and elaborate tapestry begun by her mother, but all vestiges of the royal apartments of the Tower were swept away by the destructive warfare in the succeeding century. The very site has become matter of dispute; and with these antique palatial lodging-rooms vanished the united labours that queen Mary and her mother had bestowed on their hangings and furniture. It is known, from her privy-purse expenses, that she worked an enormous arm-chair as a New-year's gift for her father, Henry VIII.; and there is reason to suppose it is the specimen of Mary's needle-work Taylor alludes to "as well known at Windsor."

A series of plots and insurrections took place, agitated by a younger brother of the Stafford family, who was a nephew of cardinal Pole, and had been malcontent before his uncle returned to England. The French ambassador was, as usual, concerned with this rising, which had several ramifications; in which two of the household of the princess Elizabeth were again concerned, and when arrested they accused their mistress of participation. The princess, however, had not the least difficulty in convincing her sister of her innocence, who sent her a ring, in token of her confidence. The officers of Elizabeth were executed. A new disturbance was raised in July, by an impostor who personated the deceased earl of Devonshire, and who actually proclaimed himself and Elizabeth king and queen. This trying circumstance produced no division between the royal sisters, nor did the populace take the slightest interest in the attempts of any of the disturbers. Lord Braye, the son-in-law of the earl of Shrewsbury, was confined in the Tower, being accused of participation in Stafford's revolt. Lady Braye was admitted to the queen's presence, and pleaded the cause of her lord very earnestly and successfully.

Mrs. Clarencieux, the queen's old maid, came to lady Braye with kind words from her majesty, and invited her to dine with her, and led her by the hand through the court to her

chamber; and this was thought to be by the queen's special commandment. The queen, two days after, spoke of the devotion of the young wife with great praise; but added, with emphasis, which it was thought alluded to her own case, that "God sent ofttimes to good women evil husbands."[1] The evil done by lord Braye was by no means a crime of deep dye. It was reported to the privy council that he had imagined the death of the queen in the following speech, alluding to the expected succession of the princess Elizabeth: "If my neighbour at Hatfield should come to the crown, I might hope to pay my debts, and be my own man again."[2] Lord Braye, after being forgiven by queen Mary for his imprudent speech, volunteered his services in the army mustering to invade France.

The 'stout gospeller,' Edward Underhill, escaped all persecution for his religion, though he had been in some danger whilst the queen's severe illness lasted. His enemies sometimes would tell him that warrants were out against him. To which the valiant Protestant said, "If they were, and he found them not duly signed by the queen, he should go farther than Peter, who only cut off the ear of Malchus; for he should cut off the head, and ears into the bargain, of any messenger who served such warrant." Thus it is certain that the sick queen's signature was not appended to these tyrannical instruments of the cruel inquisition that performed the enormities in her name after her marriage, for Underhill added, "that he considered himself legally authorized in resisting to death any warrant which was not signed by *five* of the council;" but if the royal sign-manual had been affixed, he could not have said this. Underhill took the precaution of walling up, with a good barrier of bricks, all his polemic library in a niche of his bedchamber, in Wood-street. He assures his reader they were all released from their concealment, as good as new, when the scene changed at the accession of Elizabeth. In fact, the 'hot gospeller' weathered all the political and religious storms of the reign of Mary, and

[1] Strype. Lodge's Illustrations. Shrewsbury Correspondence.

[2] Family Papers of lady Braye, kindly communicated.

lived prosperously, till a good old age, under the sway of Elizabeth. The ugliest feature in the Marian persecution was, that the vengeance of the inquisitors was principally wreaked on the poor and lowly, whose tortures and sufferings were made terrific examples to their superiors,—a mode of proceeding the direct reverse to all former policy in England. Those who were of rank sufficient to have access to the queen were generally pardoned, if she could induce Gardiner to consent. In the cases of Edwin Sandys, sir John Cheke, and her sister Elizabeth, and afterwards in that of lord Braye, she actively interfered for the preservation of her subjects. The flight of the duchess of Suffolk was occasioned as much by her marriage with him whom she calls "her man Richard Barty," as by her adoption of Protestant tenets.[1]

In February, 1556-7, visits of friendly intercourse were exchanged between the queen and her sister Elizabeth, who spent some weeks at Somerset-house, a palace which seems to have been granted to the princess by her sister as her town-house. The trouble, and even persecution, with which Dudley had plagued Elizabeth regarding her claim to Durham-house, (a much inferior domicile,) and her complaints of being bereft of any town-house, are the chief topic of her correspondence at the close of Edward VI.'s life. A contemporary chronicle shows Elizabeth living with great royalty at Somerset-house, built by the protector Somerset, by which he had impoverished his family and lost his popularity.

[1] Katharine, heiress of Willoughby, and dowager-duchess of Suffolk (widow of Charles Brandon), endowed with herself and her hereditary barony Richard Bertie, esq., afterwards the founder of a noble line. This lady is placed as a victim in the martyrologies, but there is something suppressed in that statement, since ladies who were farther from the ancient church than ever the duchess of Suffolk was,—such as lady Bacon and her sisters, and the daughters of the protector Somerset,—were in offices about the queen's person; and it is plain, by the marginal notes in the work which she published by Katharine Parr, that she approved of the celibacy of the clergy; and if these were her tenets in the reign of Elizabeth, the inference is reasonable that love, not religion, was the cause of her quarrel with queen Mary. Speed uses these words: "The duchess of Suffolk was in disgrace with the queen, for marrying master Barty, a man too inferior for her estate."–Speed's History, 1125. The probable reason of queen Mary's displeasure was, because the duchess of Suffolk was of royal descent, and was a relative of Katharine of Arragon, by her mother lady Mary de Saluces, a descendant of the house of De Foix.

Queen Mary returned the frequent visits her sister had made her, during her spring abode at Somerset-house, by a progress to Hatfield. Here the next morning, *after mass*, she was entertained by Elizabeth with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, with which, says the chronicler, "their highnesses were right well content." To do Mary justice, this is the only instance recorded of her presence and satisfaction at any exhibition of cruelty. Neither letters, account-book, nor any other evidence we have yet discovered, represent her as an encourager or rewarder of the cruel amusements in vogue at her era; and in this, with the exception of her mother, she stands alone among her family. She seldom hunted, even in her youth, and she never swore, either on paper or by utterance,—negative good qualities, which candour demands should be recorded to her credit, when so many evil ones have been alleged against her. The evening recreations of Hatfield, it may be considered, were more to the taste of the musical queen than the morning bear-baiting, for they consisted of concerts, at which her sister Elizabeth amused her by playing on the virginals, accompanied by a chorister-boy, who possessed 'a divine voice.'

Before the end of the summer, queen Mary returned the hospitalities at Hatfield by a *fête champêtre* and *al fresco* concert, at Richmond-palace, of peculiar elegance. The queen sent her barge for her sister, who was again resident in London, at Somerset-house. The decorations provided for the summer voyage up the Thames of Elizabeth, who was then in the prime of her life and hopes, might have been exceeded in costliness by that princess when in the zenith of her regal splendour, but never in taste; for Mary had caused her barge to be festooned, for her sister's voyage, with rich garlands of flowers, and covered with an awning of green silk, embroidered with branches of eglantine and golden blossoms. Under this canopy Elizabeth sat in state, attended by the comptroller of her household, sir Thomas Pope, and four of her ladies of honour. Six boats followed, with the gentlemen of Elizabeth's retinue, who were dressed in russet damask and blue satin, with caps of silver cloth and green plumes.

Queen Mary received her sister and her brilliant train in Richmond-palace gardens, and entertained her with a sumptuous banquet in a pavilion constructed in the labyrinth, in the form of a castle, made of cloth of gold and violet velvet, embroidered with silver fleurs-de-lis, and her mother's device of the pomegranate in gold. A concert succeeded the banquet, at which the best minstrels in the kingdom gratified the high musical tastes of the royal sisters; but there is no mention made that either bulls, bears, badgers, or any other creatures were baited for their diversion. In the evening, the queen's barge, with its gay garlands, was again launched on the silver Thames for the homeward voyage of the heiress of England, and, followed by the attendant boats, the beautiful water-procession safely arrived the same night at Somerset-house.

The queen had reason soon after to express her high approbation of the dutiful conduct of Elizabeth, regarding her reception of the king of Sweden's proposal of marriage for his heir. Mary's conduct, if examined through the medium of documents, appears conscientious and unexceptionable regarding all overtures for her sister's marriage. She sent for sir Thomas Pope, and, after declaring her approval of Elizabeth's reference to herself respecting the Swedish offer, requested him to learn her sister's real sentiments, as to whether her constant refusal of suitors proceeded from any objection to the married state in general.

The return of queen Mary's truant spouse was announced to her by an *avant-courrier*, whom she had recently reprieved from sentence of death for treason, and released from incarceration in the Tower, being no other than the same Robert Dudley who afterwards occupied a remarkable position in the reign of Elizabeth, under the title of earl of Leicester. The following notice may be considered as the first appearance of that ambitious scion of Dudley on the arena of public life, independently of those family ties which had dragged him downwards with the fall of his house. "The 17th day of March, my lord Robert Dudley came riding from king Philip, *from beyond the sea*, to the court at Greenwich, to our queen with letters in post. After him came master Kemp of the privy-

chamber, announcing that the king would come to Calais that day, the 17th of March; and the same day the new bishop of Lincoln, doctor Watson, did preach afore the queen."[1] Philip himself arrived at Greenwich-palace March 20, and landed at five in the afternoon. A ship came up with the tide, and as king Philip entered the court-gate of Greenwich-palace, the ship, to show its loyalty, shot a salute of sixteen guns, "which were very great pieces," and after reiterating the salute, the crew shouted "God save the king and queen!" This trifling circumstance is told in a manner which proves that such demonstrations were rather remarkable. No wonder, for the perpetual cruelties and executions since Philip had borne sway in England, rivalled, if possible, the worst days of Henry VIII.

The day after Philip's arrival, queen Mary went with him in state through the royal gallery at Greenwich to their chapel-closet, where they heard mass. There were two swords borne before them, one by lord Cobham, the other by my lord admiral: the sword-bearing was the symbol of regnant power, and as Philip claimed honours as the independent sovereign of Naples, he assumed equality of dignity with his wedded partner. Orders were issued that afternoon for *Te Deum laudamus* to be sung in every church in London, and with "ringing great praise to God." Such ringing might have been rightfully considered as a woful knell for the renewed persecution which followed the arrival of Philip of Spain;[2] nevertheless, England and the English must rest under the disgrace of permitting these cruelties, for they were not overborne by foreign force, since the contemporary diarist[3] who notes the fact, observes that "only three *hoys* full of Spaniards arrived at the same time with king Philip."[4]

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 128; Camden Society.

[2] Nares' Memoirs of Lord Burleigh, vol. i. p. 734. Philip's own historians challenge the Marian persecution as wholly the work of their master, not as the disgrace it really is, but as an honour! Bentivoglio records an answer of king Philip to one who urged milder measures than burning the Protestants: "I would rather be without a kingdom, than reign over heretics."

[3] Machyn, who is favourable to the powers existing, enumerates thirteen victims cruelly destroyed in London and its environs during Philip's short stay.

[4] Machyn's Diary, p. 129.

The persecuting king thought proper to pay sedulous attention to the citizens of London, whose worldly prosperity was infinitely advanced by his alliance. The queen sent information to the civic authorities that, with the king, she would ride from Tower-wharf through London, March 23, accompanied by the nobles and ladies of her realm. Whether the royal pair came from Greenwich-palace that morning, or lodged in the Tower, is not mentioned, but a grand civic festival and procession took place, "the lord mayor and aldermen meeting their graces both on Tower-wharf." The royal *cortège* moved forward, with "my masters the aldermen" and other civic dignities. All the crafts of London, in their liveries, had standings of timber set up, "where trumpets and other instruments were blowing with great joy and pleasure: there was shooting of the Tower guns, and playing of the city waits on the leads of St. Peter's at Cornhill. The lord mayor bare the sceptre before Philip and Mary."[1] The attentions of the queen and her spouse to the citizens had connexion with the newly-founded Russian company, for an important mercantile mission to Russia, confided by the queen to Sebastian Cabot in the commencement of her reign, established on a firm foundation the commerce with Russia, which has proved a source of prosperity to both countries. Early in the days of her successor, the rich fruits began to be manifest, but the seed was sown and took root in Mary's reign. According to our city diarist, a duke of Muscovy paid a long visit to England at this period, as ambassador, having landed previously to Philip of Spain. The queen received the Muscovite noble at court, and he astonished all beholders by the enormous size of the pearls and gems he wore on his nightcap,[2] and the ouches set about his robes. He lodged in the city, and was attended to court by a train of London merchants "free of Muscovia."[3]

The king and queen came from Greenwich-palace to Westminster for the celebration of St. George's-day; but in this national festival Philip took the place of the invalid queen-

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 129.
[2] Probably close cap, or skull-cap.—Machyn, p. 130. [3] Ibid.

regnant. All the part Mary sustained was confined 'to looking out of a window in Westminster-palace, beside the court on the garden side." In the afternoon the sick queen gave the Muscovite noble audience in her own chamber, with some merchants and aldermen of London. They came down to even-song in the abbey, where king Philip and the knights of the Garter attended in procession in their robes, and afterwards repaired to the queen's presence-chamber. The Muscovite ambassador was likewise received with great distinction at all the gloomy fêtes connected with the return of Philip of Spain. The replacing of Edward the Confessor's body in the shrine in Westminster-abbey was one of these.[1] The coffin containing the body of the royal Saxon was removed from some safe nook in the recesses of the vast structure, where it had long been hid "when the abbey was spoiled and robbed, and it was a goodly sight," says the city diarist, "to see how reverently he [St. Edward] was carried, with singing and censing, and mass song." Queen Mary, on one of these occasions, went all round the cloisters of Westminster-abbey in procession, accompanied by king Philip, and the choristers and chapter, who sang with marvellous sweetness. The Muscovite ambassador paid a visit to the restored shrine of king Edward. He was shown the sights of the abbey attended by the civic authorities, who afterwards rode with him in the park.

The queen sometimes spent an hour looking, from her chamber-window at Whitehall, at knightly exercises performed below in the privy-garden. She thus became witness of a dreadful accident: James Garnado, one of Philip's foreign knights, was one day thrown against the garden-wall, owing to his bridle breaking when in full career; his brains being dashed against the wall, he was taken up a corpse in the queen's presence.[2] Philip's arrival had been the signal for renewed persecutions. Ten men and women were in April burnt in Smithfield, a few days before the gorgeous procession of the Garter knights; while executions, far more numerous in proportion to those which avenged the Wyatt insur-

[1] Machyn's Diary, 130. [2] Ibid., May 3 1557.

rection, followed the surprise of Scarborough-castle by young Stafford.

The queen assisted, in company with her husband, at a solemn procession on Ascension-day about the cloisters of Westminster-abbey. In June, war with France was proclaimed in London by the queen's heralds. Reasons were given for breaking the peace of Christendom. The heralds, in her majesty's proclamation, set forth "that Henry II., the king of the French, had supported and furthered the insurrection of the duke of Northumberland; and after that, the conspiracy of Wyatt and his traitors' band; and thirdly, the recent one of young Stafford, and other rebels which the said king entertained in his realm, which be yet *on taken.*"[1] The accusation was certainly full of truth, an ingredient rather scarce in diplomatic documents. Some of the rebels alluded to in the proclamation as being "as yet untaken," were, on the night of June 13, carried through the 'traitors' gate' in a manner to which Englishmen were little accustomed, being blindfolded and muffled.[2]

The queen accompanied her husband to their favourite seat of Hampton-Court to hunt the great hart, but their household and council remained at Whitehall, where, on the return of the royal pair, they went another grand procession, "on Corpus Christi-day, through the hall and the grand court-gate, accompanied with the most goodly singing that ever was heard."[3] The very day before king Philip left the country he stood godfather with royal pomp at Whitehall, in the queen's presence, to the infant heir of the duke of Norfolk, afterwards the unfortunate Philip earl of Arundel.[4] The queen bore her husband company to Dover,[5] from whence he was to sail for the purpose of prosecuting the newly declared war with France. They remained all night at Sittingbourne, July 3. The king embarked for the Low Countries: the queen never saw him more. His friend the prince of Savoy won for him the battle of St. Quintin, but this victory seemed

[1] Machyn's Diary, p. 138, June 7.
[2] Ibid. 141. [3] Ibid. 139. [4] Ibid. 141.
[5] Machyn, p. 142.

an illustration of the Irish adage of "gaining a loss," since the principal result was, that the French got possession of Calais a few months afterwards.

Queen Mary visited her friend cardinal Pole at Lambeth, and after dinner proceeded to her palace at Richmond, where she remained until the autumn. The recent visit of her husband, and the martial excitement around her, had roused queen Mary for a short time from the deadly torpor of disease, and she became sufficiently convalescent to be occupied with a series of vexations. Not the least of these was, the pertinacity with which Philip II. insisted on her forcing her sister Elizabeth to give her hand to his friend the prince of Savoy, who was, at this time, the hero of the day. It must be owned, that if Mary wished to disinherit or banish her sister, it was strange that she encouraged her in her objections to every foreign match. When Philip urged arguments in behalf of his friend, queen Mary answered "that she had consented to the match while she thought Elizabeth would approve of it; but that, as she found her exceedingly averse, in conscience she could not force her[1] into an unwilling marriage." The queen added, that she was certain that parliament would not suffer her sister to quit the kingdom,—a clear acknowledgment of Elizabeth's position as second person in the realm. This controversy produced an angry letter from Philip, in which he charged Mary, on her conscience, and as she regarded the future welfare of her religion, to bring this matter to bear. Queen Mary wrote in answer a letter in French, which has been pronounced inexplicable by several historians who wrote in the century succeeding her reign. Her letter is worded in the self-denying and humble style conventional in epistles of the era, but contains a distinct avowal of determination to act, in regard to her sister's marriage, only as her parliament should agree; a principle which governed her in every act of her regal life, although she has been made singly responsible for all the evil enacted by her parliaments, as if she had been an autocrat who issued ukases expressive of her sole will.

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. ii.

Queen Mary to King Philip.[1]

"Monseigneur,

"I have received the letters from your highness by Francisco,[2] the 18th instant. Humbly thanking you for the same, especially as you are pleased to write that you took mine in good part, which were indeed, I assure your highness, written with good intention; and, assuredly, seeing that yours was written with the same, I can say nothing more than to entreat your highness (seeing that you think it right that I examine my conscience to discover whether it is founded in truth or not) to name what persons your highness may think most proper to communicate with me on this affair, and I will willingly listen to them sincerely, whomsoever they may be.

"Nevertheless, in my last letter to your highness I made an offer to agree to this marriage on this occasion, *provided I have the consent of this realm*, and so I will; but without this consent, I fear that neither your highness nor this realm will be well served on this occasion. For your highness will remember, that once I procured, of myself, an opportunity of listening to the friars of your highness; but they then, and Alphonso,[3] propounded questions so obscure, [irrelevant,] that, to my simple understanding, there was no comprehending them: as, for instance, 'Who was king in Adam's days?' and said, withal, 'that I was bound to conclude this marriage by an article in my creed.'[4] Yet, if he had not propounded things too difficult to be understood, it was nevertheless impossible for him, in so short a time, to direct my conscience; but one thing I promise your highness, whomsoever you appoint will not find me obstinate, or without reason, I hope.

"Meantime, your highness has written in the said letters, that, if a parliament shall go contrary, your highness will impute the fault to me. I beg, in all humility, that your highness will defer this matter till your return, and then it will be manifest whether I am culpable or not. Otherwise I shall live in apprehension of your highness's displeasure, which would be worse to me than death; for I have already begun to taste it too much, to my regret. Truth to say, in my simple judgment, (under the correction of your highness,) and seeing that the duke of Savoy will be at this hour entered on the campaign, *unless a number of the council, the nobility, and kingdom are with your highness, I cannot find by what means the matter can be properly treated;* nor how, in my judgment (even if my conscience were as completely satisfied as yours is) this matter can be brought to the end which your highness desires, without your presence.

"Wherefore, monseigneur, in as humble wise as it is possible for me, (being your very loyal and very obedient wife, which to be I confess myself justly obliged to be, and in my opinion more than any other woman, having such a husband as your highness is, without speaking of the multitude of your kingdoms, for that is not my principle motive,) I entreat your highness that we both pray

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[1] The original is in Strype's Memorials, No. 56, printed with many evident mistakes in the French.

[2] The royal courier, mentioned as such in letters at the State-Paper office.

[3] Alphonso di Castro was king Philip's confessor, who preached against the English persecution. The reader may remember Noailles' observation, that Philip of Spain had withdrawn all his Spanish household attendants but his confessor.

[4] This argument of Alphonso was by no means difficult to be comprehended, if queen Mary had chosen to enter into its spirit. It is evident he meant to urge that, if she forced her heiress to marry a Roman-catholic champion, like the prince of Savoy, her own religion would remain inevitably established in England.

to God, and put our first confidence in him, that we may meet and live together. And that same God, in whose hand is the direction of the hearts of kings, will, I hope, without fail enlighten us in such manner, that all at last shall tend to his glory and your satisfaction."

This letter has been mentioned (but surely by persons incapable of reading the original) as an instance of the utter slavery of Mary's disposition, when, in truth, she makes in it a proper distinction between the duty of a wife and the duties of an English queen. She will discuss the marriage with whomsoever her husband appoints; but she will not be influenced to act against her regal integrity, either by the mysticism or the bigotry of his friars. She means to leave the whole to her parliament, but deprecates his unreasonable displeasure in making her accountable, when she has no right to control their acts. She shows that nothing but trouble will follow any exertion of despotism in the affair; yet, if her husband wishes to influence her people, he had better do it in person, for she wants much to see him. And she concludes with a prayer, almost in the words retained in our liturgy, that "God, in whose hand are the hearts of kings, will direct this matter to his glory." And, when it is considered that the matter was providing Elizabeth with a Roman-catholic spouse, the whole tends to clear Mary's character of some stains of bigotry.

The ambassador to whom Philip confided the negotiation of this marriage, was his beautiful and fascinating cousin, Christina of Denmark.[1] Like all the female descendants of Isabel of Castile, this young lady possessed great talents for government. She was daughter of the deposed tyrant, Christiern II., king of Denmark, and the virtuous Isabel, sister of the emperor Charles V. Early inured to misfortune, Christina was reared in exile, and became the ornament and darling of the imperial court. She married the duke of Lorraine, and was at this time a widow. Philip II. was suspected of cherishing a passion for his lovely cousin, who had great influence in his councils. Christina was an active politician, but, to her credit be it spoken, she had an enthusiastic turn for negotiating peace.[2] Some rumours of Philip's par-

[1] Granger's Biographical History, and Miss Aikin.

[2] Christina composed the warfare between Philip II. and Henry

tiality for his cousin had reached the ears of Mary, who, either displeased with the embassy, or jealous of the ambassadress, gave her, though a near kinswoman of her own, any thing but a gracious reception. She warned Elizabeth, that if she did not wish to marry Savoy, she must keep close at Hatfield: thus Christina never saw her.

After the departure of the duchess of Lorraine, it is said queen Mary, in an excess of jealousy, cut her husband's picture to pieces with her own hand.[1] She had recently received a portrait of him, to which a curious anecdote is annexed. For the first time in his life, Philip of Spain had worn armour in actual warfare at the siege of St. Quintin. His queen being smitten with an extreme desire to have a portrait of him attired in his warlike panoply, Philip very gallantly complied with her wish, and sent her his portrait in armour, all but the helmet; for he did not think it was consistent with etiquette that the head should be covered before the queen.[2] Perhaps this was the picture on which she wreaked her vengeance. Mary was exasperated at the thought that her husband had deserted her, and given to his cousin the confidence and influence she ought to have possessed. Her health again received a mortal shock from the attacks of chronic disease, but, with a self-deception like monomania, she once more fancied that she was about to become a mother. She made her will in the autumn of 1557 under this impression; in many clauses she alluded to a hope of offspring,—as futile as that she had formerly cherished.

Michele, the Venetian ambassador, who saw queen Mary at the close of the year 1557, will not allow that she was otherwise than an interesting-looking woman. He thus minutely describes her person: "She is of low stature, but has no deformity in any part of her person. She is thin and delicate, altogether unlike her father, who was tall, and strongly made; or her mother, who, if not tall, was massive. Her face is

succeeding year.–See Holinshed. Perhaps she wished to rival the glory of her aunt, queen Leonora, of Louise duchess of Savoy, and of Marguerite of Savoy, who made the peace called 'the Ladies' peace,' which gave Europe a breathing from the horrors of a ten years' war.

[1] Granger's Biographical History. [2] Leti.

well formed, and her features prove, as well as her pictures, that when younger she was not only good-looking, but more than moderately handsome: she would now be so, saving some wrinkles, caused more by sorrow than by age. She looks years older than she is, and always appears very grave. Her eyes are piercing, and inspire not only deference, but even fear in those on whom she bends them; yet she is near-sighted, being unable to read, or do any thing else, without her eyes being close to whatever she would peruse or well discern. Her voice is powerful and high pitched, like that of a man, so that when she speaks she is heard at some little distance." This is a peculiarity often observed in females who sing well, for a very fine voice in singing is often counterbalanced by most unpleasant tones in speech. "In short," resumes Michele, "she may, at her present age, be considered good-looking, not only as a queen, but a woman, and ought never to be despised for ugliness."[1] Such is the opinion of a contemporary ambassador, whose national interest by no means led him to be her adulator; rather the contrary.

The real portraits of Mary are as much historical mysteries as her private character and conduct. Her portraits, as a girl and young woman, vary much from each other, on account of the extreme fluctuations of her health: her early portraits are often mistaken for those of lady Jane Gray, to whom she bore, in youth, a strong family resemblance. The youthful portraits of Mary fully justify the continual praises we have been forced to quote, from contemporary documents, of the attractiveness of her person. The portrait preferred by sir Frederick Madden is at Burleigh-house: she has brown hair, large, open, dark eyes, full red lips, and a good complexion. Lately in the possession of E. Wenman Martin, esq. is a fine portrait by Holbein, representing Mary as a girl of sixteen; she is pretty, excepting a slight degree of pettishness about the full red lips: this expression is mentioned by sir Frederick Madden as pertaining to another pretty girlish portrait, engraved by Hollar, from the Arundel Collection. In the Holbein family group at Hampton-Court, she is a

[1] MS. Lansdowne, 840 A, folio 155, 1

pleasing woman of twenty-eight; indeed, till after her marriage, all portraiture represents her as a pleasing woman. Vertue's picture, lately at Strawberry-hill, gives her a pretty face, exceedingly resembling the portrait in possession of Mr. E. Wenman Martin; but, in some of the engravings from the celebrated Burleigh picture, her face is what the Americans would call "awful," not in majesty, but in ugliness. She is, in an original picture which the Granger Society have engraved, seated in state under a canopy, dressed with royal magnificence in a gold-cloth brocaded kirtle, hanging *rebras* sleeves, and a jewelled hood: her husband, who is a young man of mean presence and carroty complexion, stands near her canopy. Two "little hounds" are at her feet. The room in which the royal pair are represented, is some state chamber at Whitehall which commanded a view of old St. Paul's, for that cathedral is seen through an open window. The date is 1558, and it must have been painted during Philip's last visit to England, when the effects of dire disease were painfully apparent in the queen's visage. A woman's portrait ought to be taken, for futurity, in the prime of life. It would be hard, even upon the most celebrated beauties, to form our ideas when shaken by decay, and verging to the tomb.

A series of the most dismal, wet, and cold seasons, such as have been observed to occur, in many instances, in the middle of centuries, plagued the reign of Mary. Famines and burning fevers succeeded this atmospheric irregularity, and were regarded by many as judgments inflicted by God for the tortures of the Protestants, without reflecting that the insalubrity of the seasons was alike inimical to the health and comfort of the professors of each faith; but gloom and superstitious excitement pervaded the whole population of England in the middle of the sixteenth century, and every aberration from the common course of nature was viewed through their medium. In the damp unwholesome autumn phosphoric exhalations of luminous appearance were seen; being viewed with awe by the common people at the latter end of the reign of Mary, they were fully believed to be supernatural reflections of those horrid fires which had consumed the Protestant mar-

tyrs. These phosphoric meteors certainly boded no good to human health, for general pestilence succeeded them. "Apparitions of strange fires were seen by persons in many places in the neighbourhood of London; as in Finsbury-fields, Moorfield, near the windmill, and at the dog-house, by one dame Annice Cleres, and in many open places."[1]

The natural result of hostilities with France was war with Scotland, both kingdoms being then united under one royal family. The Scotch having made a desperate inbreak over the English border, queen Mary took the resolution of heading an army against them, and she summoned the northern militia by a proclamation to that effect.[2] She had sufficient energy of mind for such an exploit, had her sinking frame seconded her intentions. The unexpected loss of Calais, with which the year commenced, overwhelmed both the English and their queen with dismay, and during the remainder of her miserable life, she was harassed with schemes to regain that fragment of France,—the sole fruits of all the conquests of the Plantagenets. Calais had been maintained by the sovereigns of England at an expense equal to a fifth of the revenue. It had often been the nursery of faction, and several conspiracies,[3] which shook the English throne, had been concocted within its walls: yet it was dearly prized by the English as the key to France, whenever they should possess a monarch sufficiently combative to renew the invasions of Edward III. and Henry V.,—a consummation the nation devoutly wished, not having sufficient statistic wisdom to trace the long miseries of civil strife in the fifteenth century to the evil qualities induced in the population by such diabolical warfare, from which they gained nothing but the expensive possession of Calais. It is little known that this town sent two representatives to the English house of commons.

The duke of Guise captured the citadel of Hammes by a

[1] Strype, vol. iii. p. 509.

[2] Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 306. The Scotch were vigorously repulsed by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the levies raised for the personal campaign of Mary.

[3] The earl of Warwick matured all his schemes there, both for the aggrandizement and dethronement of the house of York. Henry VII. was likewise aided in his invasion of England by the garrison of Calais.

coup de main in the first days of January, and before the end of the month, Calais itself was re-united to the French crown. "When do you English intend to visit France again?" was the taunting question asked by a French chevalier of an English veteran, as lord Gray was marching out of Calais. "When your national crimes exceed ours," was the admirable reply; and this prediction, recorded by the historic pen of lord Bacon, has been fulfilled by the Duke of Wellington; but neither queen Mary nor her subjects could foresee a futurity so consolatory to national pride. The English insisted that king Philip should make no peace with France till Calais was restored; and this involved the queen in such a mesh of disputes, that she declared "she should die, and if her breast was opened, Calais would be found written on her heart." Her death was near at hand: she had resided at Richmond in the spring, where she caught a bad intermittent fever, induced by the series of wet ungenial seasons prevalent throughout her reign. Before the Jesuits discovered the specific of Peruvian bark, agues and other intermittents were the scourge of the country, and often degenerated into the worst typhus fevers. So little was understood of the nature of malaria, that the queen removed to Hampton-Court for change of air, which is situated as near the level of the Thames as Richmond-palace. Finding she grew worse, she removed from thence to St. James's, which has the most marshy site that London could offer. Here, however, the fever somewhat abated; but her spirits were oppressed with extreme melancholy at the tidings of the death of her kinsman Charles V., which occurred in September 1558.

While the queen laid very sick and ill, persons were punished with the pillory for falsely reporting that she had expired: it is evident her unfortunate subjects were treated with increased cruelty by the council who directed the religious persecution which raged in the land. A poor woman named Alice Driver, was burnt to death for heresy; she had a short time previously been condemned, by sir Clement Higham, (a judge more clement in name than nature,) to have her ears

cut off, for railing on her majesty, and calling her Jezebel. There is a strong contrast between these horrid sentences and that inflicted on an expert scold at Bedford, who, for the same offence, was, when Mary presided over her council, condemned, for railing against her majesty, to the ancient constitutional punishment of the cucking-stool.

King Philip did not visit England, but sent the count de Feria with a message and ring to his dying wife. Feria was likewise empowered to confer with the English parliament. The despatches of this ambassador contain some curious particulars. He found parliament very uneasy at the loss of Calais, extremely averse to impose heavy taxes for the purpose of regaining it, and, above all things, unwilling to break the alliance with Flanders, which, it was affirmed, was indispensable since the union of France and Scotland. On account of his jealous alarm at the marriage of Mary queen of Scots with the dauphin, Philip II. requested queen Mary to take some steps for the proper recognition of Elizabeth as her successor; "a proposition which Mary," says Feria, "greeted with great satisfaction." The queen likewise sent her jewels to her sister by the countess de Feria, (formerly Jane Dormer); to these, by king Philip's orders, was added a very precious casket of gems he had left at St. James's-palace, which he knew Elizabeth particularly admired. The queen, when she sent the jewels, charged her sister to pay all the debts she had contracted on privy-seals, and to keep religion as she found it; both which injunctions the countess de Feria affirmed Elizabeth swore to regard. Thus it is evident, that Mary was on good terms with her sister when she laid on her death-bed. Cardinal Pole was dying of the same intermittent fever as his royal cousin: it was doubtful which would expire first, and messages hourly passed between these early friends.

The whole court had deserted Mary's palace since her recognition of Elizabeth as her successor, and were seen passing and repassing on the road to Hatfield. Of this desertion the queen never complained; perhaps she thought it natural, and

she had devoted friends round her, who paid her requisite attention; but Elizabeth often recalled the circumstance with horror, when pressed to name a successor.[1]

The hand of death was on the queen throughout the 16th of November, but her previous sufferings had blunted the usual agonies of dissolution, for she was composed, and even cheerful. Between four and five in the morning of November 17th, after receiving extreme unction, at her desire mass was celebrated in her chamber: at the elevation of the Host she raised her eyes to heaven, and at the benediction bowed her head, and expired. These particulars of the last moments of queen Mary were given by an eye-witness, White bishop of Winchester, in her funeral sermon. Cardinal Pole survived her: being informed of her departure, he expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of his speedy dissolution, which actually took place within two days. The deceased queen was embalmed, and then removed from the chamber in which she expired, into the chapel of St. James's-palace, on the evening of the 10th of December, where she laid in state, with the usual watch of ladies. It was the custom for the body of an English sovereign to be buried in royal array, but Mary had earnestly entreated that no semblance of the crown, which had pressed so heavily on her brow in life, might encumber her corpse in death. She requested that she might be interred in the habit of a poor *religieuse*. Leti is the only historian who records this request, but it is more probable that Mary made it than that it was fulfilled.

Her funeral took place on the 13th of the same month, and it proves how completely the gothic etiquette, followed at such ceremonials, recognised alone the warlike and masculine character in a sovereign; for our first queen-regnant's helmet, sword, targe, and body-armour were carried before her corpse, and a stranger in the country, trusting only to the eye, would have supposed the English were attending the burial of a king. The procession set out from the palace of St. James's,

[1] Elizabeth's words, "that she would not follow the example of her sister, and send such visitors to her successor as came to see her at Hatfield," strongly confirm Feria's despatches.

where the queen died. A herald, who was an eye-witness of the scene, thus describes it:[1]—"So up the highway went the foremost standard, the falcon and the hart: then came a great company of mourners. Then another goodly standard of the lion and the falcon, followed by king Philip's servants, riding two and two. Then the third standard, with the white greyhound and falcon. The marquess of Winchester bore the banner of England on horseback; Chester herald, the helm, the crest, and the mantle; Norroy, the target, with the crown of England and the order of the Garter; Clarencieux, the sword, and Mr. Garter king-at-arms her coat armour,—all on horseback. The Somerset, Lancaster, Windsor, and York heralds carried four white banners of saints embossed in fine gold. Then came the corpse, in a chariot, with an exact image representing queen Mary dressed in crimson velvet, with many gemmed rings on the hands. The pall over the coffin was black cloth of gold, intersected by a cross of cloth of silver. The body was followed by the chief mourners; the queen's ladies came after on horseback, but their black trains were long enough to sweep after them on the ground." Before the corpse, and following after, came processions of monks, mourning their own fate as well as the death of Mary. Such was the procession which passed by Charing-cross and arrived at the great door of Westminster-abbey, where every one alighted from their horses. "There waited gentlemen, ready to take the queen out of her chariot." The earls and lords went before her, towards the hearse, which, it must always be remembered, was erected in the abbey, near or over the grave. The effigy above mentioned was carried between "men of worship." At the great door of the abbey four bishops and abbot Feckenham, *in pontificalibus*, met this procession, and censed the coffin. The royal corpse was then placed on the hearse, and watched the livelong night of December 13th. A hundred poor men in good black gowns and hoods, bearing long torches, with the queen's guard in black coats, bearing staff torches, stood

[1] Strype's Mems., vol. iii. par. 2, pp. 141, 142. The falcon in these banners seems the imperial eagle.

round the hearse that night; and wax-chandlers were in attendance to supply any torches that burnt out.

The next morning, December 14th, was the queen's mass, and all the mourners offered; and the queen's body armour, her sword, her helmet, her target, her banner of arms, and three standards, were all offered, her heralds standing round her coffin. The bishop of Winchester preached a most remarkable funeral sermon for the deceased queen, being often interrupted by his tears: the historical circumstances attending this oration prove that queen Elizabeth was present at the ceremony. The herald, who is our guide in this curious ceremonial, proceeds to say, "Then her grace was carried up to that chapel king Henry VII. builded, attended by mitred bishops. When the heralds brake their staffs, and flung them into her grave, all the people plucked down the hangings and the armorial bearings round about the abbey; and every one tore him a piece, as large as he could catch it." What a scene of uproar and confusion must have concluded the last royal funeral conducted according to the rites of the Roman church in England! However, the archbishop of York, in the midst of the hurly-burly, "proclaimed a collation; and, as soon as he finished, the bishops, abbot Feckenham, the lords, ladies, and knights went into the abbey to dinner."

Mary was interred on the north side of Henry VII.'s chapel. No memorial exists of her, saving her participation in the following inscription, inscribed on two small black tablets erected by the order of James I., which point out the spots where her body reposes, with that of her sister, queen Elizabeth,—

REGNO · CONSORTES ET · MARIA · SORORES
ET · URNA · HIC · OBDOR- IN · SPE · RESURREC-
-MIMUS · ELIZABETHA -TIONIS.

A prying Westminster boy discovered the depositories of the hearts of queen Elizabeth and her sister, queen Mary, and subsequently described how he grasped in his puny hand those once haughty and indomitable hearts: "In the beginning of the year 1670, the royal vault was opened for the funeral of

Monk, duke of Albemarle. Within niches were the urns, one with the name of queen Mary, the other with that of queen Elizabeth. I dipped my hand into each, and took out of each a kind of glutinous red substance somewhat resembling mortar. Mary's urn contained less moisture."[1]

Queen Elizabeth despatched lord Cobham, on the 23rd of November, to Philip II., who was then in Flanders, with the news of her sister's demise. Mary's widower celebrated her requiem in the cathedral of Brussels, simultaneously with her burial;[2] and on the same day, by a singular coincidence, the like service was performed for his father, Charles V., and for his aunt, the queen of Hungary; so busy had death been in the royal family of Spain.[3]

In her testament, Mary styled herself queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defender of the faith, archduchess of Austria, duchess of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, countess of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol. She named her husband as principal executor, and her cousin, cardinal Pole, as the acting executor, to whom she left 1000*l*. She considered that she had a right to dispose by will of the church property she found still unalienated by her father and brother. The income arising from it she seems to have devoted to the maintenance of the most miserable of the poor, with which the country abounded; and the capital, which she might have granted to hungry courtiers during her life-time, she was exceedingly anxious should return to purposes of charity; and she seemed to think that, as she had not dissipated it in life, she had a right to direct its destination after death,—a point that would admit of some controversy. The principal use to which she devoted this fund was respectable; nevertheless, her will remained altogether a dead letter:—"And forasmuch," she says, "as there is no house or hospital specially ordained and provided for the relief and help of poor and old soldiers,—namely, of such as have been hurt or maimed in the wars and service of

[1] Manuscript Diary of William Taswell, D.D., rector of Newington and St. Mary, Bermondsey, lent to the authors of these biographies most liberally by H. Merivale, esq., through the kind intercession of Mr. Blencowe, editor of the Sidney Diary. [2] Holinshed. [3] Ibid.

this realm, the which we think both honour, conscience, and charity willeth should be provided for; and therefore my mind and will is, that my executors shall, as shortly as they may after my decease, provide some convenient house within or nigh the suburbs of the city of London, the which house I would have founded and created, being governed with one master and two brethren; and I will, that this hospital be endowed with manors, lands, and possessions to the value of 400 marks yearly." She recommended that good rules and ordinances should be made for this hospital by her executors; and "specially I would have them respect the relief, succour, and help of poor, impotent, and aged soldiers, chiefly those that be fallen into extreme poverty, and have no pension or other living." She devotes about 2000*l.* in all to the re-foundation of the convents of Sion, Shene, and the Observants, for works of charity and relief of the poor, and the support of the Savoy hospital.[1] There is not a penny bestowed on any devotional observance unconnected with active charity; neither image, lamp, nor pilgrimage are mentioned,—and here the will is in coincidence with her privy-purse expenses. One passage in it is interesting; which is, her desire to be united in death with her "dearly-beloved and virtuous mother, queen Katharine."—"And further I will," she says, "that the body of my most dear and well-beloved mother, of happy memory, queen Katharine, which lieth now buried at Peterborough, shall, within as short a time as conveniently it may, after my burial be removed, brought, and laid nigh the place of my sepulture; in which place I will my executors cause to be

[1] The whole will is edited by sir Frederick Madden, with his Privy-purse Expenses of Mary, from the Harleian MS. (See Appendix, No. iv. p. 185.) The hospital of the Savoy, a useful institution, founded by Henry VII. and confiscated by Henry VIII., was refounded by Mary, after her temporary recovery in 1557,—an action which seems greatly to be appreciated by our good churchman Fuller, whose sayings, delectable in their quaintness, it is a pleasure to quote. "The hospital being left as bare of all conveniences as the poor creatures brought to it, the queen encouraged her maids of honour to supply it, who, out of their own wardrobes, furnished it with good bedding, &c. Were any of these ladies still alive, I would pray for them in the language of the Psalmist,—'The Lord make all their bed in their sickness,' and *he* is a good bedmaker indeed, who can and will make it fit the person and please the patient." And very earnestly does Fuller urge, "that it is no superstition to commend their example."

made honourable tombs, for a decent memory of us." This it is scarcely needful to say, was never done; and both mother and daughter repose without such honourable tombs. When, however, the Catholic altars in Westminster-abbey, that in Henry the Seventh's chapel and the high altar, were torn down in the reign of Elizabeth, the consecrated stones were carried and laid on queen Mary's grave.[1]

Queen Mary left to Philip, to keep for "a memory" of her, one jewel, "being a table-diamond, which the emperor's majesty, his and my most honourable father, sent unto me by count d'Egmont at the insurance [betrothal] of my said lord and husband; also one other table-diamond, which his majesty sent unto me by the marquess de los Naves; and the collar of gold set with nine diamonds, the which his majesty gave me the Epiphany after our marriage; also the ruby, now set in a gold ring, which his highness sent me by the count de Feria."

She very anxiously provided in her will for her state debts, raised for the support of the war on her privy-seals, bearing the enormous interest of from twelve to twenty per cent.;[2] likewise for the payment of the debts of her father and brother, which hung heavily on her mind. These would have been blended with the national debt in modern times; but Mary, like other sovereigns of her era, treated them wholly as her personal obligations, and, at the same time, considered the goods of the state as her private property; for she pointed out in her will, "that she left ships, arms, and crown-jewels far beyond the value of the debts," on which she clearly implied that the state-creditors had just claim,—an extraordinary feature in the history of finance, and perhaps not wholly undeserving the attention of our fundholders. Mary built the public schools in the university of Oxford, but in a style more suited to her poverty than love of learning. They were afterwards taken down, and rebuilt, yet the university remembers her in the list of its benefactors.[3] She like-

[1] Diary from Strype, printed in vol. i. of the Progresses of Elizabeth, by Nichols. This singular funeral memorial of Mary was perhaps disturbed when queen Elizabeth's monument was erected by James I.

[2] Parliamentary History, vol. iii.

[3] Heylin, Ref., p. 254.

wise granted a mansion, on Bennet's-hill, near St. Paul's, to the learned body of heralds, and it is to this day their college.

However fatally mistaken either Mary or her ministers were in the principles of religious government, her last testament proves that she was not insensible to the prosperity of her country. The codicil of her will, added after her strange mania of maternity was dispelled by the near approach of death, provides for the amicable continuance of the alliance between England and Flanders,—that great desideratum, which had been a national object since the alliance of William the Conqueror with Matilda of Flanders. Mary, in her codicil, thus solemnly addressed her husband and her successor: "And for the ancient amity sake that hath always been between our noble progenitors, and between this my realm and the Low Countries, whereof his majesty king Philip is now inheritor, as God shall reward him (I hope, among the elect servants of God,) I pray that it may please his majesty to show himself as a father in his care, or as a *brother* of this realm in his love and favour, and as a most assured and undoubted friend in his power and strength, to my heir[1] and successor."

With this sentence concludes a biography, which presented a task at once the most difficult and dangerous that could fall to the lot of any Englishwoman to perform. It was difficult, because almost the whole of the rich mass of documents lately edited by our great historical antiquaries, Madden and Tytler, are in direct opposition to the popular ideas of the character of our first queen-regnant; and dangerous, because the desire of recording truth may be mistaken for a wish to extenuate cruelty in religious and civil government. A narrative, composed of facts drawn from contemporaneous authorities, is here presented to the public, as little blended with comment as possible. Readers will draw their own inferences; and when their object is historical information rather than

[1] Females were called *heirs* at this era; the word heiress was unknown. The queen evidently means Elizabeth, by calling Philip *brother* of the realm.

controversy, these are really more valuable than the most elaborate essay that the pride of authorship can produce. If such inferences should induce an opinion that our first queen-regnant mingled some of the virtues of her sex with those dark and stormy passions which have been attributed to her, there will but be fulfilled the motto which, in a mournfully prophetic spirit, she adopted for herself, that "Time unveils truth."

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